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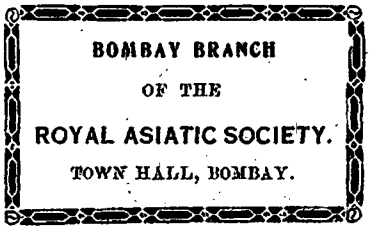

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THE WORKS

OF

SIR THOMAS WYATT

THE ELDER,

&c.

VOL. II.

London Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, Paternoster Row, June 1, 1815.

THE WORKS

OF

HENRY HOWARD

EARL OF SURREY

AND OF

SIR THOMAS WYATT

THE ELDER.

EDITED BY

GEO. FRED. NOTT, D.D. F.S.A.

LATE FELLOW OF ALL SOULS COLLEGE
OXFORD.

16832
ae

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

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Every piece which occurs in Wyatt's hand-writing has his signature T. V. subscribed at the bottom. Of these I subjoin one with all its improvements and corrections. The reader cannot fail of being pleased in observing the different stages through which it passed. The words and letters printed in the italic character mark the places which had been altered.

what kind?
What rage is this? what furour of *excess*,
what plague, weary thus
What power, *what poison* doth my mind *oppress*,
my is assign'd
Within *the* bones to rankle *doth not cesse*
What sweet.
The poisoned pleasant*ness*

ine eyes
Lo! see my *cheeks* swell with continual tears!
sleepless
The body still *sleepless* away it wears;
My food nothing my fainting strength repairs
redress
Nor doth my limbs *sustain* sustain

In deep
Into wide wound
The stroke doth strike the deadly stroke doth turn
To shall
In cured scar, that never *may to*, return;
Go to! triumph rejoice thy goodly turn,
Thy friend thou dost oppress.

Oppress thou dost, and hast of him no *ruth* cure
death plaint
Nor yet my [ ] no pity can procure;
Fierce tiger, fell! hard rock, without recure,
rebel
Cruel *unkind* to love!

Once
O! may thou love
Mightest thou so love, never beloved again!

So love thou still and not thy love ob
Mightst thou so love and never more attain.

So with spites of just
Might wrathful love *so threat thee with* disdain

heart
cruel*ty* may threat
Thy *cruel heart reprove.*

All the poems are marked with numbers at the top, with the word "Enter" subjoined, as thus, "1. Enter." "2. Enter." &c. The numbers go as far as six, which includes the two letters from Spain. No. 5. comprehends the Satires; and No. 4. the Paraphrase of the seven Penitential Psalms, with that of the 37th Psalm. The smaller pieces seem to have been classed under No. 1; No. 2. contains the Sonnets; and No. 3. the larger Odes. Such appears to have been the general principle of the arrangement; which being thus systematical was made probably with a view to publication.

The MS. came early into the possession of the Harington family. They have had it certainly from the time of Queen Elizabeth, as is proved by the hand-writing of Sir John Harington, which occurs frequently in it. Its condition is not as good as might have been reasonably expected. Many leaves have been torn away, particularly the title page, of which enough remains to make us regret that the whole was not preserved. Nor is this the only injury the MS. has sustained. It was made a waste paper book by Mr. —— Harington, who in the time of the rebellion was much attached to the republican party. Mr. Harington was a pious man and a biblical scholar: he had

moreover a turn for mathematics. Unfortunately, he was likewise a lawyer, a justice of the peace, and a rigid economist. To make room therefore for his diagrams, and family receipts; his abstracts of sermons heard, his notices of justice meetings attended, and his "heads of charges to be delivered at Sessions," he has not only written unmercifully over whole pages of Wyatt's poetry, without the least regard to rhyme or reason; but has in many instances studiously crossed out the lines, that they might not obtrude themselves upon his profounder speculations. Luckily Wyatt's ink was better than Mr. Harington's; and therefore the original writing may yet be traced through the dim veil thrown over it, by the laborious and thrifty justice.

Wyatt's pieces end at page 207. At page 209, we find a version of the Seven Penitential Psalms, in stanzas of six lines, by *Sir John Harington*; a work suggested, no doubt, by Wyatt's paraphrase, which just precedes it. The interval from page 227 to page 232, is occupied by twelve French epigrams, all in Wyatt's hand-writing. These, I at first thought, might have been his own composition; but as one of them occurs printed in Marot's works, we may conclude the whole to have been collected by Wyatt from the French writers of his times. Pages 206 and 207 are filled with short sentences, equally in Wyatt's hand-writing: some taken from authors he was in the habit of reading; others, probably, the result of his own observation.*

* They are as follow. Seek counsel always of a wise man.
Strive not with thy parents, although thou dost speak just.
Now a days flattery doth get friends, and truth doth get hatred.

Such is the MS. in question. Nothing need be said to enhance its value; or prove the high importance it is of towards settling the real state of Wyatt's text. That Wyatt would have made some alteration in his system of versification and style of language, had he lived longer, I think we have good reason for believing; such as they both were, however, at the time the pieces before us were written, such they are now faithfully presented to the reader. From them, as thus exhibited, we may safely conclude, what before was only a matter of conjecture, that the text of Wyatt's, and no doubt of Surrey's poems also, as given by Tottel, cannot be considered correct and genuine. In addition to the injury it has sustained from the carelessness of the copyist, it has suffered evidently from the mistaken zeal of

---

A man swearing much shall be replenished with iniquity; and the plague shall never depart from his house, &c.

Honour thy father and thy mother, that thou mayest live long upon the earth.

Let no day 'scape without some exercise.

The mouth that lieth, doth slay the soul.

There is nothing more pleasant to man, than the sweetness of learning.

It becomes a gentle child to be of gentle manners.

Who is rich? He that desireth nothing. Who is poor? The covetous man.

Gay garments doth provoke to pride.

Afterwards come the following lines; the first distich which forms the opening to the 4th Psalm is, with the exception of one word, the same as Sternhold's. If Wyatt made versions of any of the Psalms, it is not improbable but that they might have been incorporated by Sternhold into his work.

O God! that art my righteousness," Lord! hear me when I call:
Thou hast set me at liberty," when I was bound and thrall.

O mortal men, how long will ye" the glory of God deface.
The man is blest that hath not gone," by wicked rede astray;
Nor sat in seat of pestilence —.

the Editor, who in a large number of passages has in arbitrary corrections of his own, when he thought h either improve the versification of an unharmonious line cidate the meaning of an obscure one.*

The second MS. of which I have been permitted to myself, is one that has been discovered lately in the D *Devonshire's valuable* Library. It is a small folio, in its nal binding, consisting of 225 pages, and is entire with t ception of one or two leaves and the title page. It co Wyatt's pieces almost exclusively; and is written for greater part in one hand-writing, with considerable care neatness. At the bottom of each piece is added, gener speaking, either, "finis, qd. Wyatt," or a single W., or the i tials T. W.

Scattered throughout the v[illegible]me are a few other pieces in t hand-writing of different people. To some of these pieces the si nature of the persons who wrote them is annexed. To one piece in particular the name of Surrey appears to have been subscribed and it has been therefore printed at page 162 of Surrey's Poems. In other instances the names are less equivocal. Among them we find those of Anthony Lee, Richard Hatfield, and Harry Stuart. Sometimes we meet with initials only; T. H.; A. I. and E. K., perhaps Edmund Knyvet, whose name occurs written at full length in another part of the volume.

* A minute account of the contents of this MS., for the fuller satisfaction of the reader, will be found immediately following the Notes, at page 588.

PREFACE.

Anthony Lee, whose name is first mentioned, was, in all
ity, the person who married Wyatt's sister. On this ac-
he Reader will be pleased in seeing the piece given en-
s a composition it possesses little merit; but it may be
of remark, that it is written evidently in imitation of
s style.

May not this hate from thee estart,
But firmly for to sit?
That unreserved, cruel heart,
When shall it change? not yet! not yet!

Your changing mind and feigned chere,
With your love, which was so knit,
How it has turned it doth appear:
When shall it change? not yet? not yet?

Hath change such power for to remove,
And clean out for to shette?
So fervent heat, and hasty love,
When shall it change? not yet? not yet?

Since I am left, what remedy?
I marvel never a whit.
I am not the first, perdie,
Nor shall not be the last, not yet.

Now since your will so wavering
To hate hath turned your wit,
Example's as good as writing;
It shall not be, not yet! not yet!

MS. p. 18.

Who made the collection, or who was the original ow[ner] MS. there is nothing that enables us to say for certain. some names, however, which occur in several parts of t[he] lume, we may safely conjecture that it belonged either to W[yatt's] sister, or to Surrey's sister, the Dutchess of Richmond; some one of the *family*. For at *page 148*, we find w[ritten] "*Madame Marg*aret, et Madame de Richemont." The writing is incontestably the hand-writing of Henry the VI time; and as there was, I believe, no one who could be Madame de Richemont, except the Lady Mary Howard, married in 1533, Henry Fitzroy Duke of Richmond, she have been the person intended; and, therefore, the book m[ay] have been her's; a conjecture, which is somewhat strengthen[ed] by the circumstance of many pieces in the volume being writt[en] *in an hand-writing that bears great resemblance* to the spec[i]men of the Dutchess of Richmond's hand-writing, given amon[g] the autographs in the first volume, prefixed to Surrey's Letters.

The "Madame Margaret," whose name is coupled with "Madame de Richemont's," might have been Wyatt's sister, the wife of Sir Anthony Lee; a copy of whose verses, as we have shewn above, is preserved in the MS. at page 18. Her name was Margaret; and that name, it should be observed, occurs in the blank leaf of the cover.

A third signature, which is also to be found on the cover, and in more than one place besides, is that of "Mary Shelton;" and of Mary Shelton it should be remembered, that she was mistress to Clere, Surrey's faithful friend and attendant; and

continued after his death to live in habits of great in-
with the Duke of Norfolk's family.* There is nothing,
, in these signatures, that proves the book to have be-
to the Ladies above-mentioned; or to any one of them
ticular; still I think we cannot avoid concluding, that it
have belonged, if not to them, at least to some person of
mily who had lived in habits of intimacy *with them, and*
both Wyatt and Surrey.

f the Duke of Devonshire's MS. the authority evidently is
equal to that of the Harington MS. towards settling the
uine text of Wyatt's Poems. Still it is highly valuable, as it
bles us to supply some defects in the Harington MS; and to
rrect some of the omissions in Tottel's printed edition. It is
luable likewise, as it gives us many poems which are not pre-
rved elsewhere; though formerly some of them must *have*
been well known and in general circulation. Such, for instance,
was the ode beginning "Blame not my Lute;" and that begin-
ning, "My Pen take pain;" both of which will be found
moralized in Hall's Court of Virtue.† The pieces which are
printed from this MS. exclusively, are kept, for the sake of dis-
tinction, separate by themselves, and occupy the space between
page 205 and 264. This accession of so many new pieces will
alone suffice to prove how greatly the present edition of Wyatt's
works has been benefited by the use which the Duke of Devon-

* See Surrey's Poems, p. 48, l. 5, and the Note upon it, and Appendix to the first Volume, No. XLV. p. cxvii.

† See Appendix to this Volume, No. XXVIII and XXIX.

shire has obligingly permitted me to make of his MS, to for his great politeness and liberality on the occasion proud to take this opportunity of making my pub knowledgments.

That the acknowledgments, which are so justly due Harington for the use he allowed me to make of his inva MSS, *cannot now* reach his ear, is to me a subject of regret. In the interval that has elapsed between the pr these Poems, and the publishing of them, that amiable full of years and honour, has been removed to a state of e ence far! far happier than the present; and has left on mind, as he has done on that of many others, a sense of bene conferred, which the modesty of his disposition, and his dis terested desire of doing good, led him at all times to wish mig *pass unnoticed.**

Wyatt's Correspondence, and the original Letters of Hen the VIIIth to him, with those of Cromwell and Wriothesly, ar all given from a manuscript volume in the Harleian Collec tion, marked No. 282. None of them have hitherto been pub lished; all will I hope be deemed both valuable and interesting. Wyatt's Letters in particular are written with a singular degree

* The contents of the Devonshire MS. are printed at the end of the Notes in this Volume, immediately following the contents of the Harington MS.

The unexpected discovery of two such important MSS. as that of the Duke of Devonshire's, and Dr. Harington's, which give the text complete of nearly all that Wyatt may be supposed to have ever written, warrant the hope that MSS. may yet be discovered containing the entire text of Surrey's Poems, and his translation from Boccaccio likewise. Should any such MSS. be found, the Editor of the present publication ventures to solicit, and would gratefully acknowledge, the communication of them.

racter and animation. Those in which he repeats his ations with Charles the Vth, are some of the most lively amatic pieces of writing I know. They place the Em- before our eyes; we see his every look, and every gesture; ce in all he says and does, that refinement of political ng for which he was so remarkable. Such of Wyatt's rs as detail his own particular conjectures and observations, extraordinary penetration; and lead us to contemplate of the occurrences of those days in a novel and interesting t of view.

As Henry the VIIIth's Letters and Instructions were not likely excite an equal degree of interest in all readers, they have been into the Appendix. The Historian, however, cannot but re- rd them as highly valuable documents, from the proof they pply of the Emperor's dexterity in negotiating, and steadiness pursuing any object he had at heart to accomplish: while many of the more general readers will, I doubt not, be amused with the picture they present of Henry's mind. For it cannot but strike every one that all the letters were written under his own imme- diate dictation. When we consider the length and frequency of the dispatches, and remember Henry the VIIIth's love of plea- sure and amusement, we cannot but admire his diligence, when occasion required exertion, and his powers of attention to business. Several passages from those dispatches might be adduced, written with a degree of freedom and liveliness, which no one but the King himself would have ventured to use, and which, coming immediately from him, inspire no ordinary degree of interest.

Wyatt's Declaration to the Privy Council, and his ... before them when put on his defence on the charge ... treason brought against him by Bonner, are both ... from a MS. marked 78 in the Harleian Collection; from ... they were once transcribed by Mr. Gray with a view to ... cation.

After these two pieces had gone through the press I h... opportunity of collating them with another MS. copy pres... among the Yelverton Collection, now in the possession of ... Calthorpe, who afforded me access to it with a politeness w... justly calls for my acknowledgments.

On collating that MS. I find that the Harleian MS. wh... is not always perfectly legible, and is in a few places injur... is in some incorrect. The variations, however, are not very ... tensive, though they frequently supply words which assist ... sense. Thus at page 278 of the Declaration, printed in this v... lume, we read: "Of Leze, a Letter or two he being in Italy." The Yelverton MS. reads "Of Lege's a Letter or two, &c." which enables us to ascertain that the person here intended is ... Mr. Legge, a gentleman of good family, who, on some disgust, had gone to live in Italy, and was on that account suspected of correspondence with the Court of Rome.*

What further assistance I have received in the course of this volume, however small, I have scrupulously acknowledged in the Notes as occasion presented. I feel, however, that espe-

* The variations of Lord Calthorpe's MS. from the printed copy are printed at the end of the Notes, page 592, of this volume.

knowledgment is due to Mr. Heber for his accustomed serve his friends, and to promote literary exertion, by lending me, or obtaining for me, scarce books which I not otherwise have had the means of consulting; and to Bindley, of the Stamp Office, who, with that singular ur- which distinguishes him, has permitted me at all times to it his valuable and extensive library. I owe it to that eman in particular that I have been able to give the l cut of Wyatt at page ci, after Holbein's plate prefixed Leland's Nænia. It has been taken from his copy of that y rare publication. I have to thank Mr. Bindley also his permission to reprint the interesting account of the uking off of Anne Boleyn's marriage with the Lord rey from Sir Roger Tyndale's MS. now in his possession. stands N° II. in the Appendix.

As for the contents of the remaining part of this volume, that is to say, the Memoirs of Wyatt's Life, the Essay, and the Notes upon his Poems, it might be expected I should say something to excuse their defects, and bespeak a favourable reception for them. But I forbear; not from indifference, for I feel much solicitude as to the event, but from reflecting that the public cannot be influenced by motives of private consideration. Their praise and censure ought, I am sensible, to be awarded, and for the most part is bestowed, according to the real merit of a work.

I cannot, refrain however, from reminding the reader, that the present, as well as the foregoing volume, may claim to be in almost every part entirely new. Those who had treated of the subject

before me, were far from affording me any real assistance. quent instances I was misled by them, and was obliged at la to cancel what I had written upon their authority. Of the p they had advanced many were deficient in proof, which left to seek for; still more were unfounded; those I was upon to confute. In addition to this I must urge that never yet was an antient author edited in the first instan as to leave nothing imperfect, nothing undesired.

For the minor defects of the work, such as typogra cal errors, and the occasional mistake of a name or a word trust it will be permitted me to claim, and receive considera allowance.*

The necessity of residing at a distance from Lond deprived me of one advantage which every author is anxio to enjoy, that of correcting the press upon the spot. The wa of this advantage has been the occasion of a few errors creepin into the work, as they were discovered too late to be reclaimed In some places, I am sorry to say, I have been under the ne cessity of suppressing notices and references; for I had not the means of verifying them, by consulting the MSS. in the British Museum, and the other great repositories of Public Docu ments, whence they had been originally taken; and, in more than one instance, have I been obliged, though with great reluc tance, to leave points untouched which I wished to prosecute, as

* Thus, at page vii. l. 10. it ought to have been "Sir Anthony," instead of "Sir Henry Lee," and at page 45 of the poems line ult. we ought to read "threat" for "treat."

not enter upon them without absenting myself from my residence, when absence was impracticable. Those indeed, it may be said, might have been put off until another; but it did not become me to protract a publication that had been retarded too long already.

If the above mentioned circumstance has been of some service to the present publication, it would be in vain for me to deny. But the inconvenience is too small to be dwelt upon. It would become however a real ground of regret should the same cause operate to the prejudice of other publications, more important than mine can pretend to be. For that will tend to discourage learned and laborious works generally; and silently take the concerns of our national literature out of the hands of the Clergy, who have long borne a principal part in conducting it; and put it into the *hands of those* only, who, having no restraint upon their time, may follow objects of literary pursuit when, and where, and how they please.

That the fidelity, and sanctity with which Clergymen of the established Church have conducted themselves in this great point of national concern, may be received as part of that high duty which they owe to Religion, we will humbly presume to hope. That the Community at large, stands deeply indebted to them for it, we will boldly venture to affirm. For when a Clergyman enters upon any work, whether of History, or of Travel, or of Natural History, or Poetry, or Criticism, or even of rational amusement, he brings with him, not merely habits of restraint and

a sense of propriety, but habits of pious and holy thought formed on the contemplation of higher objects than any that human literature can supply. Hence he rejects with indignation whatever tends to corrupt the mind of his reader, as well as vitiate his taste; and turns instinctively alike from impurity and irreligion, drawing attention to those ideas only, which are in themselves, essentially good. The deviations from this line of conduct, if any, are so few, that they cannot in correct reasoning be even noticed, since they establish, rather than disprove, the point in question.

If, therefore, our general Literature has been able hitherto to boast of an higher degree of purity than that of some of the other great nations of Europe, this may be attributed, I conceive, principally, to the cause above mentioned. Let us contemplate the instance of France alone to the contrary. There the general Literature of the country had fallen out of the hands of the established Clergy, into the hands, almost exclusively, of the Laity, or of such as could hardly be said to belong to the sacred Profession. How dreadful have been the consequences to the peace and virtue, not of France alone, but of the whole world! For what has been the cause which of late years has so much relaxed the ties of moral and religious obligation, and disposed men fearlessly to engage in sceptical inquiries, and licentious indulgence? What! but the prevailing influence of a corrupt Literature moulded to meet the taste, and suit the dark designs of a set of men, who not restrained by any sense of that decorum which is due to character, and therefore braving

public opinion, had succeeded in poisoning all the sources of fair and honourable knowledge; had made Science subservient to infidelity; and had prostituted Poetry and Polite Letters to the base purposes of vice, by undermining moral principle, and by encouraging the most seductive, and therefore the most dangerous propensities of human frailty.

Winchester, May 1816.

PREFACE.

Of Wyatt's Poems contained in this Volume, the far greater part are here given from early and authentic MSS; by means of which the text of those pieces that before had been printed inaccurately, is restored to its original state; and many others have been added, which till now had been suffered to remain unpublished. Of the MSS. themselves, I feel it incumbent upon me to give a particular description.

The first MS. I had access to was one supplied by Dr. Harington of Bath. I have cited it uniformly as the Harington MS. No. I.

It is a small folio, consisting originally of about two hundred and seventy pages; some of which have been torn away, and some mutilated. It was Sir Thomas Wyatt's own MS.; and, with the exception of a few pieces to be hereafter specified, contains his poems exclusively.

The first part of the volume, as far as page 121, was written evidently by an amanuensis; but Wyatt himself seems to have corrected carefully the whole of what had been transcribed, inserting such lines and words as had been omitted, and frequently making alterations. He has added also his name in the margin of almost every page, sometimes at full length,

sometimes giving his Christian name, Tho: or his initials, T. V. only.

The pieces which follow after page 121 as far as page 207 are in Sir Thomas Wyatt's own hand-writing throughout; the two letters from Spain excepted, which are copied into the book in the hand-writing of Sir Thomas Wyatt the son. All those pieces are written carelessly, and have frequent erasures and alterations; which prove that Wyatt made use of the book latterly for the rough draughts only of his compositions. This will account for the imperfect state in which many of them appear. Thus at page 125, one of the stanzas of the ode which begins,

Th' answer that ye made to me, my dear,

has been left unfinished; a circumstance which has been pointed out in the notes on the ode itself, at page 349. In one instance we find that Wyatt, having finished a piece to his satisfaction, had crossed it over with his pen, and copied it fair at another page. Further on we find him writing in the margin the following couplet, not noticed in any of the printed editions, which he meant to have inserted into the song of Iopas:

And it is like that [illegible] me think these starres all
Observe this path which they do pass within that heavenly hall.

And finally, at page 137, we meet with these two lines, which were the beginning of a translation of Petrarch's Ode,

Di pensier in pensier, di monte in monte

From thought to thought, from hill to hill Love doth me lead;
Clean contrary from restful life these common paths I tread.

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DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

Portrait of Sir T. Wyatt to face the Title.

Fac-Similes to face the Letters.

POEMS.

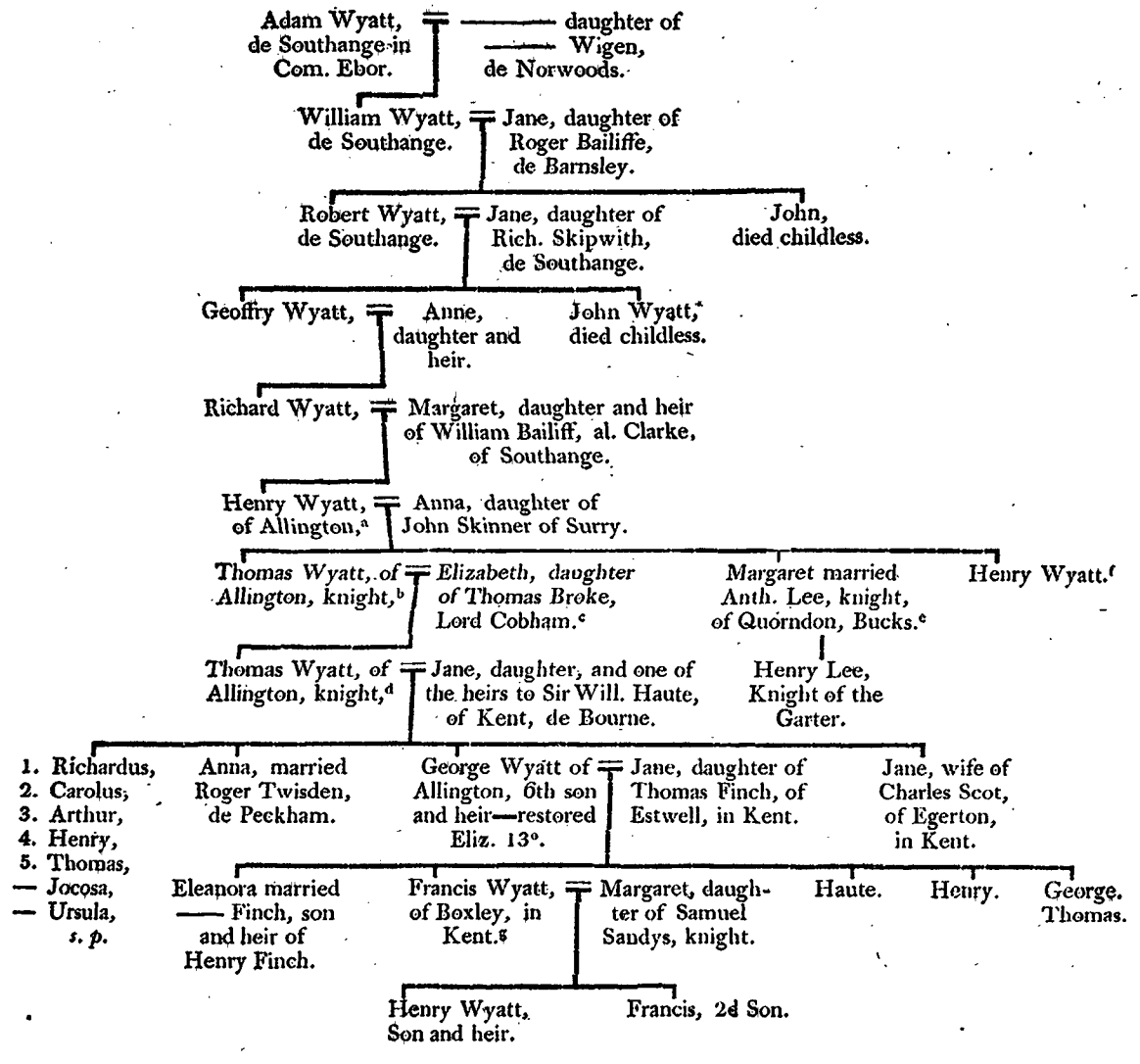
MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE

OF

SIR THOMAS WYATT.

PEDIGREE OF THE FAMILY OF WYATT.

Vincent, Kent, 116. *p.* 73.


Adam Wyatt, de Southange in Com. Ebor.
——— daughter of ——— Wigen, de Norwoods.
William Wyatt, de Southange.
Jane, daughter of Roger Bailiffe, de Barnsley.
Robert Wyatt, de Southange.
Jane, daughter of Rich. Skipwith, de Southange.
John, died childless.
Geoffry Wyatt,
Anne, daughter and heir.
John Wyatt,* died childless.
Richard Wyatt,
Margaret, daughter and heir of William Bailiff, al. Clarke, of Southange.
Henry Wyatt, of Allington,[a]
Anna, daughter of John Skinner of Surry.
Thomas Wyatt, of Allington, knight,[b]
Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Broke, Lord Cobham.[c]
Margaret married Anth. Lee, knight, of Quorndon, Bucks.[e]
Henry Wyatt.[f]
Thomas Wyatt, of Allington, knight,[d]
Jane, daughter, and one of the heirs to Sir Will. Haute, of Kent, de Bourne.
Henry Lee, Knight of the Garter.
1. Richardus,
2. Carolus,
3. Arthur,
4. Henry,
5. Thomas,
— Jocosa,
— Ursula,
s. p.
Anna, married Roger Twisden, de Peckham.
George Wyatt of Allington, 6th son and heir—restored Eliz. 13°.
Jane, daughter of Thomas Finch, of Estwell, in Kent.
Jane, wife of Charles Scot, of Egerton, in Kent.
Eleanora married —— Finch, son and heir of Henry Finch.
Francis Wyatt, of Boxley, in Kent.[g]
Margaret, daughter of Samuel Sandys, knight.
Haute.
Henry.
George.
Thomas.
Henry Wyatt, Son and heir.
Francis, 2d Son.

[a] Knighted in the Tower, by Hen. VIII. at his Coronation.
[b] Knighted at Westminster, xxvi°. Hen. VIII.
[c] She married, after Sir Thomas Wyatt's death, Edward Warner, knight.
[d] Knighted before the 1st of Edward VI: attainted A. 1°. M. and P.
[e] Ancestor of the Earls of Litchfield.
[f] This branch of the family settled afterwards in Essex.
[g] Knighted at Windsor, 7th July, 1618.

To be placed before the Memoirs.

MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE

OF

SIR THOMAS WYATT.

Sir Thomas Wyatt, generally called Sir Thomas Wyatt the Elder, the friend of Henry of Surrey, and with him one of the first improvers of the English language, and restorers of modern English poetry, was descended from an ancient and honourable family originally of Southange, in Yorkshire, where they had attained to a considerable degree of consequence as early as the reign of Edward the Third.[1] Sir Henry Wyatt, father to

[1] A branch of the family seems to have settled at Oundle in Northamptonshire. Joan, the widow of Robert Wyatt, founded there in the 4th of Edward IV. a Fraternity in honour of the Virgin, St. John, and St. George. It was endowed with revenues for two priests, who, at the suppression of the monasteries, had each a salary of 5l. 3s. 8d. Robert Wyatt, probably son to Joan Wyatt, dying in 1494, was buried in the chapel of St. John the Baptist, leaving xl shillings to the Gild of the Blessed Virgin; vis. viii d. to her chapel, and the same to the chapels of the Holy Trinity and St. Thomas. He left also xiii s. viii d. to the repairs of Ashton and Oundle bridge. See *Bridges' Northamptonshire, Vol. II. p.* 410 *and p.* 412. See also *Leland's Itinerary, Vol. I. p.* 3 *and* 4. where mention is made of other endowments of Robert Wyatt (whom Leland calls a merchant) and his widow Joan Wyatt. He there spells the name Viate. It should be observed generally, that the name is spelt variously, Wiat, Wiot, Wyote, and Wyott. In Latin it was written Viatus.

Sir Thomas Wyatt the poet, was a man of singular wisdom, prudence, and ability; and was highly esteemed as well by Henry the Seventh, a King who never bestowed his favour lightly upon any one, as by his less tractable successor, Henry the Eighth. We have not been informed what the particular occasion was which first introduced Sir Thomas Wyatt's father to Henry the Seventh's notice; but as we are told that he was imprisoned by Richard the Third; and as we learn that he was afterwards liberated by Henry, immediately upon his taking possession of the Throne, we may conclude him to have been one of the party which had early espoused the cause of the House of Lancaster, and that he had in consequence become an object of jealousy to Richard. We are told that he was confined in the Tower; and a story is related of his having been saved from starving when there by a favourite cat, who was used to bring food to him daily in his dungeon.[1] This circumstance, although it bears at first sight the appearance of a legendary tale, is entitled to some degree of credit, as it is recorded in the Epitaph which one of Sir Henry Wyatt's immediate descendants placed afterwards on the monument raised to his memory at Boxley in Kent.[2] But, in

[1] The tradition is, that the cat brought him a pigeon every day from a neighbouring dove-house; and I have been told that many of the old inhabitants of Boxley say they remembered the figure of a pigeon affixed to Sir Henry Wyatt's monument, commemorative of the event. The bird so affixed was probably an ostrich, which was one of the crests used by the Wyatt family; it being a general custom in those days to place the family crest on the tomb of any person of distinction. The common people were not likely to attend minutely to the form of the bird designed, and would be readily disposed to call it a pigeon, from the support it seemed to give to their legendary tale. The story is mentioned in *Hasted's Kent, Vol. II. p.* 184, and *Walpole's Miscel. Antiq. No. II. p. 7.*

[2] I give the whole inscription as it has been obligingly communicated to me by the Rev. Mr. Cockburn, the present Vicar of Boxley. The monument, he informs me, is of white marble, and is placed on the wall at the north side of the chancel.

whatever manner he was preserved, that he was imprisoned is certain; though Walpole, I know not why, seems to doubt the fact:[1] for Sir Thomas Wyatt, speaking of his father, expressly tells us that "the malice of his enemies kept him two

"Edwin Wyatt serjeant at law, son and heir male of Sir Francis Wyatt, of Boxley Abby, and Margaret his wife, was at one time Justice of peace of this county, Recorder of Canterbury, and Recorder and burgess in Parliament for the corporation of Maidstone; one of the council of the court before the president and council in the Marches in Wales, and the Chief-Justice of the grand session for the counties of Carmarthen, Pembroke, and Cardigan. He married Frances, second daughter and co-heir of Thomas Crisp, of Quex in Thanet, Esq. by whom he had Thomas, and other sons, and Margaretta, and other daughters, buried in this chancel; and hath Edwin, Francis, and Richard, and erected this monument to the memory of Sir Henry Wyatt, of Allington Castle, Knight Banneret, descended of that ancient family; who was imprisoned and tortured in the Tower in the reign of Richard the Third, kept in that dungeon, when fed and preserved by a cat. He married Anne, daughter of Thomas Skinner, of Surrey, Esq. was of the Privy Council to King Henry VII. and King Henry VIII. and left one son, Sir Thomas Wyatt of Allington-Castle, who was Esquire of the body to King Henry VIII. and married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Brooke Lord Cobham, and well known for learning and embassies in the reign of that King. Sir Thomas Wyatt, of Allington-Castle, his only son, married Jane, youngest daughter of Sir William Hawte of this county, and was beheaded in the reign of Queen Mary, leaving George Wyatt, his only son that lived to age, who married Jane, daughter of Thomas Finch, of Eastwell, and Katherine his wife; restored in blood by Act of Parliament on the thirteenth of Queen Elizabeth, and leaving also two daughters; Anne, who married Roger Twysden, of Royden-Hall, Esq. and Jane, who married Thomas Scott, Esq. George Wyatt was succeeded by his eldest son Sir Francis Wyatt, twice governor of Virginia, and married Margaret, daughter of Sir Samuel Sandys, of Ombersley in Warwickshire. George Wyatt left also Hawte Wyatt, who died Vicar of this parish, and hath issue living in Virginia; and left also Eleanora, married to Sir John Finch, of Forditch. Sir Francis Wyatt, by his wife Margaret, had issue the said Edwin Wyatt, and also Elizabeth, who married Thomas Bosville, of Little Mote Einesford, Esq. and by him had Margaretta, his only daughter and heir, who is married to Sir Thomas Marsham, of the Mote in Maidstone, Knight and Baronet."

[1] Walpole, *ut sup. p. 7.* He supposes, but most erroneously, that Sir Henry Wyatt's name had been confounded with that of Sir Thomas Wyatt; and that the son's imprisonment had been mistaken for the father's.

"years in stocks and in irons;" but he speaks of Scotland as having been the scene of his sufferings.[1]

Sir Henry Wyatt must have been early placed by Henry the Seventh in situations of emolument, as well as of trust; for we find that about the year 1493 he bought of one Robert Brent the Castle and estate of Allington, near Maidstone in Kent, which his family, so long as they retained it, always made their chief place of residence.[2] He purchased also about the same time of the Marquess of Dorset the estate and Mansion-House of the

[1] See his first letter to his son at p. 272. Sir H. Wyatt had a younger brother called William, who settled at Barking in Essex. He obtained two thirds of the Manor of Sutton, and the advowson of that Living from the Crown. See *Morant's Essex*. In 1504, he had a lease for forty years of Bradwell from Queen Elizabeth, widow to Edward IV. He died September 20, 1532.

[2] For some account of Allington-Castle, see *Hasted's Kent, Vol. II. p.* 184, *Grose's Antiquities, Vol. II.* and, *Phillepot's Villare Cantianum, p.* 41. It should be remarked, however, that their accounts by no means agree as to the history of the first foundation of the castle. It seems originally to have been built by the Saxons; but having been destroyed by the Danes, it remained for a long time a place of no importance, until rebuilt and fortified in the reign of Edward I. by Sir Stephen de Penchester, from whom it was called Allington-Penchester. He dying without male issue, it came into the possession of Stephen de Cobham, who had married Margaret, daughter and coheir to Penchester. With that family it remained until the reign of Edward IV. when it was purchased by a person of the name of Brent, of whom it was re-purchased by Sir Henry Wyatt. Such at least is Phillepot's account. On Sir Thomas Wyatt's attainder in 1554, Allington reverted to the Crown, and was given afterwards by Elizabeth to the Astley family. The castle, though partly in ruins, still serves as a residence to a farmer, and three or four labourers. The situation is singularly pretty. It stands in an angle of a sweetly verdant meadow surrounded on three sides by the Medway. The opposite bank is abrupt, and clothed with hanging woods. The grounds behind the castle form a gentle declivity, varied with groves of wood and hop-grounds intermixed. The country dame, who shews the castle to strangers, takes them to one of the towers, and tells them it is the identical place where the old Sir Henry was imprisoned; and then points to an adjoining dovecote, whence the faithful cat, she assures them, regularly took the pigeon every day to support her master with.

Mote, lying at a small distance to the east of Maidstone, at present the seat of the Earls of Romney.[1]

The scanty memorials of those days do not supply us with many particulars respecting the services in which Sir Henry Wyatt was employed.[2] We learn however that he was Privy Counsellor to Henry the Seventh, who made him one of the executors to his will; and that after his death the Countess of Richmond nominated him one of the Council for the management of public affairs until the young King should be able to transact business himself, knowing him to have been of the number of those whom the late King most trusted and esteemed.[3] Henry the Eighth, either from the respect he paid to the judgement of his father and that of the Countess of Richmond his grandmother, or from the knowledge he had himself obtained of Wyatt's abilities and integrity, continued him in places of trust and honour, and ever afterwards retained him about his person.[4] The first mark of favour he bestowed upon him was

[1] *Hasted's Kent, Vol. II.* The Earl of Romney has at the Mote several portraits of the Wyatt family. Among them is one of Sir Henry Wyatt on board, which seems to answer the description given of his portrait by Walpole. Miscell. Ant. No. II. p. 7. It represents an old man of a grave and venerable appearance, in a dark gown, with a gold collar round his neck. The manner in which the family of the Earls of Romney became connected with the Wyatts, is mentioned in the Epitaph in note [2], page ii.

[2] One of the last pieces of service in which we find Sir Henry Wyatt employed by Henry VII. was that of conducting to the Tower, on the 24th of March 1506, Edmund de la Pole Earl of Suffolk, whom Henry had prevailed on the King of Castile to surrender, at the time of his being detained an accidental guest in the English Court. See *Bacon's Henry VII. Works, Vol. V. p.* 178. and *Stow, p.* 484.

[3] Herbert's Henry VIII. p. 2.

[4] Henry seems to have early bestowed substantial marks of favour on Sir H. Wyatt. The first lands forfeited to the Crown in his reign were those of Sir Richard Emson. Out of those lands he bestowed on Wyatt the manor and advowson of Wooton, and lands in Quinton in Northamptonshire. Wyatt in 1523, presented to the living of Wooton; and again in 1526,

that of making him a Knight of the Bath at the Tower on the day of his Coronation, the 23d of July 1509.[1] He afterwards made him a Knight Banneret in the field after the Battle of Spurs in August 1513, on which occasion Sir Henry Wyatt seems to have had a command of an hundred men at arms in the right wing of the army.[2] In 1516 he was appointed to sit in the Star Chamber on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays; and in Chancery on Wednesdays and Saturdays, with the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Surrey.[3] He was about the same time made Knight Marshal, and in that capacity was nominated to attend Henry the Eighth to Calais in 1519, when the famous interview took place between the two Kings in the plains of Ardres.[4] In 1521, we find him Keeper of the

and in 1531, Sir Thomas Wyatt seems to have sold that estate in 1541 to J. Alleyn, a citizen of London. See *Bridges' Northamptonshire; Vol. I. p.* 393. In Rymer's Fœdera, mention is made of Sir H. Wyatt as Senescallus de Tickhul et Bradford, 1st H. VIII. and 3d H. VIII. as Constabularius et Janitor de Tickhul. He seems also to have been Constabularius de Lonestall et Armounderness. In 1522 or 1523, he obtained a particular licence of the King to dis-gavell his lands in Kent. See *Robinson's History of Gavell Kind*, and *Hasted's Kent.*

[1] See *Beatson's Political Index.* Sir Henry Wyatt does not appear to have been knighted in Henry VIIth's reign. For we find him mentioned in Manning's Surry as having had the patronage of Barnes in 1507, when he is described as being simply Mr. H. Wyatt. In 1509, however, the 1st of Henry VIII. he is styled Sir Henry Wyatt. He seems, from Manning, to have had several estates in Surrey, particularly at and near Camberwell. In the Act of Resumption, passed 1485, 1st Henry VII. an exception is made in favour of "our well-beloved Henry Wyatt," for the Warnership of Methwold in Norfolk, parcel of the Dutchy of Lancaster, held by him by letters patent." He is also mentioned again "as our well-beloved servant," holding the castle and the jail at Norwich.

[2] Cotton MSS. Cal. E. I. 58. There is, however, no date on the MSS. to fix positively the time of his having had this command.

[3] Lansdown MSS. No. 1, p. 44.

[4] See Manning's Surrey, *Vol. III. App. p. xxvi.* and Ducarrel's Anglo-Norman Antiquities, as there cited.

King's Jewels.[1] In 1527, he had the honour of entertaining the King at Allington, who going his progress round Kent, stopped there some little time, waiting to receive Wolsey, then returning from his Embassy into France;[2] and in 1533, we learn that he was the King's Ewerer; an office formerly of no small distinction.[3]

Sir Henry Wyatt seems to have married about 1502, at which time he probably was forty-two years old.[4] His wife was Anne, daughter of John Skinner, of Reigate in Surrey.[4] By her he had three children: Margaret, who married Sir Henry Lee, ancestor to the Earls of Litchfield;[5] Henry, who settled early in Kent, where he seems to have constantly resided, leading the life of a retired private gentleman;[6] and Thomas, the elder son, the subject of our present enquiries.

He was born at Allington Castle in Kent, in 1503; and it is probable that he passed his childhood and received his early education there, under his father's eye; though it is not known who his preceptor was, or who were the friends and the companions of his youth. It is possible that he might have been educated in part by the famous Lily, who had been appointed Master of St. Paul's School by Colet, in 1512; which school Colet had then just founded. But if that was the case, he

[1] Walpole's Miscell. Antiq. No. II, p. 567.

[2] See Cavendish's History of Cardinal Wolsey, ch. xiii. Cavendish seems to imply that Wyatt did not receive Wolsey with as much cordiality or distinction as he had expected.

[3] Holinshed, *Vol. III. p.* 785. *and Stow, p.* 567.

[4] Collins's Peerage, *Vol. III. p.* 428.

[5] See Heralds' College, Essex, c. 21, 1634. His son Edward settled at Rainham, in Essex, and was buried at Tottingham.

[6] Leland, speaking of his friendship with Wyatt, says,

Me tibi conjunxit comitem gratissima Granta.

There is an ambiguity in these words. It is not clear from them, whether Leland became

could not have remained long under his tuition, for we find that he went to Cambridge about the year 1515; though he could not then have been more than twelve years old. He was entered there of St. John's College, and took his Bachelor's Degree in 1518, and afterwards proceeded to his Master's Degree in 1520.

The precise period when Wyatt quitted Cambridge is not known. It would form a pleasing sort of romance to believe, as some have supposed, that he remained there long enough to see Surrey arrive, if indeed Surrey ever went to Cambridge, and that those noble youths began then to form the generous enterprise of improving and refining their native tongue. But there does not seem any ground whatever to warrant the conjecture. Surrey must have been too young at that time to have either quitted his father's house, or to have been in any respect Wyatt's companion.[1]

Wood says, that Wyatt, on leaving Cambridge, went to study at Wolsey's College at Oxford. I believe this assertion to have originated in Wood's desire to claim for Oxford the credit of having educated all the learned men of the times.[2] It seems plainly confuted by facts. Wolsey's College was not even incorporated until 1524; and Wyatt was then one of the

acquainted with Wyatt when at Cambridge, or whether he accompanied him thither. Leland, we know, was educated at St. Paul's School by Lily. He took his bachelor's degree at Cambridge in 1521, or 1522. This might seem to imply, that he went to the University later than Wyatt. But persons who were not affluent, were obliged to regulate the time of their taking their degrees by their ability to bear the expence. Leland was an orphan, educated by the bounty at first of a Mr. Thomas Miles. Henry VIII. afterwards gave him the means of going abroad to study at Paris. *See Encomia, p.* 26, 41, 42.

[1] See Vol. I. p. xi.

[2] Athenæ Oxon. Vol. I. p. 124. Ed. 1813.

King's household; had been introduced by his father at Court, and had begun to bear a conspicuous part in the busy scenes of public life. We learn this from Hall, who relates very circumstantially a magnificent feat of arms performed at Greenwich before the King in 1525, at the Feast of Christmas, by Wyatt and the other gentlemen of the King's bedchamber. The whole of the enterprise presents a curious picture of the manners of those times, where magnificence and ingenuity, valour and pedantry, courtesy and puerile conceit, were heaped together in rude but splendid profusion.

The enterprise was announced by the Defendants sending to the Queen their herald, Chateau Blanche, magnificently "dressed "in a coat of arms of red silk with a goodly castle and four tur- "rets of beaten silver, and in every turret a fair lady gorgeously "apparelled." Entering into the Queen's great chamber, the King himself being present, the herald there caused his trumpet to be blown, and then delivered his message, which was; "That "the King having given to four maidens of his court the Castle of "Loyalty to dispose of at their pleasure, they had committed the "custody thereof to a captain and fifteen gentlemen with him;'

[1] This conceit of a castle delivered to the keeping of ladies, was a common one. Hall relates, that at a costly supper which was given by Wolsey to the King, "a tower was brought into the banquetting-chamber, kept by ladies of strange names. The first was Beauty, the second Honour, the third Perseverance, the fourth Kindness, the fifth Constancy, the sixth Bounty, the seventh Mercy, the eighth Pity. These eight ladies had Milan gowns of white satin. Every lady had her name embroidered with gold on their head-cauls, and Milan bonnets of gold, with jewels. Underneath the base Fortress of the Castle, were eight other ladies, whose names were Danger, Disdain, Jealousy, Unkindness, Scorn, Mal-bouche, Strangeness: these ladies were tired like to women of Inde. Then entered eight Lords in cloth of gold, caps and all, and great mantle cloaks of blue satin. These lords were named Amorous, Nobleness, Youth, Attendance, Loyalty, Pleasure, Gentleness, and Liberty. The King was chief of this company. This company was led by one all in crimosin satin, with

" which said captain and gentlemen declared to all Kings and " Princes, and gentlemen of noble courage, that they would de- " fend the castle against all comers, provided they were gentle- " men of name, and arms;" reserving to themselves the privilege of giving the pattern of the weapons to be used, and of fixing the ransom of the prisoners that should be taken during the assault; which was, " four yards of satin for every private " man, and thirteen yards for every captain." The challenge was accepted by the King in form, and the day after St. John the Evangelist's day, the enterprise began. It lasted until the eighth of February, when, " every man having journeyed as his " course came, and many a sword being broken, and many a " good stripe given, and every man having stricken his full num- " ber of twelve strokes, the combatants were severed and dis- " armed," and then the whole achievement closed.[1]

It is clear from this circumstance therefore that Wood's assertion, of Wyatt's having gone to study at Oxford is very doubtful, to say the least of it. It appears to me I own altogether unworthy of credit. For, if we refer to dates, we shall

burning flames of gold, called Ardent Desire, which so moved the ladies to give over the castle. But Scorn and Disdain said they would hold the place. Then Desire said the ladies should be won, and came and encouraged the knights. Then the lords ran to the castle, at which time without, was shot a great peal of guns, and the ladies defended the castle with rose-water and comfits, and the lords threw in dates, and oranges, and other fruits, made for pleasure, till at the last the place was won. But Lady Scorn with her company stubbornly defended them with bows, and till they were driven out of the place and fled. Then the lords took the ladies of honour as prisoners by the hands, and danced together very pleasantly." *Chronicles, p.* 631, *Ed.* 1809.

[1] Those who are not in the habit of reading our early historians, whose pages are rich in the description of ancient manners, will not be displeased to see the whole account of the enterprise as given by Hall. As it would be too long for a note, it will be found No. I. of the Appendix.

find that Wyatt was at that very time, not only an attendant at Court, but also a married man. His eldest son Thomas was born about the year 1523 or 1524.[1] Wyatt therefore must have been married as early as 1522 or 1523; so that at the period when Wood supposes him "to have been advancing himself in learning by hearing the Cardinal's lectures" at Oxford, he must have been dividing his time between his attendance at Court, and the society of his wife Elizabeth, daughter to Brook Lord Cobham, in the classic bowers of Allington, on the peaceful and romantic shores of the winding Medway.

Another of Wood's rambling assertions is, that on quitting Oxford Wyatt was sent to travel on the Continent.[2] This has been so often repeated, and is now so generally believed, that it would be difficult without very strong positive evidence to establish the contrary opinion. The event, we may grant, is one highly probable in itself. It is one we should find a pleasure in admitting. But it is extraordinary that if Wyatt did indeed travel into Italy, the circumstance should not have been noticed either by Leland, by Chaloner, or Surrey; and that he himself should not have made some allusion to it in his poems. He notices in them events of far less importance. Such for instance as his occasional journey to Calais, and his being at Mountzon in Catalonia.[3] Had Wyatt ever visited the fascinating scenes of classical antiquity, I

[1] The letters from Sir Thomas Wyatt, when in Spain, to his son, must have been written either in 1538, or in the beginning of 1539, and he describes him as being then sixteen. It should be remarked, however, that in the Inquisition taken on Wyatt's death, in Jan. 1542, his son is described as being then of age. This would make him born in 1521.

[2] See Wood's Athenæ, *Vol. I. p.* 124. *Ed.* 1813. [3] See poems, p. 69: and again, p. 71.

think he would have adverted to them with the same pleasure Milton did in a subsequent age. The reception of the story may be easily accounted for by its probability in the first instance, and by the seeming support it afterwards derived from a casual expression in Puttenham, which has been adduced as a proof, though erroneously, of Surrey's travels into Italy likewise.[1]

That Wyatt might have passed some time as a young man at Paris for the sake of acquiring the French language, and all the polite accomplishments of the age, it would be almost unreasonable to doubt; for it was the universal practice of the times.[2] Still the probable period of his going there must either have been in 1521 or 1522; that is, in the interval between his quitting Cambridge and his marriage; and not as Wood supposes in 1525 or 1526.

[1] Puttenham's Art of English Poetry, *p.* 48. *Ed.* 1813. The passage is cited at length in Surrey's Memoirs, *p. xlii.* note *a:* and the reasons are there given, why the expressions used by Puttenham, are not to be understood literally.

[2] The fashion of going to Paris in those days, as well for the purposes of study as for general improvement in manners, is well known, and has been adverted to in *Vol. I. p. xxvi.* note *b.* We have already noticed the circumstance of Leland's having gone to Paris. Of his Encomia a large number were evidently written thence to his friends in England; and as he omits no occasion to speak of his residence there with complacency, we may infer that it was one of pleasure, as well as advantage. The habits of that dissolute place had, however, the same baneful effects on the minds of the young Englishmen who then went there, they have still been found to have, in modern times. Our English youth came home, and regarded the modest manners and domestic habits of their own country with contempt, and carried the desolating plague of licentious principles into the sacred recesses of private life. This is particularly noticed by Hall; "when they came back again to England," says the honest Chronicler, "they were all French in eating, drinking, and apparel; yea, and in French vices and brags, so that all the estates of England were by them laughed at; the ladies and gentlewomen were dispraised; and nothing by them was praised, but if it were after the French turn." Alas! that the same picture should be still presented to our view; and that mankind should not be wise after the experience of ages!

The next mention that occurs of Wyatt in any of our early historians, is after a long interval of nearly eight years. We are told, by Hall and Holinshed, that at the Coronation of Anne Boleyn, Wyatt officiated for his father as Ewerer. This was in July 1533. But we are not to infer from the silence of those writers, that Wyatt passed the interval either inactively or unnoticed. On the contrary, there is every reason for believing that during the whole of that time he was engaged, either as a volunteer in the army whenever any military expedition was going forward;[1] or else in his attendance at Court, where he shone with peculiar grace, and not only acquired the reputation of being one of the most accomplished gentlemen of the age, but succeeded, though he was still young, in obtaining the King's favour, and even his confidence to a very remarkable degree.

Nor will this be thought extraordinary, when we reflect that Wyatt possessed every qualification to attract the notice and win the esteem of his Royal Master, who, whatever were the faults of his own character, read accurately the characters of other men; and never would be attended but by such as were of a manly and a prepossessing appearance, and were distinguished equally for their talents and their abilities, their spirit of magnificence, and their love of enterprise. These were

[1] In the Dedication to the Penitential Psalms it is expressly said, that Wyatt was renowned "as well for his valiant deeds in martial feats, as for his singular learning." See page 100 This evidently implies his having seen service, and acquitted himself with honour, although no account has been preserved of the particular actions in which he was engaged. Leland makes the same allusion.

Inter Cœlicolas nuper certamen obortum;
Dissidii verò causa Viatus erat.
Mars ait; "Est noster juvenum fortissimus ille."
Phœbus at, "Ingenii flos" ait "ille meus." *Nœnia, v.* 52.

splendid qualities; they were congenial to Henry's disposition; and were all found united in Wyatt.

Those who knew Wyatt personally, describe him to have been finely made; manly, and strong, but elegant in his form; tall, and of an imposing carriage. They say that his face was one of more than common beauty,[1] and that his features were of such a just proportion, that they might have served as a model to a painter or a statuary. His mouth had an expression of singular sweetness; and his eye was so penetrating, that it seemed to read the very thoughts of those with whom he was conversing. Such was his external appearance: his accomplishments were brilliant and universal. He was remarkable alike for his dexterity and address in arms; and for his superior attainments in all the softer and politer arts of peace. He sung, and played sweetly on the lute; and he spoke French, Italian, and Spanish with fluency and elegance. But what distinguished him the most was, his reputation as a poet, and the charm of his conversation.[2] His readiness at repartee was such as astonished

[1] Surrey says, that Wyatt's form was one where "force and beauty met;" and adds, that when he died, Nature lost the mould "of perfect manhood." *See Vol. I. p. 46.* It would have been beneath Surrey to have dwelt on this circumstance, had it not been one so remarkable that it could not with any propriety have passed unnoticed. Leland says, that Nature had given Wyatt a face of extreme beauty, and that his eyes were peculiarly bright and expressive

Addidit huic faciem, quâ non formosior altra.
Læta serenatæ subfixit lumina fronti,
Lumina fulgentes radiis imitantia stellas.

Holbein has left us two portraits of him. One is that from which the print prefixed to this volume is taken; the other is a drawing preserved in his Majesty's collection. The latter represents him as a young man, and with a countenance of great beauty and of a marvellous sweetness of expression.

[2] Wyatt obtained very early a distinguished reputation as a poet. Leland, in an epistle written to him from Paris about the year 1527 or 1528, expressly says that he was then acknowledged to be the most elegant writer of his time. But he could not then have been more

every one who heard him. His wit was inexhaustible; but it was of that playful kind which never created pain by personal satire; and left every one who heard him delighted; because it left him pleased with himself.

Possessed of these advantages, it was no wonder that Wyatt should ingratiate himself with the King. He became, we are told, so great a favourite with him, that his recommendation was a certain road to preferment; and as he was of a generous and benevolent disposition, it soon grew to be a common saying, when any one had been unexpectedly preferred, that "He had been in Wyatt's closet."[1]

than 25 or 26 years old. The Reader will not be displeased to see the piece printed entire: as a specimen of Leland's writing.

Ad Thomam Viatum Equitem Clariss:

Dudlegus, patrias suum hinc in oras
Ornaturus iter, monebat ut te,
Et notum et veterem mihi sodalem,
Impertirem aliqua memor salute.
Feci quod voluit; lubensque certè.
Illum nam studiis tuis sciebam
Vinclis mirifici quibusdam amoris
Conjunctum; ac etiam addo literarum
Fautorem, et niveum quidem, mearum.
Tu nunc fac animum rogo, Viate,
Nostrum, non veneres styli fluentis
Expendas propius nitentiores.
Quas sic Castaliæ tibi Puellæ
Consensu facili simul dederunt
Ut, vel montibus Aŏnis in ipsis
Te natum, chorus æstimet virorum
Doctorum niveus, fuisse plane.
Tu nunc officium vides amici
Qualecunque tui proba, et valeto.

Coll. Vol. V. p. 116.

[1] *See Lloyd's Worthies, Vol. II. p.* 87.

That Wyatt did not avail himself of the King's favour to obtain any office of distinction for himself, may be accounted for by supposing that he had no thoughts at that time of engaging in public business: perhaps he was thinking then only of gaiety and amusement. For this he must be condemned. Whatever wears but the semblance of licentiousness, ought to be held up to reprobation. It should be remembered, however, that Wyatt was at that period a very young man; that he had the dangerous distinction of being a favourite with the King, and that he was the general admiration of the English Court. He was a poet too: and his songs and sonnets were so new to the English nation for the tenderness of the sentiments they expressed, and the elegance of their language, that we may readily believe there were few whose hearts could have heard him complain unmoved. When to this we add, that the poet was eminently handsome, so that even the cloistered scholar could stop to contemplate his person with delight, though we ought not to palliate any thing that is immoral, we may, in consideration of human infirmity, relax somewhat of the severity of censure. Wyatt's levities, at all events, could not have been great; and must have been of short duration. Indeed we should have hardly known that he had been guilty of any levities at all, but by his own self-accusation. In his letter to his son, he reproaches himself with "past folly and unthriftiness," which, he says, had brought him into a thousand dangers; had often procured him private enemies; and had more than once occasioned his imprisonment.[1] Still as we hear

[1] See his first letter to his son, p. 269. It is impossible not to be struck with the severity of the self-reproach which Wyatt uses towards himself on account of his youthful faults. We must therefore believe him, when he adds, that at the time his conduct was the most blameable, he

of no charges against him by his enemies on account of immoral conduct; as on the contrary he was universally spoken of as a man whose life was irreproachable; and as the tenor of his writings shews him to have been of a pious and an eminently religious turn of mind, we may fairly conclude that his behaviour never at any time occasioned public scandal; and that he had not the pain of thinking that his example had been an occasion of offence to others.* It is probable that the natural rectitude of his mind led him to speak of his youthful faults, especially when addressing his son, with greater severity than others would have done.

Nor is any thing unfavourable to Wyatt's character to be inferred from the number of his love verses, or the variety of the objects to whom they are addressed. Many of them were no more than translations from foreign writers. Many perhaps were written to please particular friends; and still more, it is probable, were composed to be sung at those masks and pageants, in which Henry throughout the whole course of his reign delighted, and with which his courtiers and favourites frequently entertained him. The pieces written by Wyatt on those occasions would go further to establish his reputation as a poet, than any he could have written on the subject of his own attachments.

still retained the fear of God, and took no delight in those evil pleasures into which he had been betrayed.

* To this he seems to allude in his paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms, where he says;

—— happy are they that have the wilfulness
Of lust restrained, before it went at large, &c. *p.* 113.

For it should be borne in mind, that this paraphrase was not simply an exercise of skill in Wyatt as a poet, but an exercise of penitence; that it was probably the last thing he ever wrote, and that in writing it he had nothing in view but to express his abhorrence of sin, and to conciliate the favour of God.

Wyatt's verses, however, were not alway without a definite object. Some of them were written in consequence of a romantic attachment he had formed in the folly and inadvertence of youth, which, though innocent as to its motive, had nearly been productive of fatal consequences.

The tragic story of the unfortunate Anne Boleyn, is too well known to be here detailed. Henry had long ceased to regard her as an object of desire; and having turned his light and wavering affections towards the Lady Jane Seymour, it was resolved that his innocent and unsuspecting Queen should be sacrificed; for she stood in the way of his gratification. She was therefore accused of infidelity to the royal bed, and many a disgraceful story was circulated to calumniate the devoted victim. It was said, among other things, that she had long carried on a criminal intercourse with Wyatt, who, we are told, had gone so far as to confess to the King that he had debauched her; and had urged this, in the first instance, as an argument to dissuade him from marrying her.[1] The story is too absurd to

[1] It is difficult to say what is the original authority for this scandalous story. Hearne relates it in his Glossary to Langtoft, *Vol. II. p.* 641. quoting a passage from a MS. of Nicholas Harpsfield, on the subject of Queen Catherine, and says, "that Sir Thomas Wyatt himself told "it to the King, when he endeavoured to dissuade his Majesty from the match, because her con-"duct had been very loose and dishonest, if you will believe," he adds, "what this author observes "in another place." These words would lead us to suppose, that the story is to be found in another part of Harpsfield's MS. which Hearne was then quoting. But a friend of mine has gone over the whole of that MS. carefully for me, and tells me that no mention of Wyatt's name occurs in any part of it. Where then are we to look for the original authority of the story? The first author who relates it, as far as I know, is Saunders, in his work "de Schismate Anglicano." Davanzati has copied it from Saunders. I will give it in his terms, as they are far less offensive than those used by Saunders. As soon as it was known, he says, that Henry intended to marry Anne Boleyn, a general consternation prevailed. "Il Consiglio del Rè per debito di suo uffizio l'avertì non facesse un tanto errore; non disputando come laici del *Jure divino*, ma chiarendo lui con pruove grandissime, oltre al dire popolare, della vita di lei, Anna Bolena, infame e sozza, e presentògli una fede di Tommaso Vuiato, il primo della corte, fatta a esso

need refutation. But as it is certain that Wyatt's name was called in question when Anne Boleyn's conduct was scrutinized, it is reasonable to suppose that something had passed whereon the above calumny was founded. Malice seldom invents. She exercises a more refined cruelty, by raising accusation on some one admitted fact, indifferent perhaps in itself, but which, being perverted, is made to assume the semblance of guilt. It is harder for innocence to explain, than to refute. When something is conceded as true, more than what is true will always be either suspected, or believed.

And this seems to have been the case in the present instance. That Wyatt was innocent of all illicit intercourse with Anne Boleyn both before and after her marriage, must needs be granted, seeing no formal attempt was ever made to fasten the

Consiglio spontaneamente per suo scarico, se al Rè lo dicesse altri, come egli era con Anna Bolena giaciutò. Il Rè stato alquanto sopra di se, rispose. "Voi mi dite queste cose per "amore, e riverenza; ma tutte sono trovati di scimuniti, che ardisco guirare che Anna è puris- "sima virgine." Vuiato, dispiacendogli non esser creduto, disse al Consiglio. "Io, se il Rè vuole la li farò di luogo nascoso vedere gittarmisi al collo;" perchè forte l' amava. Carlo Brandon Duca di Suffolc portò l' ambasciata. Il Rè rispose, "Vuiato mostra d' essere un "ruffiano audace e sospettoso. Io non voglio vedere questi spettacoli." Ad Anna tutto contò, e cacciollo di Corte, che fu poi la sua salute; perche sarebbe, quando scoperti furono i vituperii di lei, capitato male con gli altri bertoni. *Schisma d' Inghilterra Ed. Comino, p.* 24. I need not stop to refute this story; it refutes itself. We may fairly draw from it, however, this inference, that some dishonourable report had been in circulation respecting Wyatt and Anne Boleyn, which Saunders caught at, without stopping to examine its credibility, as it afforded the means of hurting the feelings, and as he thought of lowering the character of Elizabeth. Fuller and Lloyd both speak of Wyatt's supposed intercourse with Anne Boleyn; but they deliver themselves in such general terms, that it is difficult to say exactly what they themselves believed. Lloyd's account is but the transcript of Fuller's. Fuller says, "Sir Thomas Wyatt fell, *as I have heard,* into King Henry's disfavour about the business of Queen Anna Boleyn, till by his industry, *innocence,* and discretion, he extricated himself." *Worthies of Kent, p.* 81. Here Fuller speaks only of what he had heard; what he says afterwards of Wyatt's *innocence,* proves that he could not have heard, certainly did not credit, Harpsfield's story. See *Lloyd's Worthies, Vol. II. p.* 86. *and Walpole's Mis. Ant. No. II. p.* 11.

crime upon him when the means of ascertaining his guilt, had he been guilty, could not have been wanting. On the other hand, however, it is probable that he had been known, at some period of his life, to have regarded Anne Boleyn with affection; otherwise we shall be at a loss to account for his name, in particular, having been called in question.

As no regular detail of the history of Wyatt's attachment to Anne Boleyn has been preserved, we must be content to connect the few facts we do know respecting it by conjecture; and as she was too young to have attracted notice before she went to live at the French Court, and as she then began to be distinguished for her beauty and accomplishments, we may suppose that Wyatt first saw and admired her there; and that he afterwards renewed his acquaintance with her when she came to England, and attended as maid of honour upon Queen Catherine. The situation he himself held at Court must have given him frequent opportunities both of seeing her and conversing with her. Anne Boleyn's personal charms and manners were such as could not but have attracted Wyatt's admiration, whilst his own were of a nature likely to make an impression upon her youthful and susceptible mind. Anne Boleyn and Wyatt were both nearly of the same age; they had both the same love for polite accomplishments, and were both fond of poetry and music: both excelled in wit and conversation; and both probably had contracted a predilection for the ease and elegance of foreign manners. It is true that Wyatt was then a married man; and that he therefore could not aspire to more than Anne Boleyn's confidence and friendship. These she deemed herself at liberty to give; for it was one of the follies, we may say one of the faults of that age to admit of Platonic

attachments; a fault growing out of the old-established system of chivalry, which encouraged attachments of that sort; and, by a strange combination of passion and principle, exacted, and often produced, the most romantic exercise of virtue.[1] Anne Boleyn therefore, the manners of the times allowing it, had no reason for withholding her esteem and favour openly from a person who was universally acknowledged to be in every way deserving of it.

Thus circumstanced, we may believe Wyatt and Anne Boleyn to have mutually regarded each other with the lively tenderness of an innocent, but a dangerous friendship. Often, I have no doubt, did Wyatt make her the subject of his most empassioned strains: and often did she listen with complacency to his numbers, which, while they gratified her love of present admiration, promised to confer upon her charms some portion of that poetic immortality which the romantic passion of Petrarch had bestowed on Laura's.

Wyatt probably had now attained to that happiness which he describes himself as having at one period of his life enjoyed.

> What earthly thing more can I crave?
> What would I wish more at my will!
> Nothing on earth more would I have,
> Save what I have to have it still.

[1] The Romances of those days, though they are open to all the objections which Ascham in his honest indignation urges against them, may be fairly referred to on this point. All the heroes proposed as objects of imitation in them carry Platonic love to the highest pitch of perfection. Nothing is more frequent than to hear of the chivalrous Lover compelled to pass whole nights with the Lady committed to his guardianship in the same chamber, or on the same couch: in all which cases, drawing his sword, and placing it with the sharp edge towards himself, he gave his Lady the sacred assurance that he would die rather than transgress the bounds of propriety. That this romantic principle would be abused, was clearly shewn by the event. See *St. Palaye Mem. sur l'Ane. Chev. Vol. II, p.* 21 *and* 72. But we need look no further than Spenser's Fairy Queen, and Sir Philip Sidney's Works, to convince us that the

But his happiness was of a nature to be inevitably mingled with much alloy. Anne Boleyn's charms could not but attract admirers, and he must have lived in constant apprehension of rivals. He soon found one in the Lord Percy, eldest son to the Earl of Northumberland, who was the more formidable, as he did not limit his pretensions to those of Platonic love, but formed the design of marrying Anne Boleyn, and had gone so far as even to contract himself to her.[1] Wyatt however was soon delivered of this rival by another, who proved too mighty for them both.

The King had long secretly admired Anne Boleyn; and finding her as virtuous as she was beautiful, had no alternative but that of making her his Queen. Henry's intention once announced, all the romantic illusion of Wyatt's attachment was destroyed, and he was from that time forward to contemplate his mistress as his Sovereign. He had too much good sense, as well as principle, not to see the line of conduct it became him to pursue. He relinquished all claim to Anne Boleyn's affection, though we may collect from his writings that he made the sacrifice with reluctance, as well as pain; and that he could not suppress altogether the emotions of jealousy, when he beheld his too powerful rival engross all those attentions which had so lately been bestowed upon himself. It may be a doubt, whether Anne Boleyn might

system of Platonic love, aspiring to ideal excellence and wholly unconnected with the senses, was even so late as Elizabeth's times encouraged, and admired as being compatible with virtue, and perfective of it.

[1] See Burnet's *Hist. of Ref. Vol I. p.* 45; and Cavendish's *Hist. of Card. Wolsey, Ch. ix.* The same story is mentioned in a curious MS. belonging originally to Sir Roger Twysden. He had the relation from one of the Wyatt family, who evidently was one of Wolsey's household, and a witness to what passed. That MS. is now in the possession of J. Binley, Esq. I am indebted to his friendship for the permission of printing it, where it will be found at No. II. of the Appendix.

not have carried her rigour towards her former friend further than was actually necessary. Perhaps she did; or, what was the same to Wyatt's feelings, he thought she did; and under that impression he would naturally complain, as we find him doing in many of his poems, of undeserved cruelty and neglect. He did not, however, quit the Court. He had not, probably, the resolution to do so; chusing rather to indulge himself with the sight of his former mistress, than, by a becoming effort of reason, erase her image from his mind by absence. This accounts for his having been of Anne Boleyn's train when she went, as Marchioness of Pembroke, from Dover to Calais in 1532, a short time previous to her marriage.[1] After that event had taken place, and she had been crowned Queen, at which ceremony, as we have already noticed, Wyatt attended as Ewerer, all intimacy of friendship ceased. Anne Boleyn was then raised to such an height above Wyatt, as rendered any familiarity impossible without either criminality or danger. The Queen, however, still cherished a grateful and a tender recollection of her former friend. She is said to have contributed to the advancement of his fortunes. She certainly continued to read, and to admire his songs and sonnets;[2] and

[1] This is the probable meaning of the following lines;

And now I follow the coals that be quent.
From Dover to Calais against my mind. *p.* 69.

"And now I follow, from Dover to Calais, though reluctantly, her who was the cause of that "passion, which I have at last succeeded in extinguishing."

[2] In one of the letters in the Cotton Collection. Otho X. from William Kingston which gave an account of all that Anne Boleyn said and did during her confinement in the Tower, reference is made to Wyatt's songs, which she is evidently described as admiring. That part of the letter is so much damaged by fire, that the sentence cannot be made out entire. Burne saw it before it was injured, and has quoted the paragraph preceding. *Hist. of Ref. Vol. p.* 199. His taking no notice of the paragraph in question, plainly proves that the mentio there made of Wyatt's name was accidental only, and did not reflect either on his characte or on that of the unfortunate Queen.

she retained his sister about her person, as her favourite and confidential attendant.[1]

I offer this detail of Wyatt's attachment to the unfortunate Anne Boleyn, as conjecture only: but the conjecture is supported by so many circumstances of proof, that I believe it to be as near the truth as, at this distance of time, with no other materials than those before us, we now can ever hope to bring it. Some points of it are certain. It is certain, for instance, that Wyatt was questioned as to the nature of his intimacy with the unfortunate Queen.[2] It is certain also that the lady he loved was called Anna:[3] and he more than once alludes, not only to the necessity he had been under of relinquishing his mistress, because a King had set his affections upon her,[4] but tells us plainly that his life had nearly paid the price of his

[1] See Walpole's Mis. Ant. No. II. p. 13. Walpole is, however, incorrect in calling the lady Mrs. Wyatt. Sir Thomas Wyatt had only one sister, Margaret, whose name in 1536 was Lee; for she must have married Sir Anthony Lee as early as 1531, as her son Henry was a youth of ten years of age in 1542. If, therefore, Walpole be correct in calling Anne Boleyn's attendant Mrs. Wyatt, the person could not have been Sir Thomas Wyatt's sister, though she might have been a relation. She might have even been his wife, for in those days the title of Lady, was very frequently dropt, and the general title of Mistress, like the French, Madame, was substituted in its stead.

[2] Wyatt in one of his sonnets, which begins

'You that in love find luck and abundance,' p. 5.

makes a pointed allusion to the danger he had once incurred in May, when, in consequence of some unfortunate attachment, he says that his wealth, and his very life, were brought into great perplexity. It should be remembered, that Anne Boleyn was arrested on the first of May: that she was tried the twelfth, and executed the nineteenth; and that during the whole of that time inquiries and examinations were going forward of all who were in any shape suspected to have had any improper intimacy with her.

[3] One of his poems is addressed "To his Love called Anna," whom he says he still continued to love, though she had rewarded his affection with disdain. *Poems. p.* 80.

[4] See the Sonnet at p. 143, which is there first printed from the Harington MS.

'Whoso list to hunt? I know where is an hind.'

temerity. All these circumstances conspire to support the conjectures advanced above. They receive further confirmation from a tradition of the attachment having been long preserved in Wyatt's family; who were used also to relate that Wyatt's sister was the person whom the unhappy Queen selected to attend her in her dying moments; and for a long time kept, and shewed with veneration as a precious relick, a little manuscript prayer-book set in gold enamelled black, which they said Anne Boleyn, just before she laid her head upon the block, turning round to her weeping attendant, gave to her with a smile, the sweetness of which not even the horrors of approaching death could diminish, as the last parting pledge of her affection.[1]

Wyatt's attachment to Anne Boleyn seems to have been the last event of his life that bears the character of any thing like levity, or the romance of youth. After the death of that unfortunate Queen, we find him assuming an higher and a more dignified tone of conduct. His writings also, from that period, wear a graver and a more moral cast. Perhaps the sad fate that had befallen his former mistress, might have had the effect of turning his thoughts from the idle fascinations of Platonic attachment, which, at best was an unworthy waste of

The concluding lines seem to be express in point,

Who list her hunt, I put him out of doubt,
As well as I may spend his time in vain.
Graven with diamonds, in letters plain
There is written her fair neck round about
"Noli me tangere;" for Cæsar's I am.

[1] See Walpole's *Miscel. Ant. No. II. p.* 13. It is remarkable, that Wyatt's family were for a long time jealous of all the aspersions flung on Anne Boleyn's character, and that one of them had gathered many particulars when young concerning her, with the intention of refuting Saunders's calumnies. See the Appendix, No. II.

time and thought, to avocations of a more manly and becoming nature. In this frame of mind he bade farewell to love, and promised that its "baited hooks should tangle him no more," or seduce him from those higher speculations, which the philosophy of Seneca and Plato presented to him.[1] He kept his promise. From that time forward, to use his own forcible expression, we find that he began

"To deep himself in travail more and more,"

and applied himself either to serious study, or to public business.[2]

[1] Poems, p. 17, l. 7.

[2] Though neither Wyatt nor Surrey can be defended for having formed, as married men, attachments for other women, under the name of Platonic love, it should be remembered that those attachments were then allowed as innocent, and that they were even admired as tending to the exercise of personal virtue and self-controul. The system adopted generally led to the most fatal consequences: but as many examples might be adduced, in which Platonic love seems to have existed without any taint of criminal weakness, those instances will justify the belief that Wyatt and Surrey were not guilty of any other fault in their attachments beyond that of having lent the sanction of their names to an error, which in the far greater number of instances would prove a source of corruption. Who is there, however, that can read the story of the celebrated Troubadour, Geoffrey Rudel, and not acknowledge that love might be supposed to exist, unconnected with the ordinary objects of sense.

Rudel was one of the most accomplished and admired Provençal poets of his time. His merits attracted the notice of Geoffrey Count of Brittany, who invited him to his Court, and gave him an handsome establishment there. He was in the habit of seeing pilgrims returning from the Holy Land; and he found that they all joined in praising the Countess of Tripoli as a paragon both of beauty and virtue. His romantic imagination caught fire at their description, and he insensibly conceived a violent passion for her. He hesitated not to assume, at last, the pilgrim's habit, and in that character, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his patron and his friends, he set out for the Holy Land, attended by one faithful companion alone, Bertrand of Alamon, repeating enthusiastically, as he ascended the ship, his own empassioned strains,

Dieu que fes tout quant ven e vay
E forma quest amour luench
My don poder al cor, car hay
Esper vezer l' amour de luench.

Rudel fell sick on board; the agitation of his mind increased his disorder; it grew worse; it

It is true, that he fell about this time into a temporary disgrace, in consequence of which he was committed to the Tower. What his offence was we have not been told. We know however for certain, that his imprisonment grew out of some personal quarrel between the Duke of Suffolk and himself, and not

became mortal; and when he reached the shores of Palestine, he gave scarcely any signs of life. The faithful Bertrand leaped to land, and flew to tell the fair Countess of Tripoli the mournful story of his master's approaching fate. She listened with compassion; she arose from her seat, and went directly, attended by her damsels, to the port. She ascended the ship; she placed herself beside the couch of the expiring Troubadour, and gently took him by the hand. This act of kindness seemed to recall him to life. He opened his feeble eyes and gazed languidly around him. They told him it was the Countess of Tripoli, who in the tenderness of pity had come to visit him. He became instantly animated as with new existence. He painted in glowing terms his admiration of her goodness, and his gratitude. "I never "formed, O illustrious pattern of all human excellence," he said, "a wish of happiness "beyond that of once beholding you! I have seen you—" his strength failed him; he fell back, and expired in the arms of the Countess. Travellers who came back from the Holy Land were used to relate that they had seen at Tripoli a tomb of porphyry marble inscribed with Rudel's name, which the Countess, they said, had raised to his memory; with many a line in strange Arabic characters, descriptive of his mournful fate. They were used to say, also, that the Lady was never after seen to smile. But others told, how she had retired to a monastery on the brow of a lonely mountain, commanding a distant view of the sea by which ships came from Provence, and that there she passed the remainder of her days in prayer, and in acts of piety and devotion. But before she went to the monastery, she bid Bertrand of Alamon repeat all his master's verses, and then ordered them to be written into a book in letters of gold, which she ever after laid upon her pillow when she went to rest.'

Incredible as this story may be deemed, now that the manners of society have assumed a less romantic cast, its authenticity cannot be doubted. We find it frequently referred to by the writers of former times, and it was uniformly cited in proof of the position advanced by the favourers of the Platonic system; "That Love exists independent of the senses, and is then purest, and strongest, when it originates in the heart alone, without any reference whatever to external objects." I again repeat, that these extravagant conceits are not to be seriously defended: their danger and their fallacy alike are obvious: but we must admit, that as long as they were considered to be a laudable principle of conduct, so long Platonic affection might have been held compatible with virtue, and virtuous characters might have in consequence embraced it. See *Crescembeni, Vite de Poeti Provenzali. p.* 13. *Histoire Litteraire des Troubadours, Vol. I. p.* 85. *Petrarca Trion. d'Amore, cap. iv. v.* 52.

any of displeasure on the part of the King.[1] That Wyatt stood high in favour with the King at that period, is clear from several circumstances. For, in the first place, Henry had bestowed the honour of Knighthood upon him, a short time previous to his arrestation;[2] and immediately upon his being liberated he appointed him to a command in the army, which had been sent under the Duke of Norfolk against the rebels in Lincolnshire. Wyatt set out to enter on his command "as speedily, and as well-furnished, as he was able." But before he could join the Duke of Norfolk, the Rebels had submitted, and were dispersed. The times, however, still continued turbulent; and it was deemed expedient to have every where persons in commission in whose abilities and integrity entire confidence could be placed. In the ensuing year therefore, 1537, Wyatt was nominated High-Sheriff for Kent.[3] He tells us that this was considered to be a proof of the King's especial favour at the time towards him. It was but a prelude, however, to appointments of a still higher, and a more confidential nature.

The resentment which the Emperor Charles the Fifth had conceived against Henry on account of his divorce from the Queen Catherine, and his personal aversion to the unfortunate Anne Boleyn, whom he regarded as the cause of all his aunt's misfortunes, had produced a considerable degree of coldness between the Spanish and the English Courts: and Henry con-

[1] See Oration before the Privy Council. *p.* 299.

[2] Sir Thomas Wyatt was dubbed Knight on Easter-day, 18th of March, 1536. *Cotton MS. Claudius, C. iii.* In the Heralds' College is this notice. "Partition of the Knights money. Sir Thomas Wyatt and Sir William Weste xxxv s. to the King at Arms v s. and to the Heralds 11 s. 6 d. Anno H. VIII. xxvii. at Westminster. Item, To Mr. Garter, for registring of the said Knights, Sir Thomas Wyatt and Sir William Weste, iiii s."

[3] Oration ut sup. p. 300. Hasted's Kent.

tented himself with having an Ambassador with the Emperor more for form's sake than from the desire of entering into any close alliance with him. The death of Anne Boleyn removed all personal objections on the part of the Emperor; and as the state of his affairs rendered Henry's friendship an object of increased importance to him, he manifested by his Ambassadors at the English Court a desire to renew the old relations of amity. Many reasons conspired to make the proposition acceptable to Henry. He was uneasy on the subject of the general Council then in agitation, which the Pope proposed to hold at Vicenza; but which Henry wished might be held at some town in Germany, or the Netherlands, that it might be less open to papal intrigues. He wanted also to engage the Emperor not to give him any trouble on the subject of the Princess Mary's title, whom he had determined to set aside in the event of his having children by the Lady Jane Seymour: he hoped, moreover, to be able to influence him in the disposition of the Dutchy of Milan, which on the death of Francis Sforza, had reverted as a fief of the empire to the Emperor, and then lay in his power to dispose of. These were all objects of importance; and, as in the discussion of them, other points of equal moment might arise, it was thought advisable to send to the Spanish Court a person of more than ordinary abilities: some one in whom Henry could place unlimited confidence, and whose manners and address might win upon the Emperor. Wyatt was the person selected. The appointment was the more honourable, as it was conferred upon him without any solicitation on his part: he seems even to intimate that it was given to him in direct opposition to his wishes.

As Wyatt has been hitherto viewed only as a poet, and an elegant and accomplished courtier, and one whose turn of mind disposed him to pleasure rather than to politics, it may excite some surprise that he should be thus suddenly called to conduct negociations of such magnitude as those about to be entrusted to his care. But we are not to infer, from the silence of our historians on this head, that Wyatt had not been employed in any previous embassy. It is probable he had been associated in commission before that time with older persons, in many transactions of a public nature. For embassies, to adjust particular claims between our own and foreign courts, were far more frequent formerly than at present, and it was customary to send with the principals young men of ability, that thus they might be formed to act as ambassadors themselves hereafter. Besides which, though Wyatt might not have been insensible, at one period of his life, to the seductions of pleasure, the natural frame and temper of his mind led him to generous and manly exertion. So that even in his most careless hours we may believe him to have shewed himself fully competent to business whenever the occasion should require.

This is proved by the part he took in furthering the Reformation, of which, to adopt the homely term used by some of our early writers, he is said, "to have hatched the egg." By which expression we are to understand, I conceive, not that he took any part in the serious deliberations that passed in private on the subject; but that he availed himself of his wit and readiness in conversation, to do away any scruples the King might happen to express. This he seems to have done with singular address and

ability, persuading him to adopt measures which his graver advisers, perhaps, would not have ventured to propose.

One day as the King was conversing with Wyatt on the suppression of Monasteries, he expressed his apprehension on the subject, saying, he foresaw it would excite general alarm should the crown resume to itself such extensive possessions as those belonging to the Church. "True, Sire," replied Wyatt! "but what if the rook's nest were buttered?" Henry understood the force and application of the proverb, and is said from that moment to have formed the design of making the nobility a party in the transaction, by giving to them a portion of the Church Lands.[1]

At a still earlier period of the business, Henry, who passionately desired the divorce, had expressed some scruples about urging it from the opposition raised by the Pope. Wyatt, who witnessed the King's perplexity, is said to have exclaimed in his hearing; "Heavens! that a man cannot repent him of his sins "without the Pope's leave."[2] This speech, as was designed, sunk deep into the King's mind; and disposed him the more readily to adopt the measure proposed by Cranmer of consulting the Universities.

Connected with the progress of the Reformation was the downfall of Wolsey. That powerful favourite had gained so strong a hold in the affections of the King his master, that his

[1] Lloyd's Worthies. Vol. II. p. 89.

[2] Lloyd, *ut supra*, p. 88. It is greatly to be lamented that Lloyd never cites his authorities. From the age in which he lived, and the length of time he devoted to his work, we may reasonably conclude him to have seen many original documents which are either lost, or cannot now be referred to. I think it very probable that Lloyd might have seen Mason's monumental inscription on Wyatt. It was one of considerable extent, and comprised a regular detail of all his services: like the inscription on the Duke of Norfolk preserved in Weever.

ruin was not effected but by slow degrees, and that too by an union of all the antient nobility of the kingdom, with the Duke of Norfolk at their head. Wyatt was deemed of sufficient importance to be ranked as one of their party, and is said to have contributed in a great degree to their success. For, coming one day into the King's presence, when he happened to be angry with the Cardinal, and spoke of him in terms of displeasure, Wyatt immediately laid hold of the occasion to tell an humorous story of some curs baiting a butcher's dog, which we are told "contained the whole method of Wolsey's ruin."[1]

Wolsey was disgraced in 1532. Wyatt could not then have been more than nineteen years old. It is probable, however, that he began at even a still earlier period to manifest his attachment to the Reformation, and his dislike to Wolsey. This rests on the following anecdote.

William Thynne, the celebrated antiquarian, and a great favourite with the King, had been directed by him to publish a complete edition of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales. When the book was printed, he presented it to Henry: who having read it, and noted the Pilgrim's Tale, said, turning to Thynne, "William, I doubt this "book will not be allowed: I suspect the Bishops will call thee in "question for it." His fears were verified by the event. Wolsey was

[1] Lloyd, *ut supra, p.* 89. Should we be at a loss to assign a probable reason why Sir T. Wyatt was particularly adverse to Wolsey, we may refer it to his known attachment to Anne Boleyn, who was, if we may believe Cavendish, Wolsey's avowed enemy, and the great instrument made use of by the party to effect his downfal. See Cavendish's *Hist. of Wolsey, Ch. ix. and xvii.* But from the manner in which he describes Wolsey to have been received by Sir Henry Wyatt at Allington in 1527, when he returned from his embassy into France, we may infer that Sir Henry himself was hostile to him, and consequently that young Wyatt had early imbibed a political prejudice against him. See *Cavendish, ut sup. Ch. xiii.*

so much offended at the severity with which the Roman Catholic clergy were treated in the Pilgrim's Tale, that he obtained an order for the suppression of the entire edition, and an interdict was laid upon the Pilgrim's Tale to prevent it from ever appearing in future. The Plowman's Tale was permitted, though not without much difficulty, to stand. Of that Tale, which unquestionably was not written by Chaucer, Wyatt was generally supposed at the time to have been the author.

The supposition might have been unfounded. We will even grant that it was. Thus much at least is certain. The sentiments contained in that Tale must have been consonant to those which Wyatt was known to have expressed on the subject of religion; and he must have been considered both equal to the undertaking, and likely to have engaged in it.

[1] An account of this occurrence is given in a little tract by Francis Thynne (son to the William Thynne mentioned above) published by Mr. Todd, in his Illustrations of Gower and Chaucer, 1810, p. 13. Thynne says, that Wyatt was not the author of the Plowman's Tale. To this I readily assent. It bears internal evidence of having been written about the time of Henry the Vth. Still as few traditions are without some foundation, I offer it as a conjecture that Sir Thomas Wyatt, though not the author of the Plowman's Tale, might have been concerned in publishing it, or might have even altered it from the original MS. For Mr. Tyrwhitt is mistaken in supposing that the Tale was first printed in the folio edition of Chaucer in 1542. It had appeared previously in small 4to. somewhere about the year 1534, and from that edition it was incorporated into the subsequent edition of Chaucer's works in 1542. Of the 4to. edition, the only copy I have ever seen, is one in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Coneybeare, the present Poetry Professor at Oxford. For what Mr. Tyrwhitt has said on the subject, both of the Plowman's and the Pilgrim's Tale, see his Cant. Tales, 4to. *Vol. I. p. 9. note e. and p. 111. note 32.*

Spenser, in the Epilogue to his Pastorals, has the following lines:

"Dare not to match thy pipe" with Tityrus his style,
Nor with the Pilgrim that" the Plowman plaied awhile.

Warton supposes the Pilgrim here intended to have been the author of Peirs Plowman's Visions. Mr. Tyrwhitt differs from Warton; but he might have assigned a stronger reason

From all the above circumstances therefore we may safely infer, that though Wyatt was a young man when appointed ambassador into Spain, he had previously given abundant proof of his political talents, and of his powers of application to business.

In April 1537, Pate, then resident ambassador with the Emperor, was recalled, and Wyatt, amply provided with credentials and letters of recommendation, proceeded to the Spanish Court. He was very favourably received there; though the language Pate had been directed to hold when Wyatt's coming was announced, was neither conciliatory nor prudent. He had been ordered to reproach the Emperor for his ingratitude in not requiting in a more friendly manner the various good offices he had received at Henry's hands. "Tell him," says Henry, "that it was We who first made him King of Spain; then Em-"peror, when the empire was at our disposition, and after, lent "him our money; so that he may only thank us for the honour "he is now advanced to. Nevertheless," he continues, "We "are willing to renew our old amities with him, provided that "he, which if a Prince of honour, and a personage whom

than he has done for his dissent. The very sense of the passage disproves Warton's conjecture. "Do not attempt," says Spenser, "to equal thyself with Tityrus," that is, Chaucer, "nor yet with him who, under the character of one of the Pilgrims, played the Plowman "awhile:" that is, who wrote the tale of the Plowman in the person of one of the Pilgrims in the Canterbury Tales. This evidently proves that Spenser considered the Plowman's Tale to have been written by an author who had obtained celebrity for his other works; but who had, in this instance, designedly concealed his name. The passage from Spenser therefore may be considered as corroborating the opinion advanced above of Sir Thomas Wyatt's having been the reputed author of the Plowman's Tale. Whoever was the author of the Plowman's Tale, Spenser seems to have approved of the tale itself; for, as Mr. Todd has properly remarked, he has borrowed a line from it, and introduced it into his 4th Eclogue. See *Spenser's Works. Vol. I. p. 66. Ed.* 1805.

"we once chose and thought worthy for his virtue to be ad-
"vanced, will by his express writing either desire us to put
"his unkind doings into oblivion, or by the same purge
"himself."[1]

It was not wise in Henry to hold such high language if he had not power to enforce it. The Emperor, who had his passions more at command than our moody Sovereign had, finding it necessary to temporise a little, took no apparent offence at those haughty expressions: he probably smiled in secret at Henry's petulance, and resolved to amuse him with negotiations so long as he should deem it necessary, having previously settled in his own mind to make no concession whatever in the points which were to be discussed.

The language Wyatt was directed to hold was more temperate than that used by Pate; but it was peremptory. In speaking of the divorce, Wyatt was ordered to insist on the propriety of the measure; and that too in the opinion, not of the Universities only but of the Pope himself, who hath "confessed," said Henry, "the injustice of the marriage, conformably to the "opinion of the Universities, in his own hand-writing to myself, "which I have yet remaining by me." Respecting the Princess Mary's legitimacy, the Emperor was desired not to urge that point; for if he did, "the treaty of renouvelment of amity would "cease. For let the Emperor," continued Henry, "by the "measure of himself weigh and consider that Princes be com-
"monly of such courage that they will not be forced to things,
"but like to have all things, especially touching their own
"affairs, proceed in such sort as they themselves shall think
"most expedient without the arbiter of others. Nevertheless,"

[1] From the original Instructions. Harl. *MSS.* *No.* 282.

he continued, "if the Emperor is desirous of concluding a mar-
"riage which he himself hath lately proposed between the Prin-
"cess Mary and the Infant of Portugal, I am willing to allow
"that she should succeed me in the crown imperial of the
"realm, if I should chance to have no issue, male or female, by
"the Queen that now is, or by any other lawful wife I may
"have afterwards."[1]

No business of any consequence arose for some time after Wyatt had delivered his credentials. The negotiations, as the Emperor designed they should, went on slowly, and Wyatt employed himself quietly to obtain an accurate knowledge of the Emperor's character, and that of all his ministers. The event will shew how well he succeeded.

The first communication of any importance Wyatt had to make, was the birth of Prince Edward, in the autumn of 1537. Sir John Dudley was sent over formally to announce the event. Wyatt's minutes of the conversation which Dudley and himself had with the Emperor, on that occasion, have been fortunately preserved: they shew much acuteness and penetration, and prove Wyatt to have been attentive to the instructions early given, and frequently repeated to him, which were, in every interview, "to endeavour to fish out the very bottom of the Em-
"peror's intentions."[2]

[1] *See p.* 313, 314, 315.

[2] Harl. MSS. No. 282. Wyatt says that the Emperor received the news with good and long rejoicing, and laughing, which he had never seen him do so heartily, or so pleasantly before, "and that he heartily thanked God with the King, his good brother; and that although he would have been glad that the benefit (of the succession) might have been to one of his own blood, yet nevertheless he rejoiced in it as much as if it had been by his aunt, laying his hand on his breast, and swearing on his faith." The Emperor could not forbear expressing his hatred of the unfortunate Anne Boleyn, saying "that he had been, as it were, cloyed with that marriage,

Of all Wyatt's letters, and they were numerous, that were written by him during the first part of his embassy, not one of any importance has been as yet discovered. This is much to be lamented. From the letters written to him by Cromwell and Wriothesly, and from the instructions sent to him by the King, it appears that his conduct gave perfect satisfaction at home; and that he had not disappointed the expectation which both the King and his ministers had formed of him.

The situation in which Wyatt was placed was one of considerable difficulty. The negotiations he had to conduct were complicated in themselves, owing to the discordant interests of the parties negotiating; and he had to contend against no small degree of prejudice in consequence of his being a Lutheran, as all the Protestants were then called. It is true he behaved himself with great moderation on the score of religion; but one of the leading objects of his mission was to protest against the Pope's usurped power, and doing this with freedom he was once in danger of being taken up by the Inquisition.[1]

After all, however, Wyatt's chief embarrassments arose from the want of sincerity, as well of the English as of the Spanish Court. His private orders were perpetually at variance with his public instructions: whence it soon became evident that nothing could be concluded permanently. For each party was on the watch to over-reach the other, and both varied their views, their

and that he had never looked for good end thereof." In talking of other points, Wyatt mentioned the peace then to be concluded between the French King and Henry; but adds this note in his minutes: "Mem. This was but as a spur; for that I knew the peace was far enough off."

[1] Oration, p. 294. "The Emperor," says Wyatt on this occasion, "had much ado to save me; and yet that made me not hold my peace, when I might defend the King's deed against him, the Pope, and reprove his naughtiness."

expectations, and their demands, with the variation of the day.[1]

The death of the Lady Jane Seymour, which happened in October 1537, served to render the negotiations still more difficult and intricate than ever. Henry's intention of taking another wife was generally known. This alarmed the Emperor. He was fearful lest he should form some alliance with France; especially when it was known that Francis had offered liberally to him any lady from his whole dominions whom he might please to honour with his choice.[2] The Emperor therefore, when Henry expressed himself willing to marry the Dutchess of Milan, caught readily at the offer, repeating his former proposition of an alliance between the Infant of Portugal and the Princess Mary. Henry evidently inclined towards the match with the Dutchess of Milan; whether it were that he was pleased with the representation made to him of her person;[3] or that he was allured by the hopes

[1] This will be evident from the original instructions which were sent from time to time to Wyatt. These, as tending to throw light both on Wyatt's character and the history of the times, will be found printed at length in the Appendix. [2] See Herbert's Hen. VIII. *p.* 499.

[3] Christina, Dutchess of Milan, whom Charles the Vth offered in marriage to Henry, and to several other Princes, to amuse them when he wished to gain time in his negociations, was second daughter to Christiern the IId, King of Denmark, by Isabella, sister to Charles. Her elder sister, Dorothy, was married to Frederick the IId, Elector Palatine, in 1532. She herself was married in 1534 to Francis Duke of Milan; who dying in 1535, left her a widow at the early age of twelve or thirteen, for she was born in 1523. It is said that she was beautiful in her person, and that the picture taken of her by Holbein made a sensible impression on Henry's mind. He demanded however great terms. For though she was but second daughter to the King of Denmark, he required that kingdom as her dowry, should Christiern leave no male issue. To this the Emperor seemed to consent. The illusory manner in which the whole of the negociation was conducted is detailed by Herbert, p. 498, 499. When the matter was finally broken off, Wyatt congratulated Henry on the event, telling him that the Dutchess' conduct was not altogether free from censure, inasmuch as she was suspected to have been improperly intimate with the Prince of Orange. She was married ultimately in 1541 to Francis Duke of Lorrain. It is remarkable that she had been previously offered to the Duke of Cleves; and that Henry's proposition was made in consequence of the match having been broken off.

held out to him of the Dutchy of Milan, which the Emperor promised to bestow upon the Infant of Portugal in the event of his marriage with the Princess Mary. But the Emperor had no intention to promote those marriages. This was clearly shewn by the event. However, that he might have the appearance of sincerity, he conversed frequently with Wyatt concerning them, and even went so far as to desire that he would go to England and communicate his sentiments fully to Henry upon the subject. Wyatt set out accordingly early in the spring of 1538; and when he was in England had a particular conference with both the King and the Spanish Ambassadors on the terms of the proposed alliances; after which he returned to Spain, and got there again before the end of March.

Notwithstanding this journey the negotiations cooled gradually; and Wyatt, who had long distrusted the Emperor, endeavoured to open Henry's eyes to the insincerity of his conduct: but without effect. Henry still indulged the vain hope that he should succeed in negotiating with the Emperor; and from time to time dispatched special commissioners into Spain, who were to communicate with Wyatt, and to be assisted by him.[1] Among others, Heynes, and Bonner afterwards Bishop of London, were sent in May 1538, and joined in com-

[1] Besides the mission of Sir J. Dudley, which has been noted above, and that of Bonner and Heynes, we find Hobby sent, in the autumn of 1538, with a commission to urge the Emperor, in conjunction with Wyatt, to provide for the succession, in case he should go in person against the Turks, in which event he might be exposed to danger: and to offer Henry's services, as guardian, to the Prince Infant. See Appendix. The extraordinary nature of the offer makes it probable that the mission was but a feint, which Wyatt on another occasion requested the King to use, suggesting that it "would not be unmeet to send often some matter, if it might be, or something that should seem matter, whereby, without suspicion, often access might be gained." *Letters, p.* 354.

mission with Wyatt. This afterwards caused him much trouble, and even brought him within the peril of his life. Heynes and Bonner did no good whatever to Henry's cause. They rather discredited the embassy, by drawing down contempt on themselves by their indecorous conduct. Bonner in particular, though a clergyman, behaved with a degree of levity that bordered on licentiousness, and manifested a disrespect for the Roman Catholic religion, that was not at all consistent with his subsequent intolerant zeal in its support.[1]

Wyatt, though embarrassed by his colleagues, attended vigilantly to the several objects of his mission. What most engaged his attention then was the projected interview between the Emperor and Francis, which the Pope laboured to accomplish, in the hope of reconciling those two contending Monarchs. Henry ordered Wyatt to attend the meeting wherever it took place, and labour to effect, if any treaty should be made, that it might not be to his prejudice.

The Pope and the two Sovereigns met, as is well known, at Nice, in the beginning of June in 1538. Wyatt went thither immediately. Heynes and Bonner followed him. The secrecy and mystery with which that meeting was conducted is described in a very lively manner by Wyatt in his Declaration: in which we learn likewise, that Wyatt succeeded so far as to make some propositions to the Emperor to Henry's advantage, to which the Emperor assented, directing him to repair to the English Court and obtain instructions what further to do in the business; giving

[1] See Oration, p. 305. The picture Wyatt there draws of Bonner's conduct with the Signora is truely comic, and would not have been unworthy the pen of even Shakespeare himself.

him a promise that nothing should be concluded until his return, if he came back within fifteen or sixteen days.[1] Wyatt set off post for England; but he met with so many unexpected delays when there, that he could not return by the time appointed. When he arrived at Villa Franca he found that a truce had been agreed upon between the Emperor and Francis, and that all the parties had separated. He immediately resolved on following the Emperor by sea, and making great exertion came up with him near Marseilles. But it was too late for him to effect then any object of importance. An interview had already taken place at Aigues Mortes, between Charles and the French King, on the 15th of July. On the 16th the two Monarchs separated with all outward demonstrations of affection. The Emperor on quiting Aigues Mortes returned to Spain. Wyatt, with Bonner and Haynes, rejoined him at Barcelona.[2]

It was not long, however, before Wyatt was able to render a very acceptable piece of service to his Royal Master.

Cardinal Pole, whom Henry regarded with a singular degree of jealousy and distrust, was cherished by the Pope and the Ro-

[1] Declaration, *p.* 281. Wyatt expressly says, that the overture of his going then to England proceeded from the Emperor. It was probably, as Wyatt in another place seems to intimate, a political feint to remove him from Villa Franca while the negotiations were carrying on. From Bonner and Haynes, who seem to have been altogether incompetent to the business, the Emperor had nothing to fear. The propositions Wyatt carried over to Henry related to the marriage of the Lady Mary and Don Lodovic of Portugal. The Emperor promised to settle Milan on Don Lodovic. He twice afterwards assured Wyatt that he would carry that promise into effect: first on board his Galley, before he set sail for Spain, and afterwards at Barcelona. His duplicity in this transaction was clearly shewn by the event. Appendix, No. xviii.

[2] The Pope's motives in undertaking the office of mediator in this business are represented by historians to have been those of charity and benevolence. But I apprehend that they were grounded, like Henry's, in self-interest. He knew that the English King had earnestly solicited the office himself, and he dreaded the influence he might acquire with both Charles and Francis, should he succeed in obtaining it. Hence all the mystery and concealment of which Wyatt complained.

man Catholics abroad, as an instrument particularly fitted to excite troubles and dissensions in England. He was then at Rome, and there it was secretly resolved that he should go privately into Spain, and thence into France, for the purpose of uniting the Emperor and Francis in a league against England. The plan was not so secretly contrived but Wyatt, by means of his spies, obtained information of it. He immediately communicated what he had discovered to the King, requesting he might be empowered to act on the occasion. Henry's answer was long delayed.[1] At last he directed Wyatt to require according to the articles of the Treaty of Cambray, that Pole should not be received into the Emperor's dominions, being a rebel and a cankered traitor against the Crown Royal. "Should it be urged," said the King, "that Pole was not sent to stir up "animosity, but to promote peace, tell the Emperor that no "Prince ought to receive such a traitor as Pole, who hath per- "sisted in opposing me, though I had not only made his house "and whole family of nought, and enhanced them to an high "degree of nobility and honour, but especially favoured him and "gave him honest exhibition out of my own coffers, to maintain "him in his studies."[2]

[1] Oration, p. 292.

[2] See Appendix, No. xx. There is in Sekendorf's History of Lutheranism, a passage which seems plainly to refer to this transaction; though the date of it is mistaken. It is there said that Fox, Bishop of Hereford, Heath and Barnes, who had been sent to confer with the Protestant Princes at Smalkald, urged as an argument to induce the Elector of Saxony to enter into close relations of amity with Henry, that Wyatt had written from Spain that the Emperor was angry with both the Elector and the Landegrave, and had declared them to be rebels. Sekendorf's words are as follows: Legati cum nihil omitterent quo Saxonem et Socios ad fœdus cum Hero suo sine exceptione Cæsaris inducere possent, secretum Electori revelarunt, narrantes Legatum Henrici Wiatum ex Aulâ Hispanicâ retulisse Cæsarem vehementer infensum esse Saxoni et Hesso, eosque hostes et rebelles suos vocasse, cum ad Wiati expostulationem, quod Polum Cardinalem ab Henrico proscriptum admissit et benigne tractasset, incanduit. *Hist. Lutheranismi. Lib. III. Sec.* 13. §. *xxxix. add. m.* But Fox's embassy to the

But before the King's instructions came, Wyatt had managed the whole business with such address, that Pole was not well received at the Spanish Court. He was even obliged to quit it without any of those marks of distinction, which Legates coming from the Pope were always entitled to expect. He found it hopeless also to attempt any thing in France, and therefore retired silently to Avignon. Henry, in his letters to Wyatt, and in his acknowledgements to the Emperor, shewed that he entertained an high sense of the value of this service.[1]

German Princes was in the winter of 1535, and the beginning of that of 1536. Wyatt was not at that time appointed ambassador, and Pole's journey into Spain did not take place until 1538. The negociation referred to by Sekendorf, I apprehend, must have been that which was carried on by Mount and Paynal, whom Henry sent in 1539 to the German Princes at Frankfort, with whom they so far succeeded as to induce the Elector and the Landegrave of Hesse to send ambassadors on their part into England, to treat with Henry on the points under consideration, in April, 1539. See *Strype's Memorials, Vol. I. p.* 338.

[1] The object of Pole's journey into Spain cannot be better described than in the words of the Bishop of Ragusa, the historian of his Life. Pontifex quidem, sive sponte suâ sive hortatu Cæsaris et Regis Galliæ qui etiam affirmarent sibi nullum deinceps fore cum Anglo commercium, quod hâc re nonnulla spes ostenderetur populos Angliæ ad tumultus ac seditionem adduci posse, Polum iterum Legatum ejus rei causâ mittit. Atque ut celerius quo iter erat pervenire ac Regis Angliæ insidias effugere tutius posset, placuit Pontifici ut mutato vestitu paucis quibusdam comitibus rectâ in Hispaniam ad Cæsarem qui Toleto erat, contenderet, atque illinc postea ad Galliæ Regem se conferret; interim autem, dum uterque cum Anglo amicitiam abrumperet, ipse loco aliquo, sive in Galliæ finibus, sive in Belgis ubi magis è re futurum esse videretur, subsisteret, ibique totius rei exitum expectaret. Unus ego tum ex iis fui qui Polum secuti sunt. Mense Januario propter sævam hyemem et viæ asperitates perdifficili itinere Barchionem venimus. Hinc Polus quod jumenta nimium defatigata essent, ut profectionem maturaret quatuor ex familiaribus secum ire jussis, et per equos dispositos, magnâ celeritate Toletum venit. Interea Anglus de regni sui incolumitate magnopere sollicitus, cum nonnihil de Pontificis Max. contra se studio atque conatibus inaudisset, legationem ad Cæsarem de ineundo adversus ejus inimicos fœdere miserat. Eam rem Cæsar, qui in Gallum infenso erat animo minimè contemnendum ratus, ut Anglum confirmaret Poli Legationem commutatâ voluntate sic audit ut alienum esse illud tempus exequendis Pontificis postulatis dicat; et, ut prius Gallum adeat ex cujus sententiâ ipse quoque consilium capturus sit, monet. Polus cum satis intelligeret quo utriusque consilia spectarent, et suâ in Galliam profectione Angli cum

But whatever satisfaction Wyatt might have derived from the success of his negotiations and the approbation of his Master, we find him earnestly soliciting to be recalled. To this he was led by many prudential considerations. Bonner had been sent for from Spain to supply Gardiner's place as ambassador at Paris, and was then finally returned to England. He was a man of a narrow mind, and was therefore influenced by all those petty passions which have weight with persons of his description. He had felt himself lowered by the ascendancy of Wyatt's genius; he dreaded his penetration, and he conceived that he had not been treated by him with sufficient respect. These were motives strong enough with Bonner to make him seek Wyatt's ruin. On his arrival in England, therefore, he secretly accused Wyatt to Cromwell of traitorous correspondence with Pole, and of undutiful behaviour towards the King.[1]

Mason, who was implicated in one of the charges, was arrested and examined. But the whole accusation was found to be so frivolous and groundless that Mason was discharged, and no notice whatever was taken of it to Wyatt. He was informed however, of what had passed by his friends in England. Grandvela, the

Cæsare fœdus magis ac magis confirmatum iri animadverteret, non existimavit prudentis hominis esse nullâ propositâ utilitate, quin potius magno Christianæ Reip. detrimento, et causæ, propter quam missus esset, eversione, certissimis caput suum periculis objicere. Ita abeundi veniâ â Cæsare impetratâ eodem quo venerat itinere Avenionem revertit. *Vita Reginaldi Poli, Lond.* 1690, *p.* 28. See Appendix, No. xx. and xxi.

[1] *Oration, p.* 286. It is a singular circumstance, that one of the accusations brought against Wyatt by Bonner was, that of his being a Papist. So sincerely was Wyatt attached to the cause of the Reformation, that one of the commissions he seems to have given to Wriothesley was, to send him into Spain such works as should be published to promote the progress of it. See *Letters, p.* 423. The warmth and sincerity with which he uniformly delivered himself to the Emperor, on the subject of the Protestant religion, forms a striking feature, in all his conversations with him.

Spanish minister, likewise gave him intimation of it. Wyatt had never sought the situation he held; and it accorded every day less and less with his serious and religious turn of mind, which led him to prefer the calm and more solid pleasures of contemplative retirement.[1] He wrote therefore to the King, to Cromwell, and to Wriothesley, earnestly soliciting his revocation; he requested he might be heard on the subject of Bonner's charges, and he represented that he saw no prospect of advancing his Master's interests by remaining in Spain, urging at the same time, that his own private concerns loudly demanded his presence in England; for his father, Sir Henry Wyatt, was then lately dead, and it was important that he should return home to settle his family affairs.

The only answer Wyatt could obtain from the King and his ministers was, the assurance that his stay should not be prolonged beyond what was necessary for the public service: and, as a proof that his private interests were not neglected, he was informed that the King had reserved for him the house of the Friars at Ailesford in Kent, which he had particularly requested to have, and that he was disposed to continue "good Lord unto "him."[2] Wyatt was obliged to submit; though he did so evidently with great reluctance.

[1] Leland, in drawing Wyatt's character, particularly notices his aversion to the bustle of public life.

Intumuit nunquam Fortunæ dotibus amplis,
Nec se felicem duxit splendore Viatus
Aulæ, nec strepitu rerum, procerumve favore.
Rectius ille animum studiis cordatus avebat
Exornare bonis, Cœloque reponere curam.

This agrees perfectly with what he says of himself in many places of his Poems.

[2] Letters, p. 345. For an account of the house at Ailesford, and the time of its being granted to Sir Thomas Wyatt, see *Hasted's Kent, Vol. II. p.* 164. The acquisition of Ailesford was of the utmost importance to Wyatt, as it adjoined his family estate at Allington.

Respecting Wyatt's mode of living in Spain, nothing has been transmitted to us of any consequence. We have, however, every reason to believe, that when not actively engaged in public business, he devoted himself to study, the cultivation of polite literature, and the conversation of men of genius and learning. He tells us in his Oration, that the persons with whom he chiefly associated were the ambassadors of Venice and Ferrara. These probably were men distinguished equally for their scholarship and their talents; for it was the custom of the Italian States to send those only as their ambassadors to foreign Courts, who were eminent as well for learning as abilities.[1]

In the society of those men, and in that of persons of rank and character among the natives, Wyatt passed his intervals of leisure. His retired hours he gave to more serious pursuits. He either employed himself in teaching latin to a young person of the name of Baker, of whose education he had undertaken the charge at the request of his friend Wriothesley;[2] or in corresponding with his son, then about sixteen, on the subject of his future conduct in life.[3] He amused himself also frequently

[1] The famous Naugerius, who was esteemed one of the most accomplished scholars of his times, and who is said to have carried his taste for correct Latinity so far, as to burn once a year on a stated day a copy of Martial, holding him to have been the first corrupter of the pure Latin style, was the Venetian ambassador in Spain but a short time before Wyatt's arrival. Naugerius seems to have been as anxious to quit Spain as Wyatt was. He has left us a few lines written upon his setting out to return to Italy. The reader will find them quoted in a subsequent page, and compared with those which Wyatt wrote on a similar occasion. Elegant and polished as the verses of Naugerius may be, Wyatt's are far more original, and more full of genuine feeling.

[2] Letters, *p.* 425. *and* 422.

[3] Wyatt's letters to his son appear formerly to have been generally admired and circulated. Ascham speaks of them as well known. In his discourse on the affairs of Germany we find the following passage. "A knight of England, of worthy memory for wit, learning, and "experience, old Sir Thomas Wyatt, wrote to his son; That the greatest mischief among men

in writing verses: but it is remarkable, that all the pieces written by him at that period, are tinged with a melancholy hue, and that while he complains of his protracted absence from home, he refers it to the influence of persons whose authority he had no power of resisting.[1]

At last, however, in the month of April, 1539, Wyatt received the welcome intelligence that Mr. Tate, who had been appointed his successor, was on his way to Spain. But he does not appear to have set out on his return until the third of the June following. And when he did return, it is expressly stated, that

"and least punished, is unkindness." *Ascham's Works, Ed.* 1761, *p.* 7. That observation occurs in the first of Sir T. Wyatt's Letters, p. 270. Ascham's remark gave me the first intimation of Wyatt's correspondence with his son, and enabled me to ascertain that the two letters in the Harington MS. were the letters in question. From that MS. they are for the first time printed in this volume. I have since been informed, that the originals are to be found in the library of the late Sir William Ashburnham, and I have been favoured with a copy of them by Mr. Francis Wyatt, one of the representatives of the nearest remaining branch of Sir T. Wyatt's family bearing the family name. That copy varies a little, but not materially, from the Harington MS.

[1] In the Harington MS. the piece which begins "So feeble is the thread," is marked at the top in Wyatt's hand writing "In Spain, Petrarch." In that piece, complaining of his protracted absence, he says,

At other's will my long abode" my deep despair fulfils.

It is a translation, with some variations from Petrarch's eighth Canzone, "Si è debile il filo, a cui s' atene," but the variations are such as prove Wyatt to have written from the impulse of actual feeling. In the Harington MS. we meet likewise, on a blank leaf, with the two following lines:

From thought to thought," from hill to hill Love doth me lead
Clean contrary from restful life" these common paths I tread.

These form the beginning of a translation of Petrarch's 39th Canzone, "Di pensier in pensier." From the hand-writing and the colour of the ink, they appear evidently to have been written by Wyatt about the time he wrote the piece cited in the beginning of this note. They confirm the belief of his reluctance to continue in Spain, and shew how anxious he was to return to his friends in England.

the cause of his recall was, that he might communicate to the King, more fully and confidentially than he dared do by letter, some circumstances of importance which had then come to his knowledge. The event seems to prove, that the circumstances alluded to, were the Emperor's projected journey through France into the Netherlands, which Wyatt had the sagacity to discover was then in agitation; and the alarm which Henry's proposed union with Anne of Cleves had excited in the Emperor's mind; for there was no longer any mention of the match with the Dutchess of Milan;[1] and it was evident, that if Henry and the Protestant Princes should warmly espouse the cause of the Duke of Cleves in his claim to the Dutchy of Guelders, it would greatly injure the Emperor's power, and authority in Germany.[2] As for the journey through France, it is worthy of remark, that the measure originated with the French King, who had proposed it himself to the Emperor;[3] though the Emperor regarded the offer with distrust, and had in the first instance declined it.

Wyatt, upon his arrival in England, spoke immediately to

[1] Wyatt was directed, in one of his instructions, to tell the Emperor that he perceived the treaty of the match with the Dutchess was not likely to come to any issue, and the point was therefore to be no longer urged; though, says Henry, "We should have been glad of that alliance," and "would yet, were it not that age cometh on apace upon us, and that we be daily instanced and importunately called upon by our nobles not to defer our marriage long, for loss of time in that behalf is irreparable, requiring us that for more assurance of succession we protract the time no longer." See Appendix, N° xxi. [2] See Appendix, N° xix.

[3] Cromwell, writing to the King on the 23d of April, says, "I have sent Nicholas your courier into Spain, to cause Mr. Wyatt to prepare his instructions and advices to Mr. Tate against his coming; and that he may, as shortly as he can, resort unto your Highness for the satisfaction of your mind concerning that matter which he could not write, but only shew to your Grace by mouth." He adds afterwards, how it had been reported to him "that the Emperor proposeth to come to Flanders, and that the French King would have him to pass through his realm, but he intendeth not so to do; and therefore it is thought Andelot is sent to make his excuses." *Cotton MSS. Nero. B. VI.*

Cromwell on the subject of Bonner's accusations, and insisted on a public inquiry into his conduct. Cromwell assured him that the charges had been fully investigated during his absence; and that they had been dismissed as frivolous and unfounded. Wyatt was satisfied with Cromwell's declaration; and having settled his family affairs, began to resume his domestic habits, and to amuse himself with making considerable improvements at Allington, his favourite place of residence.

But he was not permitted long to enjoy the pleasures of retirement. Towards the end of the year 1539, the Emperor began his journey through France into the Netherlands. The measure was one that could not but involve important consequences. It was a measure of refined policy as well on the part of the French King as of the Emperor; each sought to gain the advantage of the other; the one by a romantic excess of honour; the other by a shew of integrity and confidence, to which there is hardly any parallel in history.

The party whom Henry had most to fear was the Emperor. He had much at stake, and his views were artificially concealed. It was necessary, therefore, that some person should be at hand to watch narrowly over his proceedings. No one was deemed better qualified for the office than Wyatt, from the high estimation in which he stood at the Spanish Court, and from the intimate knowledge he had obtained of the Emperor's character. Tate therefore was recalled, and Wyatt was again appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to the Emperor, with orders to join him on his road through France. Wyatt set out on his mission the middle of November and went to Paris, where he stopped a few days to ascertain the course of the Emperor's journey. He proceeded to Blois on the first of December, at which place the French

King then lay. Immediately on his arrival he delivered his credentials to the Cardinal of Lorrain, and obtained an interview the same evening with the King. The description of what passed at that interview forms the subject of Wyatt's first dispatch to Henry. It is given in such easy, and natural terms, with so many little dramatic incidents, that the account cannot be read but with lively interest, although the event itself has long ceased to be of importance.[1] It affords us a striking proof of Wyatt's penetration. The conjectures he formed from what passed at that audience as to the conduct the Emperor would pursue, were all justified by the event. "His friendship for the French King, says Wyatt, is not "real: he is but constrained to come to a shew of friendship, to "gain a passage to the Low Countries, meaning to make him a "mockery when he has done."

The French Court was jealous of the access of foreign ambassadors to the Emperor during his stay in France, and therefore strict orders were issued that none should have horses but such as came from the Emperor, the Queen of Hungary, or the French King himself. Wyatt however found means to travel as far as Chatelheraut; and there he waited the arrival of the Emperor, who reached that place late on the evening of the 10th. Early on the morning of the 11th, Wyatt demanded, and obtained an audience. Of that interview he sent to Henry as minute a detail as he had before done of his interview with the French King. It is described with equal, if not greater ability, contrasting in a lively manner the crafty and artificial conduct

[1] Letters, p. 371. Lloyd tells us that Wyatt excelled in telling a story, "representing persons and actions so to the life, that you thought you saw what you heard." The observation applies to Wyatt's mode of writing. In all his dispatches he gives such a lively and dramatic turn to his narrations, that the events described seem to pass before us, as in the scene of some well acted play.

of the Emperor, with the open and confidential behaviour of the French King.[1] Notwithstanding all the Emperor's care and caution, Wyatt soon read the real motives of his journey. "In my "conscience," he said writing to the King, "his coming out of "Spain in this haste, hath been upon the news of your Majesty's "alliance with Mons. de Cleves, to prevent things that might "succeed. As for the affairs at Ghent, though they be the cause "assigned, they do not require such extraordinary dispatch, for "they are well nigh quieted."

Wyatt's conjecture was well founded. Henry's alliance with the Duke of Cleves, had all the advantages been drawn from it which it reasonably offered, would have tended more effectually to curb the Emperor's ambition, than any other measure that could well have been devised.

While Wyatt was writing his dispatches he received peremptory orders, in common with all the other Ambassadors, to quit Chatelheraut, as no further audience would be granted to any of them on his journey. With this order Wyatt was compelled to comply. The object of that prohibition was to secure, that the projected interview which was to take place between the Emperor and Francis at Fontainbleau on the 12th, should pass without the observation of Foreign Ministers. "But however the matter goeth," said Wyatt to the King, "I will not be far."

That Wyatt kept his promise, is evident from all his subsequent dispatches; and particularly from that written from Paris on Christmas day, in which, from the information he had

[1] When Wyatt spoke to Francis of the passage of the Emperor through France, "He doth me," said the French King, "the greatest honour that can be, and sheweth thereby to take me for an honest man." And when Wyatt rejoined that the Emperor knew well with whom he dealt, as with a prince of honour: "O!" quoth the King, "we have nothing among us all but our honour." See *Letters, p.* 353. This speech is but a counterpart, as it were, of the famous letter which Francis wrote to the Queen his mother after the battle of Pavia: "Madam, all is lost, except our honour."

been able to collect, he predicted so accurately what the Emperor's conduct would be, that he seems to have read his very intentions.[1]

The Emperor entered Paris on the first of January, and Wyatt a few days after had a long interview with him on the subject of a traitor, called Brauncetour, a spy in the pay of Pole, whom Wyatt had with considerable difficulty caused to be apprehended, though the Emperor claimed him afterwards as a person belonging to his suite. Wyatt has given us the whole of that conversation as it branched out into various particulars, together with his comments upon it, and the course he suggested as proper to be pursued. It would be difficult perhaps to find any where a more interesting document; or one that gives a livelier picture of shrewdness and penetration exercised on the one part, to counteract political artifice and cunning on the other.[2]

[1] The speculation opened by Wyatt's conjectures is, as far as I know, new as well as interesting. Our best modern historians have contented themselves with assigning the troubles at Ghent, as the real cause of the Emperor's journey. When we consider however that the Emperor, in his conversations with Wyatt, makes hardly any mention of Ghent, while he dwells trongly on all that concerns the Duke of Cleves; when, connecting this circumstance with the anger he had expressed against the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave, a short time previous to his quitting Spain, *(see note [2], p.* xlii.) we observe the Emperor's subsequent conduct, and remark how long it was after he had quitted France before he went to Ghent, and that the interval was spent in negociating with the Ambassadors of France, Cleves, and the German Princes; we shall be led I think to acknowledge the justness of Wyatt's conclusion.

[2] One of the instructions given to Wyatt, in his conferences with the Emperor, was to watch narrowly his countenance, and the minutest parts of his behaviour, for he was well known to be a person of such deep dissimulation that he seldom spoke his mind; so that his intentions were sometimes collected better from his actions than his words. This accounts for Wyatt's being frequently particular in describing the Emperor's looks and gestures. If, however, we may trust the description given of his countenance by Moryson, it must have been a difficult task to have learnt any thing from it. "The Emperor hath a face," says Moryson,

The Emperor quitted Paris the 7th of January, and Wyatt proceeded straight to Brussels to wait his arrival there. The points that then came under discussion were all of magnitude, and required no ordinary abilities in him who should be intrusted with the management of them.

The Emperor was involved in greater difficulties than at any former period of his life. The sedition at Ghent, though at first formidable, had become a circumstance of minor import. What alarmed him most was the menacing position which the Protestant Princes in Germany were then enabled to assume in consequence of the accession of the King of Denmark and the Marquess of Brandenburg to their league; and there was every appearance of their being about to strengthen themselves still further by the accession of Guelders.

Charles the last Duke of Guelders was then lately dead, and had left his estates by will to William Duke of Cleves, who was a Lutheran.[1] *Had the Duke of Cleves been permitted to retain Guelders in addition to his other dominions, he would have become a formidable enemy to the Emperor, as well by*

" that is as unwont to disclose any hid affection of his heart, as any face that I ever met withal in my life; for there all white colours, which in changing themselves are wont in others to bring a man certain word how his errand is liked or misliked, have no place in his countenance; his eyes only do bewray as much as can be picked out of him. He maketh me oft think of Solomon's saying: Heaven is high; the earth deep; but a King's heart is unsearchable. There is in him almost nothing that speaketh besides his tongue." *Hardwicke, State Papers, Vol. I. p. 55.*

[1] William Duke of Juliers, Cleve, and Berg; Count of the March and Ravensberg, and Lord of Ravenstein, brother to Anne of Cleves, was born July 28, 1526. He succeeded his father John Duke of Cleves in 1529, and was constituted heir of Guelders by Charles Duke of Guelders and Egmond in 1538. He was a Lutheran then, but he afterwards became a Roman Catholic. His intellects were deranged in 1566: he died Jan. 25, 1592, aged 76. He was contracted to Joan of Albret, heiress to the kingdom of Navarre: but that match was broken off, and he married on the 18th of July 1546, Mary, daughter to the Emperor Ferdinand the First.

the position of his territories, as by their extent and population. With the Protestant Princes it was an important object to have Guelders on their side. They wished to make it, what Wyatt expressly terms it, "a barrier;" for it would tend to facilitate their communication with one another, in the event of a war with the Roman Catholic states, and give them the command of the Low Countries. These were circumstances the Emperor was not likely to overlook. He therefore disputed the Duke's title to Guelders, and claimed the Dutchy as belonging to himself. The Duke was not unwilling to have acknowledged Charles as his Lord, and offered to take investiture at his hands if it were not to be loaded with any hard or humiliating conditions; but he was not willing to concede the other points which the Emperor claimed; and the question pending, he kept possession of the disputed territory.

It is true that the Duke of Cleves himself could not have made any effectual resistance to the Emperor, had the point been to be decided by arms; but then, he was so powerfully supported that the Emperor dared not attack him. For in the first place he was allied by marriage to the King of England, who had lately espoused his sister the Lady Anne of Cleves, and he was closely connected with the French King; Francis having secured his friendship by offering to him his niece Joan of Navarre in marriage, and the parties being then actually contracted.[1] Besides which the

[1] Johanna, daughter and heir to Henry King of Navarre by Margaret of Orleans, was one of the most illustrious personages that could have been offered in marriage to the Duke of Cleves. The offer shews what a high value Francis put on his alliance, and of what political importance he considered him to be. The espousals were celebrated at Chatelheraut en Garenne with great magnificence, and tournaments were held according to all the ancient ceremonies observed by the Knights of the Round Table. There were bowers constructed, we are told, made of the boughs of trees, with arcades, and triumphal arches, and stately palaces, all in antient architecture, in which were armed Knights who defended the passage in honour of the Lady. Adjoining were verdant chapels for Hermits clad in green velvet, and other gay colours, whose

Protestant Princes of Germany were at hand to espouse his cause, and would have made his interests their own had the Emperor proceeded to extremities against him. But this he was not prepared to do. His want of money at that very period was such, he had not the means of paying his ordinary followers and dependants, much less of making any great military exertions. He was kept in check moreover by France, as well as England. For the Emperor well knew that Francis had been invited to take openly the part of the Protestant Princes, and become defender of their league; an office which the English King likewise had more than once offered to take, some previous points being adjusted; but the German Princes distrusted Henry's sincerity in the cause, and viewed him as one who espoused the Reformation only as far as it accorded with his interests, or gratified his passions.

Under these circumstances therefore the Emperor perceived that he had no course to pursue but that of negociating with a view to gain time. This had become a difficult task; for the French Court was peremptory in demanding a definite answer respecting the investiture of Milan, which had been claimed for the Duke of Orleans, and had indeed been promised to him,

business it was to give notice to all the stranger Knights that came thither in the search of adventure. On the other side were Ladies habited as Nymphs and Dryads, attended by Dwarfs, and all after the guise and customs of the days of chivalry of old. The said tilts and tournaments for their magnificence and novelty, were esteemed the most remarkable that had ever been held in France for many an age; and that there might want no manner of entertainment, by night as well as by day, lists were built, where they jousted by torch light. A thing till then never known in France. See Bellay's Memoirs in the general collection, Vol. xx. p. 297. The union however was never completed; and Johanna married ultimately in 1548, Anthony Bourbon, Duke of Vendome. She was mother to the famous Henry the IVth. See Davila. Lib. I. where that able writer, who may rank with the greatest historians of antiquity, in a clear and succinct manner shews the advantages the Duke of Vendome proposed to himself, and derived from that alliance. Francis had before that offered Johanna in marriage to the Prince of Castille. See *Lett. XLII. p.* 414.

though Francis was willing, upon a romantic principle of honour, not to agitate the question so long as the Emperor should remain within the French dominions. But notwithstanding the urgency of the French Court on this point, the Emperor still found means to temporize, and by so doing succeeded ultimately in his object, verifying Wyatt's observation when he urged Henry to adopt decisive measures, "that no one ever "gained any thing of the Emperor's hands by delay, or trite of "time."

Towards the Duke of Cleves the same temporizing mode of conduct was pursued that had been adopted with the French Court. Instead of bringing the question respecting the Duke's claim on Guelders to an hearing, which was what the Emperor wished to avoid, he contrived to find perpetually some new cause of delay; at one time amusing the Duke with a shew of conciliatory measures, and at another endeavouring to detach him from France, by proposing in a confidential manner, through the King of the Romans, to give him the Dutchess of Milan in marriage.

With regard to England, which was the power then to be the most dreaded had Henry pursued a steady line of conduct, and boldly advocated the cause of the Duke of Cleves, declaring himself the protector of the Protestant league, a more refined course of politics was followed; and Henry was by turns flattered or menaced, as the Emperor deemed most likely at the moment to promote his object; which was to keep England in a state of inactivity. And thus the season passed.

None of these circumstances escaped Wyatt's penetration. He wrote frequently to the King, giving his opinion freely both of the Emperor's designs, and of the probable issue of things: and while he excused himself from presumption on the ground of zeal, he ventured to recommend a line of conduct which he thought

the English Court ought to pursue. His advice was firm, and consistent. He urged the necessity of supporting the Duke of Cleves, not only on the ground of justice and alliance, but as the surest mean of weakening and distressing the Emperor. He proposed also that Henry should ingratiate himself with the Protestant Princes in Germany, whose growing strength he foresaw would sooner or later baffle all the Emperor's power to control them; and as it was plain that they had received an unfavourable impression of Henry's conduct and opinions, he offered to write a popular defence of them, which being circulated in German might conciliate the minds of men in his favour; at the same time he informed the King that he had succeeded in establishing a confidential correspondence with some persons of intelligence in the country, who would undertake, if encouraged, to give Henry secret information of all that was then passing in the councils of the Protestant Princes, or should afterwards take place at the general meeting which was soon to be held at Wittenburgh.[1]

Wyatt was praised and commended for his diligence, but his advice unfortunately was not followed. Of this the blame rests wholly with the King. Cromwell entered fully into Wyatt's

[1] In the Cotton MSS. Vitell. B. XXI. is the fragment of a Latin letter from a person in Germany of considerable observation, to Wyatt, giving him an account, as well of the intrigues of the Emperor, as of the state of the Protestants. The letter has suffered greatly by the fire that did so much injury to the Cotton Collection, or it would merit well to be transcribed. It is evidently one of those letters which Wyatt, in writing to the King, says he had forwarded to him: for the cyphers are supplied in Wyatt's hand-writing, as he described them to be, and are so much blotted as to call loudly for the apology he offered to Henry on this head. See *Letter XXXV. p.* 393. The writer's name is not preserved; but as he speaks with great gratitude for past favours, it might have been perhaps "that Hulrick the German," with whom Wyatt had made acquaintance in Spain in 1538, and had recommended to Hertford, then Ambassador at Paris, as a person very conversant with the politics of Germany. See *Letter XI. p.* 337.

views on the subject of the Protestant interests in Germany. But Henry was not to be overruled. One point however Cromwell was able to effect. Though the King had unfortunately conceived some disgust at the Lady Anne's person, and had therefore determined to repudiate her, he nevertheless consented, for fear of exasperating the Duke her brother at that critical moment, to treat her with politeness; and proceeded more slowly in the divorce than might have been expected from the natural impetuosity of his temper.[1]

As soon as Wyatt found that he could be of no further service abroad, he became urgent with both the King and Cromwell for his recall. His original appointment had been only for four months. That time had elapsed. Of this he reminded Cromwell, telling him that his embassage, instead of benefiting his circumstances, had tended only to the further derangement of them:[2] informing him at the same time that he apprehended he was no longer acceptable to the Emperor, in which case, he

[1] See Herbert's Henry VIII. p. 516. That historian points out fully the advantages that might have resulted from that match. The disappointment Henry is said to have felt on that occasion is generally believed to have been the cause of Cromwell's downfall. The marriage was certainly effected by him; but the wisdom and sound policy of the measure ought to have ensured him a very different fate. From several passages in Wyatt's letters it seems clear that he had co-operated with Cromwell on that occasion, and that he had the same views with him on the subject. It is not even impossible but that the marriage might have been originally suggessed by Wyatt. See Appendix, No. xix. p. 506. He certainly laboured, though ineffectually, to impress Henry with the value of the alliance with the Duke of Cleves, and the necessity of supporting him.

[2] Wyatt, in one of his letters to Cromwell, openly declares the ruined state of his circumstances. See Letter XXXVI. p. 395. In another letter he describes the expense he was at. His house cost him nearly 100*l.* a year, without stables: oats were two shillings a bushel, and a barrel of beer worth twenty pence in England, stood him in four shillings, 'and the least fire I can make," he says, " to warm my shirt by, stands me a groat." It is curious to observe the change that has since taken place in the comparative rate of living at Brussels and in England. Besides this the course of change was then so much against this country, that the angel which was worth ten shillings produced only six and fourpence; so that in his diet money, Wyatt lost eight shillings and eight pence every day. On which he quaintly

suggested, his presence instead of advancing would only injure his master's interest.

His suspicions were probably well founded. The Emperor could not but be sensible that Wyatt had penetrated his designs: he might have been offended also at the boldness of his expostulations, and therefore perhaps shewed that he wanted him removed, though he had no just cause of complaint against him. Notwithstanding all his representations, however, Wyatt was continued in his mission; and the Emperor removing his court to Ghent in March, Wyatt accompanied him thither.

The negociations and intrigues that took place at Ghent were but the counterpart of those that had before taken place at Brussels. But it had become now clear to every one that a rupture would soon take place between the French and Spanish Courts; for it was evident that the promises which the Emperor had made to Francis before his coming into France, and during his progress through it, had been extorted from him by his fears lest he should have been detained a prisoner, and "that they would never be fulfilled." "The Emperor's pro-"mises," said Wyatt humorously, writing home to the King on the subject, "remind me of those made by the Welshman, "who, when he was in danger on the sea, vowed a taper as big "as the mast of his ship; but when he came on shore, paid "our Lady with a little candle, saying, That he offered her to "hang him, if ever she took him on the sea again."

remarks: "I beseech your Lordship take not this that I am so eager upon the King that I "would augment my diet, for it is so honourable it were not honest to desire it; but for "because I would another had it," *p.* 348. In Spain his diet money was 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* a day. We cannot suppose that he had less on this occasion. See Appendix, No. v. p. 448. Henry, in one of his letters of instruction, complains loudly of the Emperor's imposing a tax on the necessaries of life which his Ambassadors had occasion for. Until that time they had been always bought free from duty. See Appendix, No. xxi. p. 512.

In April the Prince of Salerno, who had come to Ghent for the purpose of paying his duty to the Emperor, notified his intention to Wyatt of passing over for some little time into England. Wyatt in communicating this intelligence to Cromwell, once more urged the subject of his recall, and said that if he might be permitted to attend the Prince on his journey he would make him such company as might not be unhonourable to the King.[1] Wyatt's request was not attended to immediately. The backwardness which the King and his ministers shewed in granting it, proves the value they set upon his services. His recall was not however long delayed. Towards the latter end of April he received permission to return; and Pate was sent to supply his place. Wyatt however did not set out immediately, as might have been expected, on Pate's arrival. The Duke of Cleves had come in the mean time unlooked for to Ghent, and Wyatt was sensible that his presence was of importance to prevent him from forming with the Emperor any engagements that might be prejudicial to Henry's interests.[2] He therefore delayed his journey as long as he deemed his presence

[1] See Letters, p. 410, and Appendix, No. iv. p. 447. I cannot but regret that we have no certain information whether Wyatt accompanied the Prince of Salerno to England, or not. As a political event it is one of no importance whatever. But Bernardo Tasso, the father of the Torquato, was the Prince of Salerno's confidential secretary, and was then with him. It is hardly possible therefore that Wyatt and Bernardo Tasso should not have met and conversed with one another. It would have been pleasing to have contemplated those two great men living together, for some time at least, in those habits of intimacy which the congeniality of their tastes would have naturally produced. The merits of Bernardo Tasso as a poet are not sufficiently known. One of his Sonnets has been given in the preceding Volume, which will afford a pleasing specimen of his manner. He wrote with inimitable ease, and a fluency peculiar to himself. When he saw some of his son's early compositions, he admired and commended them much; but turning to a friend who was near, he said; "Torquato "will one day be a great Poet; he will write with dignity and grandeur; but you will look "in vain in his writings for that ease and fluency which distinguish mine."

[2] See Letters, page 416 and 417. As Wyatt acted in this instance from his own judge-

was necessary at Ghent; and then having finally adjusted things to his satisfaction, he returned to England about the middle of May.[1]

The manner in which the King received Wyatt upon his arrival proves that his conduct during his embassy had given perfect satisfaction. It became clear however from subsequent events that his anxiety to return had originated not so much in feeling as in prudence. It is true that Wyatt had grown averse to public business, and that he had been disgusted equally by the insincerity and profligate disregard of truth which he had witnessed in the court of Spain; and by the corruption of manners prevalent both in France and Flanders. But the immediate cause which made him then so anxious to be recalled, was of a private nature. Wyatt was aware that Cromwell's enemies were gaining the ascendency; and as that minister had ever been his friend and patron, he could not but contemplate his downfall as an event that would probably affect himself.

ment, we have clear proof of the rapidity with which he conceived and the ability with which he executed his plans.

[1] It may be proper to note here that the Duke of Cleves retained for some little time possession of Guelders, and that to strengthen himself in it he entered into a close alliance with France, in consequence of which he declared war against the Emperor in concert with Francis in 1542. But the Emperor overpowered him before Francis could march to his assistance, early in 1543, and stripped him of all his dominions. He restored to him however the Dutchies of Cleves and Juliers upon his making proper submission; relinquishing all claim to Guelders, and entering into a treaty of alliance with him offensive and defensive. This obliged the Duke immediately to turn his arms against the French King, and to serve in person at Landrecy. See *Surrey's Mem. p. 55, et seq. Robertson, Charles V. Vol. III. p.* 14. *Modern Univ. Hist. Vol. LX. p.* 43. It has been already noticed that the Emperor had at an early period proposed to him the Dutchess of Milan in marriage; it was not till after that Negotiation had gone off that Henry VIII. offered himself to the Dutchess. See Memoirs, p. xxxviii. and Appendix, No. x. p. 470.

Cromwell indeed had long foreseen his approaching ruin; and with singular disinterestedness, had given warning of it to his particular friends, that they might provide in time for their own safety. We may fairly conclude Wyatt to have been one of those to whom the communication had been made, and this alone would have justified the anxiety he expressed on the subject of his recall.

Wyatt had not been at home long before all his fears were realized. On the 9th of the July following, Cromwell was arrested at the Privy Council board by orders from the King, by the Duke of Norfolk, who shewed in this instance, as he had before done in that of Wolsey, a want of feeling towards a fallen favourite which could not but diminish much of that pity which his own subsequent ruin, for Nemesis was near at hand, would have otherwise excited.

Cromwell's downfall had nearly proved fatal to Wyatt. The enemies of one, were for the most part the common enemies of both. Bonner, whose machinations had been defeated by Cromwell's interference the year before, now thought himself secure of his victim. He therefore repeated to the King the same accusations against Wyatt which he had before urged to Cromwell, in full confidence, that as the means of exposing the fallacy of his charges were, as he thought, removed, he should succeed in gratifying his revenge.[1] Henry, from what motive cannot now be even conjectured, for he must have had

[1] There are several passages in Wyatt's letters which plainly shew that Bonner did not co-operate with him cordially in his last embassy to France. Among the Cotton MSS. Caligula C. IV. there is a letter of Bonner's in which he complains to the King, of some personal disrespect that had been shewn him, not having been provided with lodgings sufficiently good; and the like. These probably were covert accusations against Wyatt. Bonner's mind was narrow enough to make such trifles as those a ground of serious crimination.

sufficient proof of the baseness of Bonner's character, listened to his representations. Wyatt was accordingly apprehended and committed to the Tower on the double charge of traiterous correspondence with Pole, and disrespect to the King.

We know not for certain when Wyatt was arrested; it must have been either late in the winter of 1540 or early in that of 1541. During his confinement he was treated with more than common severity. He tells us that his dungeon was dark, unwholesome and offensive; and adds, in a picturesque style of description, that he was so closely immured he could judge of the weather only by hearing the pattering of the rain as it beat upon the windows of his prison, and the blowing of the wind.[1]

A considerable time elapsed before Wyatt was brought to his trial. At last he was summoned before the Privy Council; and Bonner having produced all the proof he could collect to substantiate his charges, Wyatt was called upon to make his defence.

He was not allowed the benefit of counsel, and it should seem that he was not permitted either to cross examine Bonner's witnesses, or produce any of his own. His defence was limited therefore to a single speech, or oration, in which he was to refute all Bonner's allegations. That speech has been preserved. It will be found printed among Wyatt's works. If it was, as we have reason to believe it was, an unpremeditated

[1] See that beautiful little Epigram at page 72,

Sighs are my food; my drink they are my tears.

The concluding lines remind us of a very striking passage in his Oration.

Sure I am, Brian, this wound shall heal again;
But yet, alas! the scar shall still remain.

"These men thinketh it enough to accuse; and, as all these slanderers use for a general "rule, Whom thou lovest not accuse; for though he heal the wound, yet the scar shall "remain." *Oration, p.* 291.

speech, we must regard it as a proof of uncommon talent, self-possession, and vigour of mind[1]. Bonner's charges were all those of constructive treason. Wyatt's guilt was grounded not upon any one particular overt act which might have been easily disproved; but was to be inferred from words and expressions which had fallen from him casually at different times in conversation. This was artfully contrived by Bonner. It made Wyatt's defence the more difficult: for his guilt thus became a matter of private opinion in the breast of the jury; and it was not possible to say how far prejudice and preconceived notions might operate.

Under these unfavourable circumstances Wyatt entered on his defence. It cannot but excite admiration to observe with what ease and perspicuity he refutes all Bonner's ingenious and subtle insinuations. And when, after having established his own innocence he proceeds to unravel Bonner's motives in accusing him, and to draw his character, he does it in terms of such strong and lively satire, and delivers himself with such an air of truth as could not but have produced a powerful effect upon his judges, and have left his unworthy accuser an object of contempt as well as ridicule.

We know not who the jury were that gave the verdict, or which of the Lords of the Privy Council were present at the trial, but we learn that Wyatt was acquitted to the joy of every one who either had a heart to feel in the cause of virtue, or was a well-wisher to the Reformation. The generous minded Surrey

[1] It may serve to render this Oration more interesting to the Reader to know that Gray was so struck with the beauty of it, that he transcribed it with a view to publication. It has been printed though very imperfectly by Walpole in the second number of his Miscellaneous Antiquities. Why Walpole omitted to give the Declaration at the same time, it is difficult to say.

we may be certain, was among the foremost to congratulate his friend on his escape, and the loudest to rejoice at the defeat of his enemies; for it was in allusion to this event that he soon after wrote that spirited Sonnet, in which he scruples not to say that the murderer's knife had been aimed at Wyatt's breast from the base motives of personal jealousy and private revenge.[1]

Wyatt must have been acquitted about the month of June 1541. The King, who was satisfied of his innocence, and knew his worth, to mark his sense of it, gave him on the 10th of July following a grant of lands in Lambeth: a certain proof that Bonner's malice had not lowered Wyatt in Henry's estimation.[2] Nor was that the only mark of royal bounty Wyatt received after his acquittal. The King confirmed his good opinion of him by making him, early in the ensuing year, High Steward of the Manor of Maidstone:[3] and added largely both to his fortunes and his credit, by giving to him considerable estates in Dorset and Somersetshire in exchange for others of less value in Kent.[4]

As soon as Wyatt was released from the immediate demands

[1] See Vol. I. Poems, page 47.

[2] See Manning's Surry, Vol. III. p. 416. Besides the promise of the House of Ailesford, in Kent, Wyatt obtained, during his residence in Spain, a grant of some lands in Hampshire, valued at 8*l.* 16*s.* 3*d.* But he parted with them immediately at the earnest request of Wriothesley. See Letters, p. 425 and 427. The name of the place is not mentioned.

[3] See Hasted's Kent, *Vol. II. p.* 96. *note o.* He was made also Keeper of the King's Messuage at Maidstone, with a fee of 2*d.* the day, and 6*l.* the year. As High Steward he had a fee of 5*l.* a year. After Wyatt's death both these offices were bestowed on George Blage, one of Wyatt's most intimate friends.

[4] The deeds containing the particulars of the exchange are preserved in the Augmentation Office, Box. A; 55. and Box. C; 20. I am indebted to Mr. Caley, Keeper of the Records of that office for extracts from those deeds. They will be found in the Appendix, No. xxvi. and xxvii. and are interesting from the proof they supply of the extent of Wyatt's wealth and consequence in the country.

of business he went to Allington, hoping to forget awhile the troubles and dangers he had experienced in public life, in the calm of that retirement, after which he had long anxiously sighed; free to enjoy the society of his friends, his books and the Muse, whose gentle blandishments have a charm with generous minds to soothe the hour of care beyond any that can be derived from the turbulent pleasures of pomp and parade, and idle dissipation. In the beautiful satire addressed by him to his friend Poyntz, he draws a pleasing picture of his state of mind after his return to Allington. He tells him, that having conquered that love of glory which he confesses had once taken possession of his heart, he was now intent only on obtaining a complete mastery over his passions; and says that he was "deeping himself" daily more and more in serious study, and the pursuit of truth.[1]

We have no reason to doubt the sincerity of this declaration. Wyatt was of an highly sensitive turn of mind, and was by nature moral and contemplative. A person of that description, as soon as the first animation and warmth of youth had subsided, was not likely to derive pleasure from a constant attendance at Court, especially after he had once been made acquainted with its dangers, and experienced the insincerity of all its tumultuous enjoyments. To Wyatt, therefore, the courtier's life, as he has feelingly expressed himself, might be supposed to have had joined with it,

> — — — — — oft times, such bitter taste,
> That whoso joys such kind of life to hold,
> In prison joys, fetter'd with chains of gold.

Besides which it should be remembered that Wyatt's private

[1] See Satire II. p. 87. l. 14. and Satire I. p. 85. l. 24.

fortune, instead of having been benefited by his embassies, had suffered greatly by them. He had contracted considerable debts, and he felt the necessity of retrenching his expenses.[1]

Wyatt seems to have spent the greater part of the winter of 1541, and the spring and summer of 1542, chiefly at Allington. How he occupied his time when there we have no other account than what he has himself supplied us with. He tells us that when the season permitted, he was used to hunt and hawk; and that in the depth of Winter he was fond of shooting with his bow. When the weather was such as confined him to the house, he tells us that he then devoted himself either to study or poetic composition.[2] The number of the pieces written by him at this period must be considered as a proof of his having acquired the habit of writing rapidly; for besides some smaller pieces of a moral cast, he wrote this year his three Satires, which are pro-

[1] See a preceding note at page lviii. Wyatt's pay when he first went to Spain was only *2l. 1s. 0d.* a day, which amounts to little more than *700l.* a year. It was afterwards increased to *2l. 13s. 4d.* a day; amounting to somewhat less than a thousand pounds a year. From the letters that passed on the occasion it seems evident that this augmentation was obtained with difficulty, and that it was granted as a special mark of favour to Wyatt. See Letters, p. 339, and p. 426, 428. Wyatt himself admitted it to be a very honourable provision. See p. lviij. From an account of the allowance made to Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, when ambassador in France, it appears that he had no more than *2l. 13s. 4d.* a day. See Cotton MSS. Vesp. C. XIV. *fol.* 18.

[2] See the second Satire, p. 90. l. 2, and particularly the concluding lines, which fix the Satires to have been written at Allington.

> But here I am in Kent and Christendom
> Among the Muses, where I read and rhyme.

Wyatt imitated this Satire from Alamanni's tenth Satire to his friend Sertini.

> Io vi dirò poi che d'udir vi cale.

As Alamanni was protected by Francis the First, and lived in his Court, it is by no means improbable but that Wyatt might have formed a personal acquaintance with him.

ductions of singular merit, and may be studied as well for their beauty of composition as for their sentiments and knowledge of human nature. But what engaged him most was his Paraphrase of the Seven Penitential Psalms: of which it should be observed, that it was written, not as an exercise of his skill as a poet, but to express a Christian's sorrow for the levities and errors of his youth. The disappointments he had experienced, and the dangers he had escaped, could not but have produced a strong effect upon his mind; so that it was no wonder if in the severity of self-examination, he condemned himself for that fanciful attachment to Anne Boleyn, which, though it had never proceeded to the length of actual criminality, appeared then in its real form as a sort of mental adultery, and a positive dereliction of duty.[1]

But Wyatt never suffered his literary amusements to interfere with serious avocations. We find him therefore still involved in business of various kinds. He undertook for instance the charge of his nephew Henry, son of Sir Anthony Lee, a youth then about ten years old, and attended personally to his education:[2] and he continued to make further improvements at Allington, which, had they been completed,

[1] That Wyatt delivers his proper sentiments in that Paraphrase is evident from the variations he makes in the original to accommodate the words of the Psalmist to his own particular case. The principal ground of his consolation was that he had never done any thing that could be deemed an actual offence, or become an example of sin to others. This source of consolation could not be claimed by the Royal Penitent.

[2] See Collins's account of the Earls of Litchfield, Peerage, Vol. III. p. 428. Sir Henry Lee, son of Sir Anthony Lee, by Margaret, sister to Sir Thomas Wyatt, died in 1611, aged 80. He must have been born therefore in 1531. It is particularly mentioned in his Epitaph that, "he owed his birth and childhood to Kent, and his honourable uncle, Sir Thomas "Wyatt, at Allington Castle."

would have made it a mansion of more than ordinary splendor.[1]

From an expression used by Leland in his Nænia, we are led to believe that Wyatt was engaged, at this period, in a laudable attempt to benefit the place in which Henry had lately given him property in Somersetshire. He had bestowed upon him in the first instance the lands that belonged to the religious house at Montacute in that county; but he afterwards added the borough and all that belonged to the Crown, in the town itself.

Montacute had once sent members to parliament in the reign of Edward the Third. After that period it does not seem to have enjoyed the right of representation, and had in consequence lost much of its antient splendor and importance. Wyatt, on becoming possessed of the borough, appears to have undertaken to advocate its cause; and as he stood high in favour with the King, and as his interest at Court was great, sanguine hopes were entertained that all its antient privileges would be restored to it again.[2]

[1] See Nænia, *v.* 99.

[2] See Nænia, *v.* 14. *and seq.* The only meaning I can give to the passage is that which I have assigned to it in the text. It seems to derive some support from a passage in one of Wyatt's letters, where he describes himself as occupied "in preparing his bills into parliament." See Letters, *p.* 420. That Wyatt sat actually at that time in parliament we have no ground, I believe, whatever for affirming. Indeed, I do not see how it could be said with any propriety of the borough of Montague, (formerly called "Logueri Burgus," from the name of one of the early British Kings) that,

— — — — — Dominum, gratumque Patronum
Sollicitis votis optabat habere Viatum,

but in reference to their having it in contemplation to return him by their votes a member into parliament. In his obtaining possessions at that place, they could have had no voice. Those had been given to him as an act of favour by the King. Neither do I see how the "Murotriges," (the Somersetshire men, generally) could have lamented their disappointed hopes on Wyatt's death; but as they had lost that protection which he might have been able to afford them, had he been the representative of one of their borough towns in parliament.

Leland, in another work, supplies us with yet another casual notice respecting Wyatt, which puts him before us in a new light, and proves that Henry had as high an opinion of his courage and ability in active command, as he had of his skill and dexterity in political negotiations. He tells us that Wyatt had about this time the command of a man of war. He does not tell us indeed the name of the ship; but he speaks of it as one lately built, and seems to intimate that Wyatt had been before distinguished by his services at sea.[1]

It need not excite surprise to find that a person so lately

[1] The passage occurs in Leland's Cygnea Cantio. I will give it entire from Hearne's reprint in the ninth volume of the Itinerary. The reader may be amused by comparing the names and number of our ships in the days of Henry the VIIIth with those of our present navy.

Prima, et maxima, nomen Imperantis
Henrici retinet: secunda verò
Et navis, Catarina Bella, fertur.
Nomen tertia prædicat Mariæ,
Inter quæ reliquas nitet puellas,
Digna Semideûm toris Virago.
Gaudet quarta quidem Petrus vocari.
Quinta, insignia jactitat Leonis.
Hæc est, Prima-Rosa: hæc est Hirundo;
Hæc est, Palmifera; et Phaselus, illa.
Hæc, Pinus volucris; nova hæc Triremis
Cui Præfectus erat meus Viatus;
Cultor Nereidum volat celebris,
Cultor Pieridum celebris ille,
Nostri et Martia sæculi voluptas.

P. 15. *Ed.* 1744.

I know not what edition Hearne printed from: his reprint in this passage differs much from the original edition in 1540, which reads the last line but two thus;

Cultor Oceanitidum celebris.

The expression, "Cultor Oceanitidum," like that of "Cultor Pieridum," will authorise the inference that Wyatt had made naval affairs, as he is known to have done poetry, an object of particular attention. Perhaps he had the penetration to discover that the sea was the legiti-

an ambassador should suddenly appear as the commander of a man of war. The sea service was not then, as it has since grown to be, a distinct profession. Of the master of the ship it was required that he should be an experienced seaman: but of the captain no more was expected than that he should fight his ship with courage and ability: for all the nautical part the master and the pilot were responsible. Hence it is that in the history of those times we often find persons volunteering their services from the bosom of the Court to take the command of ships in occasions of emergency, and vindicating the British claim to the command of the ocean, with no other preparation than what their general knowledge of the art of war and their native gallantry supplied.[1] Whether Wyatt ever

mate source of England's greatness, and that in future ages she would owe every thing to her Navies, and her Commerce. Rymer, in the 13th vol. of his Fœdera, has given us a list of our ships early in Henry the VIIIth's reign. Some of the names there mentioned agree with those here given by Leland. The circumstance of Wyatt's having had the command of a ship, supports what has been advanced in a former page of his having been distinguished by his military as well as by his political abilities. See *p.* xiii. *and ibid. note* [1].

[1] This circumstance cannot be better illustrated than by the fine old ballad of Andrew Barton, preserved in Bishop Percy's collection, *Vol. II. p.* 182. When information was given to Henry of the depredations committed by Sir Andrew Barton,

The King look'd over his left shoulder,
And an angry look then looked he;
" Have I never a Lord in all my realm,
" Will fetch yon traitor unto me?"

Lord Howard immediately stepped forward and offered to undertake the enterprise.

" Thou art but young," the King replied,
" Yond Scott hath numbered many a year."
" Trust me, my Liege, I'll make him quail,
" Or before my Prince I will never appear."

The manner in which the Lord Howard performed his promise is too well known to be here repeated. Percy has properly observed that the fact, as it really occurred, differs greatly from what is narrated in the ballad. But the difference illustrates even still more strongly the point

distinguished himself in any particular engagement, as the gallant Lord Howard did against the bold pirate, Barton, I have not been able to ascertain. It may not be improbable that he was invested with his command in reference to those exertions which Henry intended to make by sea the next year against the French.

These then were the more serious occupations in which Wyatt was engaged. Meanwhile his mode of living was such as gained him general respect, and accorded with the well known splendor and generosity of his character. It was that of a dignified and a liberal, but not a profuse or ostentatious hospitality. We are told that there were four things for which men went to dine with Sir Thomas Wyatt. "First, his gene-
"rous entertainment; secondly, his free and knowing discourse
"of Spain and Germany, an insight into whose interests was
"his master-piece, they having been studied by him for his own
"satisfaction as well as for the exigency of the times; thirdly,
"his quickness in observing, his civility in entertaining, his
"dexterity in employing, and his readiness in encouraging

under consideration. The Earl of Surrey, at the council board, heard of the injury done by Barton to the English merchants, and gave vent to his honest indignation by declaring "That "if he had no more estate than would suffice to fit out a single ship, and only one son to com-"mand it, he would venture both to curb the insolence of the Scottish pirate." The King immediately ordered two ships to be equipped, and the Earl of Surrey's two sons, Sir Thomas and Sir Edward Howard, were entrusted with the command of them. The merit of their success seems the greater as they were not only volunteers, but acted by their father's orders. This action took place in 1511, and has been considered by some as the cause of Sir Edward Howard's further promotion: for in May 1512, according to Dugdale, he was made High Admiral; though Holinshed and Herbert speak of him, I apprehend erroneously, as admiral in 1511. He was killed at Brest in 1513, and was succeeded in his office by his brother the Lord Thomas, who conducted affairs with such gallantry and skill that we are told he scoured the seas, so that the French dared not shew themselves abroad, and were not safe even in their harbours.

"every man's peculiar parts and inclinations; and lastly, the "favour and notice with which he was honoured by the "King."[1] With such powerful attractions as these we may be certain that Wyatt's table never wanted guests, or himself admirers.

Thus distinguished by the King, thus honoured and admired by men of probity and learning, occupied in objects of private beneficence, or public utility, and free at intervals to follow the bent of his natural genius in the pleasing pursuits of polite literature; it is probable that Wyatt had attained fully to that "pleasant life," which he tells us he had long sought for before in vain.

But the scene was soon to close. In the Autumn of 1542, Henry, having resolved on entering into close alliance with the Emperor, agreed to prosecute in conjunction with him a vigorous war against France. To arrange all the circumstances of the treaty the Emperor sent an Ambassador into England, who landed, it should seem somewhat unexpectedly, at Falmouth. Henry immediately ordered Wyatt to hasten thither, and conduct him to London. The appointment was an honourable one to Wyatt. He accepted it probably with pleasure, being the first piece of public service in which he had been employed since his trial. It proved, however, fatal to him in the event. The weather was extremely bad,[2] and Wyatt, desirous to shew his zeal in his master's business, rode with such unadvised haste that he overheated himself, and on his arrival at Sherborne was seized with a fever which prevented his going further.[3] Fortu-

[1] Lloyd's Worthies, Vol. II. p. 87. [2] Leland's Nænia, v. 112.

[3] See Leland's Nænia, l. 11. As Leland says, unequivocally, that Wyatt was sent to conduct the Spanish Ambassador from Falmouth to London, it is extraordinary that Lloyd, and some other writers after him, should say that Wyatt died as he was himself going Ambassador into Spain. Wood has avoided the error, and tells us that the Spanish Ambassador's name was Montmorancius à Couriers. Leland calls him "Maurentius." Wood seldom stops to give his authorities.

nately for Wyatt, Horsey, one of his most intimate friends, lived in the neighbourhood. He immediately went over to Sherborne, and nursed Wyatt in his illness with the fondest attention and solicitude; but all his cares were unavailing. The fever turned to one of a malignant nature, and in a few days terminated Wyatt's mortal existence. Horsey continued with him to the last, and literally perhaps, according to Leland's account, closed his dying eyes.[1] It is probable that he paid also the last honours to his remains, and buried him, on the 11th of October, in his own family vault in the Great Church at Sherborne.[2] The nature of the fever that carried him off prevented his body from being removed to Kent.

[1] Nobilis Horsæus morienti lumina clausit, *Nænia, l.* 19. For an account of the family of the Horseys, see *Hutchin's Dorset. Vol. IV. p.* 248, last edition. The place of their residence was Clifton Maubank, about two miles from Sherborne. See *Leland's Itinerary, Vol. VI. fol.* 21. *and Vol. VII. fol.* 79.

[2] The entry in the register of the Great Church at Sherborne is as follows: "Mensis Octobris 11°. sepultus est Thomas Wyatt, *Miles Regis Consiliarius*, Vir Venerabilis." The words Regis Consiliarius might seem to favour the belief of Wyatt's having been in parliament, unless they may be understood to mean that he was a Privy Counsellor. The inquisition taken on his death runs as follows. Ex. 34. Hen. 8. n. 90. Inquisition taken at Maidstone. Com. Kent. 8. Jan. 34. Hen. 8: after the death of Sir Thomas Wyatt, K^t. finds that he died seized of a castle or manor called Allyngton Castle, otherwise the manor of Allyngton; the manors of Boxley, Newnham Court, Thorne, Ovenhall, Aylesford, Benesteds, Est-farley, West-Farley, Testau, and East Peckham. The advowson of the parish church of Alington: the scite of the late priory of Carmilate Friars of Aylesford, and lands in Aylesford to the said priory belonging. Lands in Maidstone, Newhithe, East Malling, Dytton, Leybourne, Berlyng, and Snodland, and the reversion of two messuages and lands in Gravesend, which Gunnotta David, widow, then had for the term of her life. That the said Sir Thomas Wyatt, at the time of his death, held no other manors, lands, or tenements in Kent, and that he died 11°. Oct. then last; and "that Thomas Wyatt was his son and next heir, and of the age of twenty-one years and upwards." I must here observe that Sir Thomas Wyatt's son, being of age in Oct. 1542, he himself must have married in 1520, or at latest in January 1521, and not as I first supposed in 1522 or 1523. This fixes the date of his letters to his son. He must have written them in 1537, immediately after his going into Spain, for at the time of their being written it is expressly said his son was sixteen.

Thus died in his thirty-ninth year a man whose untimely end, like that which was so soon, alas! to terminate the short career of his generous friend, the noble Surrey, was felt severely at the time, and may be considered to have been a national misfortune. The credit Wyatt stood in with Henry, and the ascendancy his genius and ability would have gained over his mind, might have been exercised to prevent some of those violent and sanguinary measures which fix an indelible stigma upon the close of a reign, but too much loaded before with cruelty and blood. Besides, Wyatt's love of learning would have greatly contributed to promote the progress of polite literature amongst us; whilst his steady and enlightened attachment to the Reformation would have rendered important service to that sacred cause. Those, therefore, who contemplated Wyatt's death with seriousness, and knew him best, scrupled not to say that he was removed as a person of whom the times were not worthy. They regarded him as a man raised up by Heaven for great and beneficial purposes which the malice of his enemies, and the perversity of human passions, prevented him from accomplishing.[1]

The general sorrow, excited by Wyatt's death, shews him to have stood high in estimation with the kingdom at large; while the secret exultation of the Roman Catholic party proves him to have been feared and dreaded by them. In what terms Henry lamented his fate we are not informed; but we are told that Charles the Vth. declared him to have been one of the most accomplished

[1] Thus Surrey describes Wyatt to have been 'sent for our health, but not received so,' *Poems, p.* 46. And Chaloner, in the same manner, says,

Credo equidem Superos, humana ad commoda natum,
Dignum sed meliore loco, rapuisse Viatum.
Chaloneri Epitaphium Viati.

gentlemen of his times, and a man of as great penetration in business as any he had ever conversed with. It must have been no trivial merit that could have drawn this tribute of praise from the Emperor, when we remember what freedom of remonstrance Wyatt had always used with him, and how accurately he had read, and how forcibly represented to the English Court, the duplicity of his conduct.

Numerous were the epitaphs composed on Wyatt's death. The first in point of time and beauty was that written by Surrey. Leland soon after published his Nænia; and Sir John Mason wrote a long epitaph in prose, wherein he detailed many particulars of Wyatt's life. Sir Anthony Saint-Leger likewise, Sir Thomas Chaloner, and Parkhurst Bishop of Norwich, composed each an epitaph in verse upon him. All these, however, may be considered rather as elegies than epitaphs. I do not find that any tomb or monumental inscription was ever put up to his memory; certainly nothing of that kind exists at present. When I visited the church where Wyatt lies buried, I inquired earnestly after some memorial erected to his name, but was disappointed in my search. Not a stone remained to mark the place where he was interred: hardly a traditionary story was preserved to point to any spot where his honoured dust might be supposed to rest. It is from conjecture only we are led to believe that he lies buried in the vault of his friend.[1]

Few persons ever received a larger tribute of praise from

[1] In Hutchins's Dorsetshire it is conjectured, that if Sir Thomas Wyatt was not buried in Horsey's family vault, his remains might have been deposited near the great western door, on the south side of which is a very strong leaden coffin immediately under the floor, *Vol. IV. p.* 112. *last Ed.* The several Epitaphs alluded to above will be found with Leland's Nænia at the end of these Memoirs.

their contemporaries, and the immediately succeeding writers, than Wyatt; and few ever deserved the tribute better.

He was a man in every respect entitled to more than common admiration. The elegance of his form, and the external graces of his person, have been already noticed. It is true that as he advanced in life he became bald, and his beard grew to a remarkable length; but this circumstance improved his appearance, inasmuch as it gave him a dignified and imposing look, without diminishing that peculiar sweetness of expression, for which his countenance was at all times remarkable.

To great natural strength and activity of body he added an undaunted courage and an enterprising spirit; so that had it been his fortune to have followed the profession of arms exclusively, he would have shone among the most distinguished commanders of his age. He was of a frank and unsuspecting, a generous and a noble disposition; as ready to confer benefits as to forgive injuries. Towards his friends, his servants, and dependants he was liberal in the extreme; and was prompt at all times to promote their interests, even to the neglect and detriment of his own. Of money he was careless, but not personally profuse; often relieving the wants of those who needed assistance, to his own prejudice and inconvenience.[1] His learning was great; not when viewed in reference to his times merely, but in the actual extent of his acquirements. Camden, who was an eminent scholar

[1] See Cromwell's Letter to Wyatt, *p.* 326, and again, *p.* 344. He mentions, at p. 317, some misdemeanours his servants had been guilty of in stealing the King's hawks. By accident the names of the persons have been preserved. See the King's MSS. 7. C. xvi. The offence was pardoned. Cromwell mentions Wyatt's brother, Anthony, as having been concerned in the offence. This must have been Anthony Lee, who had married Margaret, Wyatt's only sister. Cromwell speaks of her as suing for his deliverance, and adds "that the King's Highness was again good Lord unto him." *Lett. p.* 319.

himself, tells us that Wyatt was conspicuously learned; "Splendide doctus." It appears that to an intimate acquaintance with the French, the Spanish, and the Italian languages he joined a perfect knowledge of the Greek and Latin tongues. His Poems alone would suffice to prove that his learning, like his reading, was varied and extensive. He was naturally gay and cheerful, and fond of society; but the frame of his mind was habitually holy, and tending to heavenly things; so that he obtained the praise of uniting in his character things in themselves discordant; brilliant wit, and purity of thought; the ease of the courtier, and the gravity of the Christian. Of him it might be said with truth, what an early Christian writer has recorded of the wife of one of his acquaintance,

Discordantia quæ solent putari,
Morum commoditate copulavit;
Nam vitæ comites bonæ fuerunt
Libertas gravis, et pudor facetus.[1]

But that which distinguished Wyatt more than even his talents or the powers of his wit, was a certain generous contempt of vice, and an exalted love of virtue, which seems to have been the great bond of union between the noble hearted Surrey and himself. These were not with him qualities merely speculative; they were vital principles, perpetually pressing forward into action. God and goodness, to use his own expression, were ever the foundation of his conduct, so that it was not possible to know him, and

[1] See Apollinarius Sidonius Epis. VIII. Lib. II. The lady's name, on whom he wrote the Epitaph, was Philimathia. The account he gives of her piety and virtues is very pleasing and affecting.

converse with him, without feeling the same magnanimous longing after moral excellence by which he himself was animated.[1]

It might be objected, indeed, that as a married man he allowed himself to indulge in a vain passion for another. But it ought always to be remembered, that he was never betrayed by it into any act of guilt, or even of criminal intention; that Platonic love was encouraged in those days as the means of improving the manners of society, and that he early saw, and deeply lamented, the fault into which he had been betrayed.[2]

[1] See particularly his two letters to his son, *p.* 267, *et seq.*

[2] It might easily be said in Wyatt's excuse that his passion was a feigned one, and that he only assumed the name of a lover, like Cowley, to have a subject for his muse. But I should be insincere were I to offer such an apology. There are many passages in Wyatt's verses, which convince me that he felt what he expressed. I rest his defence, where alone I think it ought to stand, on what has been said in Surrey's instance, on the habits and the opinions of their times. See Surrey's Memoirs, p. cxxx, and note *a*, and in this volume, p. xviii. and p. xxvi. note [2]. It, however, is proper to remark here, that this defence was very early set up for Surrey; and that an early writer, who studied his works with particular attention, has declared in one of his poems that Surrey proposed to himself nothing but fame in the verses addressed by him to the Fair Geraldine, and consequently that his passion was ideal. As the piece alluded to is on many other accounts deserving notice, I will subjoin it entire.

TURBERVILLE'S VERSE IN PRAISE OF THE LORD HENRY HOWARD, EARL OF SURREY.

What should I speak in praise of Surrey's skill,
Unless I had a thousand tongues at will?
No one is able to depaint at full
The flowing fountain of his sacred skull;
Whose pen approved what wit he had in mew,
Where such a skill in making sonnets grew,
Each word in place with such a sleight is couch'd,
Each thing whereof he treats so firmly touch'd,
As Pallas seemed within his noble breast
To have sojourned, and been a daily guest.
Our mother tongue by him hath got such light,
As ruder speech thereby is banished quite.
Reprove him not for fancies that he wrought,
For fame thereby, and nothing else he sought

In nothing was the purity of Wyatt's sentiments, and the elevation of his mind more conspicuous, than in the rules he prescribed to himself in his ordinary discourse. He was confessedly the person of the most wit in the English Court, and he constantly amused the King with the liveliness of his conversation. But he was never known to have uttered an indecent word, or to have overstepped the bounds of decorum. Indeed, he had so nice a sense of what was due to propriety of character, that we are told when the King once urged him to dance at one of those splendid midnight masks with which he so often indulged the Court, Wyatt with great modesty excused himself; and when Henry pressed him for his reason, he replied, "Sir! he who would be thought "a wise man in the day-time, must not play the fool at night."[1]

In the same high strain of moral feeling was another of his

What though his verse with pleasant toyes are freight,
Yet was his honour's life a lamp of light;
A mirror he, the simple sort to train,
That ever beat his brain for Britain's gain,
By him the nobles had their virtues blazed,
When spiteful death their honour'd lives had razed;
Each that in life had well deserved aught,
By Surrey's means an endless fame hath caught
To quit his boon and aye well-meaning mind,
Whereby he did his sequel seem to bind.
Though want of skill to silence me procures,
I write of him whose fame for aye endures,
A worthy wight, a noble for his race,
A learned Lord, that had an Earle's place.

Turberville's Epitaphs, Epigrams, &c. Ed. 1567. *fol.* 9.

Notwithstanding this authority I am still disposed to think that Surrey's attachment to the Fair Geraldine was real, as far as Platonic affection went; on the same grounds of reasoning, I am disposed to attribute an equal degree of truth to Wyatt's attachment to Anne Boleyn. If his passion had been purely ideal and fictitious, what reason could he have had for saying that his life had been brought into danger by it. See p. xxiv. note *.

[1] Lloyd's Worthies, Vol. II. p. 88.

speeches when he reproved a person for jesting on serious matters. "It does not become Christians to do so," he said. "If "the Athenians," he continued, "would not permit a comedian "to exhibit his farces on the scene where Euripides had acted "his grave and solemn tragedies, much less ought we to suffer "the levity of a joke to come as it were into the presence of "things holy and religious." It is no wonder therefore that it was said of Wyatt that "he was neither all honey, nor all "gall, but a sweet mixture of affability and gravity; carrying "an equal mixture of Sir Thomas More's ingenuity in his head, "and Sir Thomas Cromwell's wisdom in his heart."

Of such a man as this how greatly is it to be lamented that the anecdotes transmitted should be so few in number as they are. Those which have been preserved I trust I shall be pardoned in relating.[1]

One day as Wyatt was conversing with the King he said playfully to him; "Sir, I have at last found out a benefice that "must needs make me a rich man, for it would give me an "hundred pounds a year more than I could want. I beseech "your Majesty bestow it on me." "Ha!" quoth the King, "we knew not that we had any such in our kingdom!" "Yes, "in good faith, Sir," replied Wyatt, "there is one such! The "Provostship of Eton! There a man hath his diet, his lodging,

[1] Leland has preserved a circumstance respecting Wyatt, which, as it is descriptive of his turn of mind, deserves here to be repeated. He tells us that Wyatt's favourite ring, with which he always sealed his letters, was a beautiful antique gem, with Julius Cæsar's head on agate: and he says that Wyatt's predilection for it arose from his admiration of Cæsar's character; and that he used it that the memory of so great a man, being constantly present to his mind, he himself might be stimulated to generous exertion, and do something worthy of eternal record. See *Leland's Nænia, v.* 172.

" his horse meat, his servants wages, and riding charges, and an " hundred pounds a year beside."

It was one of his common sayings, " Let my friend bring " me into Court; but let my merit and my service keep me " there."

In a jest he was used to say three things should be observed. " Never to play upon any man's unhappiness or deformity, for that " is inhuman; nor on superiors, for that is saucy and undutiful; " nor on holy matters, for that is irreligious."

We are told of him, " That he often jested, but never jeered;" and it was remarked, " That no man ever observed times and " circumstances better; knowing both when to speak and when " to be silent."

His repartees were apt and natural; never forced nor affected; subtle, acute, and easy, but not careless. He never rendered himself contemptible to please others; nor indulged in an insipid play on words. He used always a smart retort of matters, which every body was better pleased with than himself.

Among other things related of him it is said that he was admirable in telling a story, and excelled " in a neat continued discourse as well as in a quaint sentence, contriving it, as Lloyd tells us, in an handsome method; clothing it with suitable expressions, without any parenthesis or impertinencies; representing persons and actions so to the life, that you should think you saw what you heard." All these things he concludes, " argued in him a ready apprehension, an ingenious fancy, a tenacious memory, a graceful elocution, an exact judgment and discretion, and a perfect acquaintance with things and circumstances. The very phrase he used was the picture of his thoughts; and his language, even in argument, was gentle and

obliging. He never contradicted but with an "Under favour, Sir;" ever subjoining to his adversary's discourse, "It may be so."[1]

Wyatt had numerous friends, but we are told by Leland, who was among those whom he honoured with his intimacy, that he cherished three in particular. Poynings, for the generosity of his disposition; Blage, for his wit; and Mason, for his learning.[2]

From his own writings we collect that he was particularly intimate with John Poynz,[3] and Sir Francis Bryan, both of them

[1] For this, and all the above anecdotes, see Lloyd, ut supra. I cannot forbear again lamenting that Lloyd never cites his authorities. I believe him to have seen, and to have made considerable use of Mason's Epitaph, which appears to have been, like that preserved in Weever on the Duke of Norfolk, an epitome of Wyatt's life. In the Sloane MSS. No. 1523, is a collection of sayings of Sir Thomas Wyatt, and other great men of those times. They are in fact the same with what Lloyd has recorded. The hand-writing is not of an age to make it probable that they were Lloyd's authority. They might have been selected by some contemporary person from Lloyd's work, as containing what was most remarkable in it of the persons enumerated.

[2] The Poynings here mentioned was probably Thomas, afterwards Lord Poynings, who distinguished himself greatly at the siege of Boulogne, of which place he died Governor in 1545. See Surrey's Memoirs, p. lxxii. and lxxvi. Sir T. Chaloner wrote an encomium upon him. See his Latin poems subjoined to the "*De Reipub. Ang. Instau.*" *p.* 364. *Ed.* 1574. Of Blage, the friend and companion of Surrey, see some account at p. xcvi. of Surrey's Memoirs, note [b]. He was afterwards knighted, and served in the expedition into Scotland in 1547. *Holinshed*, Vol. III. *p.* 868. Sir John Mason was one of the most learned and distinguished scholars and negociators of his times. He belonged to All Souls College, Oxford, and was chosen Chancellor to that University. Frequent mention is made of him in the Oration and Declaration, and in many of Wyatt's dispatches. A large number of his letters are preserved in the British Museum, and in our other public libraries. Chaloner has commemorated him; See *Poemata, ut sup. p.* 300; and Ascham introduces him as one of the learned men who were present when the conversation was said to have taken place, that gave occasion to his writing his "School-master." See Ascham's *Works, p.* 191. *Ed.* 1761. Ascham describes Mr. Mason to have been, "after his manner, very merry with both parties: plea-"santly playing both with the shrewd touches of many froward boys, and the small discre-"tion of many ignorant school-masters."

[3] John Poyntz, Poins, or Poynes, for his name was variously spelt, was of the younger branch of a very honourable family established from a very early period at Iron Acton, in Gloucester-

men who stood high in public estimation as well for their integrity as their abilities and learning.[1]

shire. Henry, second son of Sir Robert Poyntz, settled at North Okendon in Essex, in the reign of Henry VII. He left a son to succeed him, of the name of John, whose son was the John Poyntz in question. We are not informed where he was educated, how he employed his youth, or where his intimacy with Wyatt began. His life was spent chiefly at Court. From Rymer's Fœdera we learn that he was Sewer to the Chamber of Queen Catherine in 1520. In the extract from Hall, given in the Appendix, No. I. of the Feat at Arms, maintained by the gentlemen of the bed-chamber before Henry in 1525, he distinguished himself as one of the opponents for his bravery and activity. He was one of the persons appointed to attend the Queen into France, when the celebrated interview between Henry and Francis took place at the Champ d'Or. It is probable that he had then some honourable and permanent appointment about the Court. He died without issue the 16th of July 1558. He married Anne, daughter and heir to J. Sibley of Buckinghamshire. His portrait occurs in his Majesty's Collection of Holbein's Heads. He appears to have had a remarkably intelligent and expressive countenance. See *Atkins's Gloucestershire, p.* 104; *Morant's Essex, Vol. I. p.* 102; and the account prefixed to the portraits in Chamberlain's Collection. Warton mentions him in his Life of Sir T. Pope: but refers, it should seem by mistake, to Sir Nicholas Poines, *p.* 46.

[1] Sir Francis Bryan was one of the most accomplished courtiers of his times: a man of great probity, and constantly employed by Henry in business of a confidential nature. He was a poet also, and a contributor to the pieces by Uncertain Authors in Tottel's collection. See the last edition of Tottel's Songs and Sonnets. Wyatt addressed his third Satire to him; and pays an high compliment in it to his virtue and integrity. He was, like Wyatt, firmly attached to the Protestant cause: on this account he seems to have drawn on himself the hatred of the Roman Catholic party. Saunders, in his malevolent account of the Reformation in England, relates the following absurd and wicked story of him. Cum autem Henrici Regis domus ex perditissimo genere hominum constaret, cujusmodi erant aleatores, adulteri, lenones, assentatores, perjuri, blasphemi, rapaces, atque adeò hæretici, inter hos insignis quidem nepos extitit, Franciscus Brianus, Eques Auratus, ex gente et stirpe Bolenorum. Ab illo Rex quodam tempore quæsivit, quale peccatum videretur matrem primùm, deinde filiam cognoscere," Cui Brianus, "Omninò," inquit "tale, o Rex, quale gallinam primùm, deinde pullum ejus gallinaceum comedere." Quod verbum cum Rex magno risu accepisset, ad Brianum dixisse fertur. "Næ! tu meritò meus es inferni Vicarius." Brianus enim jam prius ob impietatem notissimam vocabatur, "Inferni Vicarius;" post autem et "Regius Inferni Vicarius." Rex igitur cum et matrem prius, et postea filiam Mariam Bolenam pro concubina tenuisset, demum ad alteram quoque filiam, Annam Bolenam, animum adjicere cœpit. De *Schismate Anglicano. Romæ* 1586, *p.* 24. This disgusting calumny Davanzati gravely repeats in his Schisma d'Ing-

The connection, however, that reflected most honour upon Wyatt's name was his friendship with Surrey; and yet, such is the perversity of time which preserves the memory of many a trifle, while things of moment perish in oblivion, nothing is recorded that enables us to say when that friendship began, or how it was matured. As for the story so gravely repeated by some authors that Surrey introduced Wyatt to Court, it is too absurd to need confutation. Wyatt had been for some time a Gentleman of Henry's Bed-chamber in 1525, when Surrey was a boy of between eight and nine years old at school.[1] It seems to me most probable that Wyatt's intimacy with Surrey grew chiefly out of their mutual acquaintance with Anne Boleyn. She was Surrey's near relation, and was in habits of particular intimacy with him. Wyatt's attachment to her has been fully noticed above. Surrey and Wyatt, therefore, could not but have met one another almost daily in their attendance upon that unfortunate Queen; and as they must have soon discovered in each other a similarity of tastes and disposition, it is hardly possible to suppose that they should not have mutually sought each other's friendship. Besides which, Wyatt had then established the reputation of being the most elegant poet of his time. This circumstance would form an additional bond of union between Surrey and himself. Surrey's poetic talents were

hilterra, *p.* 22. *Ed. Comino*, 1727. And yet that history is presented by the "Riformatori dello studio di Padova," to the youth educated at their University, as "una stimabilissima "Storia; descritta con quei vivi e forti colori che soli vagliano a far comprendere l'atrocità "del successo dello Schisma d'Inghilterra." How can the bonds of charity be ever brought to unite the members of the Roman Catholic communion with those of our Reformed Church, so long as their youth shall be thus early taught to consider our Reformation as the portentous offspring of whatever was most odious in human profligacy, and most fearful in blasphemy and irreligion?

[1] See Surrey's Memoirs, p. xl.

then just beginning to unfold, and he would naturally avail himself of Wyatt's experience to form his taste. It is true that Surrey soon became Wyatt's master in poetic composition; but in the first instance he must have been his scholar. The earliest copy of verses preserved of Surrey's writing seems to have been one addressed by him to Wyatt.[1] But, whenever the friendship of those two great men began, or by whatever means it was matured, Leland tells us that it was mutual and sincere. When he dedicated to Surrey his Elegy on Wyatt's death, he particularly stated that the ground of his so doing was the reciprocal affection which he knew had long subsisted between those two illustrious persons.

Nominis ille tui dum vixit magnus amator:
Non modo tu vivum coluisti candidus illum,
Verum etiam vitâ defunctum carmine tali
Collaudasti, quale suum Chaucerus, avitæ
Dulce decus linguæ, vel justè agnosceret esse.[2]

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[1] See Surrey's Poems, p. 42.

Of thy life, Thomas, this compass well mark.

We may say safely conclude that this was the earliest of Surrey's compositions from the circumstance of its being the only piece written by him in the Rhythmical Decasyllabic measure. The poem hitherto ascribed to Surrey, which begins,

Brittle Beauty! that nature made so frail,

was written by Lord Vaux. See the note on the place.

[2] See Leland's Nænia, v. 4. As it is well known that a lively friendship had long subsisted between Surrey and Wyatt; and as we find Surrey making frequent mention of Wyatt in his Poems, it may be thought remarkable that Wyatt in his turn should not have made any allusion to his noble friend. I am inclined to think that Wyatt did address some pieces to Surrey expressly, though they have been all unfortunately lost. In the Harington MS. No. II, at that part of the volume which is occupied by Wyatt's pieces exclusively, we find the following lines; evidently the opening to a larger poem, the remainder of which has been unluckily torn away.

These are all the particulars I have been able to collect of the life of Sir Thomas Wyatt. I wish they had been more numerous, and more minute. Every circumstance is of importance in the history of a man whose conduct and opinions had so great an influence upon the age in which he lived, that he was proposed as the model whereon the English youth should be formed, for the attainment of fair and honourable renown.

In the history of warriors and conquerors we seek for with avidity, and treasure up with care, every little circumstance that can be saved from the wreck of time. Our curiosity is just, and laudable. Nothing is insignificant whereby we are enabled to ascertain how the violence of civil tumults may be repressed, how invading armies may be repelled, and kingdoms preserved in peace.

When, however, we reflect what miseries are introduced into society by the passions of mankind, if not under the controul of

THE ARGUMENT.

Sometime the pride of my assured truth
Contemned all help of God and eke of man.
But when I saw man blindly how he goeth,
In deeming hearts which none but God here can,
And his dooms hid, whereby man's malice growth
Mine Earl, this doubt my heart did humble than,
For error so might murder innocence;
Then sang I thus in God my confidence.

I think we have every reason for believing that this piece must have been written by Wyatt to Surrey. For in the first place whom could he have so well addressed by the title of "Mine Earl?" and secondly, Surrey has so closely imitated the whole stanza in his Proem to the Paraphrase of the 88th Psalm, which begins,

"When reckless youth in an unquiet breast,"

that we cannot entertain a doubt of his having been well acquainted with it.

moral discipline; and consider that the imperfections and corruptions of human nature, like an overwhelming torrent, are continually bearing downward, lowering as it were the standard of humanity, and making men less good, and less great than they might be; it becomes us with equal solicitude to collect, and with equal fondness preserve whatever we may find recorded of those, who by their example have shewn us how to resist the dangerous solicitations of pleasure, even where most seductive, amid the ease of wealth, and the splendour of greatness: who have taught us how to redeem the levities of youth by the dignified repentance of maturer years; have proved by their own conduct that the love of moral excellence may be made in every situation of life the ruling principle of action; and have ennobled learning, and rendered Poetry and polite attainments honourable, by making them subservient to the cause of Virtue and Religion.

As Sir Thomas Wyatt's virtues and abilities can have hardly failed of exciting a desire in the reader's mind to know something of the history of his surviving family, I trust I shall be pardoned if I extend the narrative a little further.

Sir Thomas Wyatt married, as we have before mentioned, Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Broke, Lord Cobham; and of her we learn nothing more than that she survived her husband, and afterwards married a Sir Edward Warner. Wyatt seems to have never had more than one child, a son, named after himself, Thomas, who obtained early the honour of Knighthood, perhaps even in his father's lifetime, for we find him uniformly called Sir Thomas Wyatt the Younger. With him the splendour and the power of the family were doomed to close.

He was born in 1520, or at latest in January 1521.[1] The *Duke of Norfolk* was his godfather.[2] In what place, or by whom he was educated, I have not been able to learn. It is most probable that his father himself acted in great measure as his instructor, and that his childhood was spent in the pleasing and classic bowers of Allington. He does not seem however to have been fond of literary pursuits; at least the bias of his disposition led him to prefer the profession of arms, and the busy pleasures of active life. He married Jane, daughter and coheiress of Sir William Hawte, of Bourne in Kent, about the year 1536 or 1537, when he could not have been more than fifteen or sixteen years old. His father was induced, perhaps, to settle him thus early in life, perceiving that he was of a restless and

[1] See p. xi. note [1].

[2] See Blomefield's Norfolk, Vol. I. p. 344 and 345.

adventurous disposition, hoping probably to win him by that means from the dangerous pursuit of pleasure, and so give stability to his character. Certainly the letters which he wrote to him from Spain, prove that he entertained some apprehensions as to his future conduct in life.[1]

One of the first notices we find of Sir Thomas Wyatt the Younger, after his father's death, is that of a sale made by him of some of the family estates to the King, to the amount of 3669*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.*[2] As we know that Sir Thomas Wyatt the Elder was much in the King's debt a short time before he died, and as he owed money to other persons likewise, we may suppose that this sale was made by the son to meet those demands, rather than to satisfy any private debts and expenses of his own. In one instance, however, we find him disposing of property, when the occasion reflects discredit on his moral conduct. In 1543 he alienated his estates at Tarrant, in Dorsetshire, in favour of a natural child, called Francis Wyatt, whom he had by a lady of an highly respectable family, Elizabeth, daughter to Sir Edward Dorrel, of Littlecot.[3]

We learn that young Wyatt became early the companion and friend of the Earl of Surrey. This distinction he owed, perhaps in the first instance, to the regard which Surrey entertained for the father's memory; in some respects however their

[1] See Letters, p. 267 to 275.

[2] For this notice I am indebted to J. Caley, Esq. who made the extract from the original indenture in the Augmentation Office: it bears date the last of November, 1543. The estates sold were the manor of Combe, the hundred of Howe, with the advowson of the Church of St. Mary, the manors of Hooe Little and Hooe Windehill, with the advowson of the church at Halstowe." Wyatt's debts to the King are mentioned by him in a letter to Cromwell, at *p.* 395. It was by no means uncommon for the nobility in those days to incur personal debts to the King. In one of the King's MSS. in the British Museum, we find a notice of the Duke of Norfolk's owing Henry "from debts accruing on sundry obligations to the King's use, 1193*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*" MS. 7. C. xvi.

[3] See Hutchins' Dorset.

tastes and tempers were congenial; both were of a romantic and enterprising turn of mind, and both, I have no doubt, were adverse to the corruptions of the Church of Rome. It was this community of sentiment, probably, that led young Wyatt to join Surrey in his singular attempt at reforming the manners of the citizens of London in April 1543; in consequence of which, as I have already noticed in the Memoirs of Surrey's Life, Wyatt was committed to prison.[1]

But Wyatt soon after gave a better turn to his enterprising spirit, by serving in the army, with a body of men raised at his own expense, at the siege of Landrecy. We learn from Churchyard, who served himself on the same occasion, that Wyatt began then to distinguish himself as a military commander; for he particularly mentions his acts and sayings there, as worthy of record.[2] This was in the autumn of 1543.

Wyatt, from that period, devoted himself wholly to the profession of arms. We cannot doubt of his having been present at the siege of Boulogne in 1544, and of his having distinguished himself on that occasion, for we find him placed in command there early in 1545, and learn that he was constantly employed in all the service carried on against the French in that quarter. On the particular occasion of an attack on Hardelot, a place of considerable strength between Boulogne and Abbeville, he distinguished himself greatly, and behaved with a degree of personal courage and enterprise, that would not have disgraced the most romantic page of chivalry.[3]

[1] See Memoirs, p. liii. and liv. note [a].

[2] This notice is preserved in a very scarce tract by Churchyard, now in the possession of Mr. Heber, entitled, "A pleasant discourse of Court [and] of wars, with a replication to them both, and a commendation of all those that truly serve Prince and Country, written [in verse] by Thomas Churchyard, and called his Cherishing. London, by A. Hatfield for W. Holme. 1596." For my knowledge of this tract I am indebted to James Boswell, Esq.

[3] See Surrey's Letters, p. 188, *note a*.

When Surrey was appointed Governor of Boulogne, in September 1545 Wyatt was one of the Council; we learn, moreover, that he was Lieutenant of the Old Man, a fortress of great importance, at the entrance to the harbour of Boulogne. From the dispatches that have been preserved of the transactions at Boulogne, it appears that Wyatt was uniformly consulted on all occasions of emergency, that his opinions were received with deference, and that he was frequently sent over to England when any thing was to be communicated to the King of more than common importance.

"I assure your Majesty," said Surrey writing to Henry respecting Wyatt, "you have framed him to such towardness "and knowledge in the war, that, none other dispraised, your "Majesty hath not many like him within your realm for hardi-"ness, painfulness, and circumspection, and natural disposition "to the war."[1] Surrey evinced the high opinion he entertained of him, by giving him the principal command in every engagement, and by placing him always in the front of danger, and in the post of honour.[2]

Wyatt continued to hold his situation at Boulogne, after Surrey was recalled from the command of it; and indeed we may infer that he remained there until the place itself was finally given up to the French in 1550;[3] for his name does not occur among those who either served, or had any command in the wars in Scotland in 1547.

During the latter part of King Edward's reign, Wyatt, it is

[1] *Ibid.* p. 188. [2] *Ibid.* p. 182 and 189.

[3] In enumerating the services of his family before his judges, Wyatt particularly mentions his own to Edward the VIth. "My grandfather most truly served her grace's grandfather, "Henry the VIIth, and for his sake was set upon the rack in the Tower. My father also "served King Henry the VIIIth to his good contentation; and I also served him, and King "Edward his son; and in witness of my blood spent *in his service*, I carry a name." *Holinshed, Vol. IV. p.* 29. The last phrase I do not understand; unless it mean that he had obtained an high character for bravery. The expression seems to purport something more.

probable, lived chiefly at Allington. But we cannot suppose him to have been inactive there, or to have taken no part in the politics of the day. On the contrary, it should seem that his zeal for the Protestant cause had led him to enter into those intrigues which aimed at placing the Lady Jane Gray on the throne. The reproach used to him by Sir John Bridges, when he was committed to the Tower, seems to imply that he had actually appeared in arms in her favour. But as the vigorous measures taken by Mary's friends soon crushed the hopes of the opposite party, we may suppose that Wyatt, among others, was compelled to relinquish the undertaking as desperate; and that his offence being either pardoned or overlooked, he was permitted to retire unmolested to Allington.[1]

In the ensuing year, however, 1554, when the Spanish match was in agitation which gave so much disgust to the nation, a powerful party was secretly formed every where to oppose it, and nothing was wanted but a leader. Wyatt, whose attachment to the Protestant cause was well known, was easily persuaded to undertake the perilous office; and sanguine hopes were entertained of success from his tried abilities, his daring courage, and the weight and credit of his name. The measures he proposed, and concerted with the Duke of Suffolk, were those of wisdom, caution and prudence: but some unforeseen events compelled him to take arms before the general plans were ripe, and this ultimately proved his ruin; for though he gained at

[1] Wyatt, indeed, in his defence said, "that he had served the Queen against the Duke of "Northumberland, as my Lord of Arundel can witness." *Holinshed, Vol. IV. p.* 29. These are general words, and rather seem to prove that he had been privy to Northumberland's design, and claimed some merit for having acted with moderation in the business. Had he been really a partizan in Mary's cause on that occasion, he would have been able to have produced less equivocal proof.

first some advantages over the Queen's troops, and having compelled the Duke of Norfolk, who had been sent against him, to retire, had penetrated as far as London, yet failing of support when there, he was induced to surrender, and fling himself on the Queen's mercy. Being taken into custody, he was sent a prisoner to the Tower. There is something striking in the description given of Wyatt's appearance and behaviour as he entered his prison; it marks in a forcible manner the bold and daring temper of his mind. As he passed through the gate, Sir John Bridges took him by the collar and said, "O! thou villain, and unhappy traitor! how couldst thou find in thy heart to work such detestable treason to the Queen's Majesty, who gave thee thy life and living once already, although thou didst before this time bear arms in the field against her? And now to yield her battle! If it were not that the law must pass upon thee, I would strike thee through with my dagger." To the which Wyatt, holding his arms under his side, and looking grievously, with a grim look upon the lieutenant, said; "It is no mastery now!" and so passed on. He had on a shirt of mail, with sleeves very fair; thereon a velvet cassoc, and a yellow lace, with the windlace of his dag hanging thereon, and a pair of boots on his legs, and on his head a fair hat of velvet, with a broad bone-work lace about it."[1]

Wyatt was committed to the Tower the 7th of February, but he was not tried and condemned until the 15th of March, nor executed until the 11th of April. The cause of this delay was the hope entertained by Gardiner that something might fall from Wyatt during his imprisonment to criminate the Lady Elizabeth and the Earl of Devonshire, and prove the groundwork of

[1] Holinshed's Chronicles, Vol. IV. p. 21.

proceedings against them. It has been said that Wyatt, in the hope of obtaining pardon, or of prolonging life, had accused them both as being concerned in his rebellion.[1] But the story is a very doubtful one, and those who report it admit that Wyatt, previous to his death, declared the Lady Elizabeth and the Earl of Devonshire to be innocent; adding, that having obtained leave to see the Earl, he fell on his knees before him, and with tears requested pardon for the calumny. The probability is that the whole report was a fabrication of Gardiner's, who dreaded the possible event of Elizabeth's succession to the crown, and had recourse to every means in his power to ensnare her, and destroy her credit.[2]

[1] See Holinshed, ut sup. p. 29. Wyatt was certainly charged on his trial by the Queen's Attorney with having brought the Lady Elizabeth into question. Wyatt's answer certainly denies the accusation. "I beseech you," he said, "being in this wretched state, overcharge "me not, nor make me seem to be that I am not. I am loth to touch any person by name; "but that I have written I have written." From these words it should appear that Wyatt had left a defence in writing upon *this very point*. As this defence was never mentioned afterwards, we may fairly conclude that his enemies found it to be one they could not venture to publish. Had it been otherwise, it would have been to their interest not to have suppressed it.

[2] Gardiner's arts and treachery on this occasion are pointed out with some detail of circumstances by Holinshed. *See p. 25, and 26, ut sup.* Had Wyatt really accused the Lady Elizabeth, she would either have been confronted to him, or examined formally upon his accusation. That she should have been suspected of privity to the plot was natural. It was a plot that had for its object the promotion of her interests, and therefore she might be supposed to have been consulted upon it. Burnet, in his History of the Reformation, *Vol. II. p.* 284, and Strype, in his Memorials, *Vol. II. p.* 82, have given a particular account of Wyatt's rebellion. Burnet, I know not why, speaks unfavourably of Wyatt's personal courage; and says, that at his trial "he begged his life in the most abject words, and offered to promote the Queen's marriage if they would spare him." Holinshed has given us Wyatt's speech on his trial, and that alone may serve as a complete refutation of Burnet's unhandsome assertions. It is the speech of a man of an honourable, and a feeling turn of mind; who acknowledged error, without meanness; and asked for life, without pusillanimity. "I confess," said he, "that my crime is great; for nothing can excuse the rebellion of the subject

With Sir Thomas Wyatt fell the hopes and the fortunes of his family. All his great possessions were resumed by the Crown, with the exception of the estate at Boxley, which Mary granted in small parcels to Lady Wyatt for the support of herself and her numerous family. It might have naturally been expected that Elizabeth, upon her accession to the throne, would have immediately removed the stigma of attainder and poverty from a family which had dared so greatly, and suffered so much from zeal in the general cause. But whether it was that she gave credit to the report of her having been accused by Wyatt in the Tower, or that she was influenced by motives of a personal nature, certain it is, that it was not until the thirteenth year of her reign that she reversed the attainder, and restored George Wyatt, the eldest son in blood. She does not seem, however, even then to have acted with that generosity which the occasion called for. The Manor of Wavering, in Kent, granted to George Wyatt and his mother for three lives, seems to have been the only estate she suffered to revert to the family; and this added to Boxley, which had been before granted by Mary to the widow, "is all," says Philipott, in terms that sufficiently convey his feeling, "is all of that vast and wide revenue of Wyatt's, which lay scattered in Kent, and other counties, that is held by his posterity at this day."[1]

Of Sir Thomas Wyatt the younger it will be readily allowed

against the lawfully constituted authority of the Prince. It is a great relief to my conscience," he continued, "that the motive which led me to the fatal measure was zeal, however misguided, for my country, and not private ambition. Still I do not on that account hold myself absolved. My life is justly forfeit to the law. If it be spared, I shall receive it as a free gift of mercy from the Queen; of that mercy, which is, as he strongly expresses it, the greatest treasure that may be given to any Prince from God."

[1] See Philipott's Villare Cantianum, *p.* 89.

that he was in many respects less amiable than his father: he was much inferior to him likewise in ability, conduct and attainments.[1] Hasty, impetuous, and inconsiderate courage, seems to have been the leading defect of his character. The violent measures, however, which he adopted, in opposition to Mary, are not to be imputed to a factious spirit: they originated in an high sense of duty, and in his mind assumed the sacred form of religious obligation. Hence it is, that he was esteemed by some "a man of an unbroken, though a calamitous virtue;" and was long honoured as one, "who thought it a less stain to forfeit his "estate, than to debauch his conscience; and so, adhering to that "sacramental covenant by which he and the rest of the Council "had bound themselves to Henry the VIIIth, to preserve as much "as in them lay, his two daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, from con-"federating with any foreign alliance, he engaged in that design "which overset him, and sunk him and his patrimony into ruin."[2]

This I have no doubt was the general opinion entertained of Wyatt at the time. His fate must have excited pity, and his enterprise have commanded respect; for though he perished as a traitor on the scaffold, no one ever ventured to brand his name with ignominy, or to impute his conduct to unworthy motives.[3] He was considered by the nation at large as one

[1] He was not, however, without some taste for letters. The Harington MS. which contains Sir Thomas Wyatt's Poems, in his own hand-writing, had belonged to the son, who had arranged all the pieces into different classes, and had numbered them: he had moreover copied himself into it the two letters which his father had written to him from Spain. This last circumstance speaks much in his favour; and shews that whatever might have been the warmth of his temper, he knew how to value the instructions he had received.

[2] See Philipott, *ut supra*.

[3] Pictures of Sir Thomas Wyatt the Younger are very frequently to be met with. The head is represented as if it had been severed from the body. This seems to have been done in reference to his fate, and copies were in all probability multiplied to meet the wishes of those

who had voluntarily sacrificed himself for the Protestant cause; and in the spirit of antient Roman virtue had chosen rather to risk every thing, and place even life itself within the hazard of the die, than live in a state where he deemed neither his civil, nor his religious liberties secure. "I was persuaded," he said, when pleading his cause before his judges, "that by the marriage of "the Prince of Spain, the second person in this realm, and "next heir to the Crown, the Lady Elizabeth, would have been "in danger; and that I, being a free-born man, should with "my country have been brought into the bondage and ser-"vitude of aliens and strangers."

who considered him as a martyr to the Protestant cause. The face is that of an handsome young man with an eager eye, and a piercing animated look: like his father he was fair; his beard was small and forked. The Earl of Romney has one of these portraits in his collection. There is one also in the Picture Gallery at Oxford. A third is in the possession of Francis Wyatt, Esq. of East Grinsted, Sussex. The Editor has likewise one in his possession.

NÆNIÆ

IN MORTEM

THOMÆ VIATI

EQUITIS INCOMPARABILIS

JOHANNE LELANDO

ANTIQUARIO AUCTORE

LONDINI

ANNO MDXLII.

IN EFFIGIEM

THOMÆ VIATI

HOLBENUS NITIDA PINGENDI MAXIMUS ARTE
EFFIGIEM EXPRESSIT GRAPHICE SED NULLUS APELLES
EXPRIMET INGENIUM FELIX ANIMUMQUE VIATI.

T. V.

ÆTAS VIATI

SYDERII PETERET QUUM CŒLI REGNA VIATUS
TEMPORA LUSTRORUM NONDUM COMPLEVERAT OCTO.

46892

JOHANNIS LELANDI ANTIQUARII

CARMEN AD

HENRICUM HOVARDUM,

REGNORUM COMITEM JUVENEM TUM NOBILISSIMUM TUM DOCTISSIMUM.

Accipe, Regnorum[1] Comes illustrissime, carmen
Quo mea Musa tuum laudavit mœsta Viatum,
Non expectato sublatum funere terris.
Nominis ille tui dum vixit magnus amator:
Non modo tu vivum coluisti, carmine tali
Collaudasti, quale suum Chaucerus avitæ
Dulce decus linguæ, vel juste agnosceret esse.
Perge Hovarde precor virtute referre Viatum,
Dicerisque tuæ clarissima gloria stirpis.

CLARUS FONS.[2]

Cæsaris Orator, Maurentius ostia Falæ[3]
Fluminis intravit, vela secunda ferens.
Est data ducendi Legatum cura Viato,
Hispanis nullus notior Anglus erat.

---

[1] Regnorum meminit Ptolomæus, qui, ut ego conjecturam facio, Thamesini fluminis australes ut plurimum ripas et interiora excolebant. Nunc regioni nomen Sudorheia. *Lelandi Com. in Cyg. Cant.*

[2] Clarus fons; Saxonice, Shirburne nomine quidem apposito vocatus. Oppidum est apud Durotriges, nunc Sherburne: ab antiquis scriptoribus Scireburna vocabatur. *Lelandi Elenchus Ant. Nom.*

[3] Falernus Portus, vulgo Falmouth, nomen sumpsisse videtur à Fala flumine. *Lelandus. Comment. in Cygneam Cantionem.*

Urbs antiqua tenet Regum monumenta duorum :
Clarus-Fons sedes Pontificumque fuit.
Hic per dispositos properantem currere mannos
Invasit Thomam pestis, et atra febris.
Nobilis Horsæus morienti lumina clausit;
Quem Durotrigum[1] gens colit, ornat, amat.
Æternum peperit Clarus-Fons morte Viati
Nomen, et illustris fit magis inde locus.

OFFICIUM PIETATIS.

Sint mœstæ Charites, Lubentiæque,
Et tristes sileant Sales, Leporesque.
Extinctus jacet, en! Viatus ille;
Ille, inquam, decus unicum Britannæ.
Gentis, cujus ore profluebant
Musarum numeri rotundiores.
Vos Cygni, pia turba, concinentes
Sublimem medio locate cœlo
Vestrum, pro meritis suis, poetam,
Et famam date candidi perennem.

CONJUNCIO ANIMORUM.

Me tibi conjunxit comitem gratissima Granta,[2]
Granta Camænarum gloria, fama, decus.
Dividet illa animos mors ingratissima nostros?
Non faciet! longum, chare Viate, Vale!

COMPARATIO.

Qualis erat clypei dominus septemplicis Ajax,
Qualis et in bello Troïcus Hector erat;
Qualis erat curru celeri convectus Achilles,
Talis nostra quidem palma, Viatus eques.

---

[1] Durotriges. Gens nota, ut ex Ptolomæo liquet. Nomen autem non multum recedit à vernaculâ appellatione, quâ vel hodie utuntur Angli; videlicet, Dorsetshire men. Durotriges, à Duro flumine non incelebri, nomen acceperunt. *Lelandus, Commen. in Cyg. Cant.*

[2] Granta urbs olim notissima, et a scriptoribus tum Britannicis, tum Saxonicis celebrata; videlicet, Felice et Beda. Britanni hanc suâ linguâ Cairgrant a fluvio vicino vocabant; Saxones vero à ponte constructo Grentebridge; nunc corruptè, Cambridge. *Lelandi. Elenchus Antiq. Nom.*

IMMORTALIS VIATUS.

Ante suos Titan radios ostendere mundo
  Desinet, et nitidas Cynthia pulchra faces;
Desinet ante novos flores producere tellus,
  Quam pereat nomen, clare Viate, tuum.

DELECTUS AMICORUM.

Candido amicorum numerum dedit Aula Viato;
Sed tres præcipuè *selegit amicus, amicos.*
Excoluit largi Poyningi nobile pectus:
Ingenio Blagi delectabatur acuto:
Doctrinæ titulo gratus Masonius albo.
Hi nunc defunctum lachrimarum flumine lugent,
Tergeminâ carum resonantes voce Viatum.

APOTHEOSIS.

Inter Cœlicolas nuper certamen obortum,
  Dissidii vero causa Viatus erat.
Mars ait; " Est noster juvenum fortissimus ille."
  Phœbus at; " Ingenii flos," ait " ille meus."
Mercurius virgâ litem dissolvit, et altis
  Intulit exutum corpore sideribus.

COMMUNIS DOLOR.

Tristi carmine passerem Catullus
Extinctum queritur, parum pudicus.
Deflet Stella suæ vices Columbæ,
Vates molliculus, tener, cinædus.
At nos, qui colimus severiora,
Et Musas sequimur sacratiores,
Lumen Judicii boni Viatum
Abreptum querimur, dolore justo.

ANGLUS PAR ITALIS.

Bella suum meritò jactet Florentia Dantem;
  Regia Petrarchæ carmina Roma probet:
His non inferior patrio sermone Viatus,
  Eloquii secum qui decus omne tulit.

GEMITUS TURTURIS.

Aëriâ turtur gemitus sic fundit ab ulmo,
E medio raperent quum tristia fata Viatum.

MORS VIXTRIX.

Tu bellatorum vicisti tela, Viate;
Nulla manus mortis vincere tela potest.

UNICUS PHOENIX.

Una dies geminos Phœnices non dedit orbi:
Mors erit unius, vita sed alterius.
Rara avis in terris confectus morte Viatus
Hovardum hæredem scripserat ante suum.

VITA POST CINERES.

Dicere nemo potest rectè periisse Viatum,
Ingenii cujus tot monumenta vigent.

QUERELA PHILOMELÆ.

Tempore non solito cecinit Philomela canora,
Virtutis caderet quum prima corona, Viatus.
Cantrix cantorem meritò lugebat ademptum,
Officii memor adsonuit nemus omne canenti.

MONS ACUTUS.[1]

Logueri burgus,[2] quem nomine Montis-Acuti
Ætas nostra vocat, Dominum, gratumque Patronum
Sollicitis votis optabat habere Viatum,
Unde suas cœpit paullatim expandere cristas:
Ast animis nunc spe sublatâ concidit omni,
Ingentem totis tectis patiturque ruinam.
Hinc Murotriges[3] crudelia fata vocare
Non cessant, subitò quæ subtraxere Viatum

---

[1] Mons Acutus, qui et Logueri Burgus, vulgò Montacute. Vide infra.

[2] Logueri Burgus; oppidum apud Somurotriges, olim, à regulo quodam Britannorum prisco Logwor dicto, Logweresburgh nuncupatum. Nunc Mons Acutus, vulgo Montacute. Logwor enim, ut Gulielmus Meildunensis refert, is pro certo asseritur esse, de cujus nomine Logweresbeorgh dicebatur, qui nunc Mons-Acutus dicitur. *Lelandi Assertio Arturii.*

[3] Murotriges, qui et Somurotriges; vulgo, Somersetshire men. Moridunum, vulgo Somerton urbs olim clara Murotrigum. *Lelandi Elenchus Antiq. Nominum.*

CANTIÆ DESIDERIUM.

Extinctum lugete tuum generosa Viatum
Cantia, quô vivô lumine major eras.

VAGA FLUVIUS.[1]

Nuper clara Vagæ facies; nunc fuscula Nympha
Est luteis turbata vadis, dominumque Viatum
Sublatum queritur salebroso murmure tristis.
Quid! quod et infelix lachrimis indulget obortis,
Verberat et curvas violento gurgite ripas.

ALAUNODUNUM.[2]

Magnanimus, dum vixit Alaunïa Castra Viatus
In pretio stabant, sed nunc, tutore remoto,
Deponunt animos, et culmina celsa reclinant.

CLADES ELOQUENTIÆ.

Eloquii flumen, lumen, fulmenque Viatus
Concidit: argutum nunc silet omne melos.

LIMA VIATI.

Anglica lingua fuit rudis, et sine nomine rythmus:
Nunc limam agnoscit, docte Viate, tuam.

NOBILITAS DEBET VIATO.

Nobilitas didicit, te præceptore, Britanna,
Carmina per varios scribere posse modos.

---

[1] Vaga, proprie Wye flumen. *Vide Lelandi Syllabum Antiquarum Dictionum ad calcem Genath. Eadverdi.* Hîc autem Vagæ nomen sumendum est, pro flumine Medway, cujus ad ripas cum possessiones amplas, tum domum suam, nempe Allington Castle, habuit Viatus.

[2] Alaunus, Anglicè, South-Ailington. Nostra ætas vicum nominat, recentiore vocabulo, Maidenhead, à capite Virginis superstitione nuper ibidem celebri. *Lelandi Comment. in Cyg. Cant.* Hoc autem in loco Alaunodunum, et Alaunia Castra, sumenda sunt non pro Ailington ad Thamesin, sed pro Allington in comitatu Cantiæ, ad ripas Vagæ, seu Medway fluminis, ubi Viatus dum negotiis publicis non erat impeditus, degere consueverat.

VIATUS PSALTES.

Transtulit in nostram Davidis carmina linguam,
Et numeros magnâ reddidit arte pares.
Non morietur opus tersum, spectabile, sacrum;
Clarior hac famâ parte Viatus erit.

ELEMENTORUM LUCTUS.

Non facit officium solitum vis ignea cæli;
Irriguas aër solvitur in lachrimas.
Turbine ventorum montes consurgit in altos
Pontus; terra macram tristitiamque refert.
Causa quidem justa est; sensêre elementa Viatum
Delicias orbis deperiisse meras.

CALCULUS CÆSARIS.

Carolus eximias vires laudare Viati
Cæsar, et eloquium est solitus laudare Viati;
Ingenuos mores Cæsar laudare Viati,
Ingeniumque probum solitus laudare Viati.
Cæsaris unius multorum calculus instar.

PROSOPOGRAPHIA.

Si quis in hâc nostrâ non vidit gente Viatum,
Hæc legat, atque viri formam sibi colligat omnem.
Corpore procerum finxit Natura Viatum;
Ejus et invictis nervos dedit illa lacertis;
Addidit et faciem quâ non formosior altra.
Læta serenatæ subfixit lumina fronti;
Lumina, fulgentes radiis imitantia stellas.
Cæsariem juveni subflavam contulit; inde
Defluxit sensim crinis, calvumque reliquit.
Silva sed excrevit promissæ densula barbæ.
Quisquis erit posthac sincerus cultor honesti
Laudibus emeritis felicem tollat ad astra,
Nobile solertis Naturæ plasma, Viatum.

VIATUS AQUILA.

Summa petit magni Jovis ales, et ardua tentat,
Talis Naturæ dote Viatus erat.

VIATUS ORNAMENTUM PATRIÆ.

Cedrinæ decori sunt celsis montibus umbræ;
Malaque sollicitè paradiso punica culto;
Sunt teretes decori fœcundis vitibus uvæ,
Purpureæque rosæ, violæque nitentibus hortis;
Ingenuis decori cunctis, patriæque Viatus
Vivus erat; patriæ mortuus ille decus.[1]

CORONA VIATI.

Castalii fontis quum margine forte sederent
Ex hederâ Musæ nuper texere corollam
Auro pingentes solito de more corymbos.
Circulus et postquam justum coiisset in orbem
Quæstio Cyrrhæas est inter oborta Sorores,
Festa poëtarum quis tandem præmia ferret?
Virginei quum prima chori sic ora resolvit
Calliope; " Docto sunt munera digna Viato."
Dixerat, et placuit reliquis sententia Nymphis.

---

[1] Ne quis Lelandum incuriæ, aut inscitiæ arguat quod hoc in loco versus hexametros versu pentametro clauserit, monendus est Lector, Latinos boni etiam ævi scriptores versum tum hexametrum, tum pentametrum ad finem Tituli, carminisve sepulchralis sæpe adjecisse; quod ex antiquis marmoribus abundè liquet. Exemplum unum et alterum adducam.

INVIDA . FLORENTEM . RAPUERUNT . FATA . JUVENTAM
NEC . LICUIT . MISERO . ME . SUPERESSE . VIRO
FLEVIT . PRESENTEM . PATER . ET . FLEVERE . SORORES
ET . MATER . TEPIDO . CONDIDIT . OSSA . ROGO
QUÆ . PRIUS . HOC . TITULO . DEBUIT . IPSA . LEGI.

Muratori Thesau. Inscrip. p. 1234.

O . UTINAM . VIVO . POTUISSEM . PRÆMIA . MORUM
REDDERE . NUNC . LACHRIMAS . ACCIPE . PRO . MERITIS
NAM . SEMPER . FATEOR . TACITA . TE . MENTE . PROBABI
DETEXIT . SENSUS . ULTIMA . FLAMMA . MEOS
TU . COLUMEN . RERUM . SEMPER . TU . CURA . MEARUM
NUNC . ERIS . ET . LUCTUS . TU . QUOQUE . CAUSA . MIHI
OSSIBUS . INFUNDAM . QUÆ . NUNQUAM . VINA . BIBISTI
DIS . MANIBUS
ONESIMI . ANICETUS . CARISSIMO . FECIT . DOMINO.

Gruteri Thesuurus, p. 948.

Atropos has illi laudes invidit acerba,
Infestâque manu vitalia stamina rupit.
Confectum Musæ crudeli vulnere mystam
Eluxêre suum lachrimis, gemitusque dedere
Talia dicentes; " Potuit mors tollere corpus,
" Vivet at ingenium nostri sine fine Viati."

NOBILITAS ANIMI.

Intumuit nunquam fortunæ dotibus amplis,
Nec se felicem duxit splendore Viatus
Aulæ, nec strepitu rerum, procerumve favore.
Rectius ille animum studiis cordatus avebat
Exornare bonis, cæloque reponere curam.
Nobilitas hæc est animi verissima magni.
Hic est thesaurus longè pretiosior auro,
Nomine quo, mundo distractus, in æthere vivit.
Quid juvat immenso nunc indulgere dolori,
Aut desiderio rapti languere Viati?
Curemus potius studiis imitarier illum
Sanctis, inque veros fortes evadere. Tandem
Sic nos efficiet quoque gloria vera Viatos.

ANNULUS VIATI.

Annulus in digito solitus radiare Viati
Fabrè factus erat; gemmâque superbus achate,
Cæsaris effigies in qua verissima Juli
Sculpta, occludendis signum spectabile chartis.
Cæsaris ad summam virtutem calcar imago
Ingenitas auxit vires, animosque Viati.

EPITAPHIUM.

URNA . TENET . CINERES . TER . MAGNI . PARVA . VIATI
FAMA . PER . IMMENSAS . SED . VOLAT . ALTA . PLAGAS.

LONDINI:

Ad signum ænei serpentis.

AN

EPITAPH

ON

SIR THOMAS WYATT THE ELDER.

BY

THE EARL OF SURREY.

WYATT resteth here, that quick could never rest;
Whose heavenly gifts increased by disdain;
And virtue sank the deeper in his breast:
Such profit he of envy could obtain.
A head, where wisdom mysteries did frame;
Whose hammers beat still in that lively brain,
As on a stithy, where some work of fame
Was daily wrought, to turn to Britain's gain.
A visage stern, and mild; where both did grow
Vice to contemn, in virtue to rejoice:
Amid great storms whom grace assured so,
To live upright, and smile at fortune's choice.
A hand, that taught what might be said in rhyme;
That reft Chaucer the glory of his wit.
A mark, the which (unperfected for time)
Some may approach, but never none shall hit.
A tongue, that serv'd in foreign realms his king;
Whose courteous talk to virtue did inflame
Each noble heart; a worthy guide to bring
Our English youth, by travail unto fame.
An eye, whose judgment no effect could blind,
Friends to allure, and foes to reconcile;
Whose piercing look did represent a mind
With virtue fraught, reposed, void of guile.

A heart, where dread was never so imprest
To hide the thought that might the truth advance;
In neither fortune loft, nor yet represt,
To swell in wealth, or yield unto mischance.
A valiant corpse, where force and beauty met;
Happy, alas! too happy, but for foes,
Lived, and ran the race, that nature set;
Of manhood's shape, where she the mould did lose.
But to the heavens that simple soul is fled,
Which left, with such as covet Christ to know,
Witness of faith, that never shall be dead;
Sent for our health, but not received so.
Thus for our guilt, this jewel have we lost;
The earth his bones, the heavens possess his ghost.

EPITAPHIUM NOBILISSIMI EQUITIS D. THOMÆ VIATI SENIORIS
THOMAS CHALONERUS EQUES
POSUIT.

Ergone supremum rupit Parca invida filum?
Solvit et in cineres populi decus omne Britanni?
Et quid non posthac populatrix ista revellat?
Si neque cana fides, neque mens intacta, nec ulla
Gratia dicendi, nec carminis aurea vena
Scribendi in patrio sermone decenter, et aptè,
Nec, poterant mores faciles, nec vivida virtus
Ingenii, vigor aut spirans sub pectore forti!
Mille alias taceam ut dotes quibus ille refulsit,
Non, inquam, poterant congesta hac omnia in unum
Unius à Parcæ furiis servasse Viatum,
Quin immaturâ consumptus tabe periret?
Credo equidem Superos humana ad commoda natum
Dignum sed meliore loco rapuisse Viatum
Invidia atque metu dubios: ea cura premebat
Scilicet internos tam clarum ob sidus obortum,
Quo duce Britannûm pubes, de more Gigantum,
Sursum iter ad cælos, meliori ast arte, pararent.

Illum ergo indigetem Superi fecêre, decoros
Ornantes artus radiantibus undique stellis,
Atque ita, vel moriens, vitæ incrementa recepit.
Nam licet inter nos versatus, et editus unà,
Non potuit vivens stimulos superare potentis
Invidiæ, quæ sæpe comes virtutibus astat;
Nunc tamen his functus tenebris bis, terque revixit.
Vivet et in majus se attollens gloria rerum
Gestarum, subiit quas hic per mille labores,
Donec laudis amor animos impellit honestos,
Aut poterint quidquam in nobis præconia famæ.
At nos interea memores mœremus, inerti
Pectora tundentes planctu, lachrimisque vicissim
Ora madent, patriæ tam carum ob lumen ademptum.
Et dubitamus adhuc an et hoc quod vidimus umbræ
Idolum potius quam res non ficta putetur;
Neve gravi ex somno quam primum reddita nobis
Est acies sensus, vigiles ea cuncta loquamur
Antea dictabant quæ nobis somnia vana;
Sic subito quoniam se ostendit et abstulit una.
Sed fuit, ô utinam semper foret ille Viatus,
Felix, heu nimium felix, tantum potuisset
Extremam pulchrè cœptis superaddere limam.

EPITAPHIUM.

CLARISSIMI VIRI D. THOMÆ VIATI EQUITIS INCOMPARABILIS.

Musarum venerandus iste Mystes,
Hoc sub marmore conditur Viatus.
Flent castæ Veneres, Amor pudicus;
Flent Pitho, Charites, Novem Sorores:
Et tu fleto Viator hunc Viatum.

JOANNES PARKHURST
MOERENS.
P.

AN EPITAPH

ON

SIR THOMAS WYATT THE ELDER, THE WISE, THE LEARNED,

AND THE GOOD,

BY SIR ANTHONY ST. LIEGER.

Lo! dead he lives, that whilom lived here
Among the dead, that quick go on the ground.
Though he be dead, yet doth he quick appear
By lively name that death cannot confound.
His life for aye of Fame the trump shall sound.
Though he be dead, yet lives he here alive:
Thus can no death from Wyatt life deprive.

AN

ESSAY

ON

WYATT'S POEMS.

WHAT has been already observed concerning the Earl of Surrey, that though he was eminent for his virtues and personal accomplishments, yet his claim to celebrity rested principally upon his writings, applies equally to Sir Thomas Wyatt. It remains for us to inquire therefore what share of praise he likewise is entitled to in the same respect.

Of Sir Thomas Wyatt as a poet, Warton has drawn a character which is, like every thing that falls from that writer's pen, both lively and elegant; it is just and satisfactory also, as far as it goes; but it is much too general.[1] We shall readily admit from Warton's observations that good composition began to dawn with Wyatt; but we do not collect from any thing he has said, what particular improvements were made by him in our language or style of writing; neither are we informed what the sources were from which he drew; or upon what authors he formed himself. These deficiencies I will endeavour to supply.

Wyatt, as a poet, can lay little claim to originality. It is true that his writings are diversified; far more so in fact than might have been expected at that early period of our literature. He wrote Sonnets, Rondeaus, Amatory Odes, both grave and gay, Epigrams, Poems of a moral and a religious cast, and Satires upon common life. He employed also great diversity of measures, and supplies examples of almost every form of stanza that has since been used; still he was not an original writer. He seems to have begun in every instance by translating from some other author; and as he was a good scholar, and a man of extensive reading, he took his models equally from the

[1] See Warton's History of English Poetry, Vol. III. p. 28 to p. 40.

Greek, the Latin, the French, the Italian, and the Spanish writers. Having caught an author's style, he proceeded to write in his manner. His imitations are always good indeed; but still they are imitations; and are fewer in point of number than are his positive translations. When to this we add that many of the authors whom Wyatt was in the habit of reading have since fallen into obscurity, we may reasonably suspect that even of those pieces which we presume at present to be original, some might be found to be translations, had we the means of extending inquiry, or at best imitations only.

Of Wyatt's Sonnets, the greater part are translated from Petrarch; his Epigrams are borrowed chiefly from the Strambotti of Serafino D'Aquila, and his moral pieces are imitated from Seneca and Boethius. His Paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms seems to have been suggested by Dante's prior Paraphrase, or by that of Alamanni;[1] while

[1] Dante's Seven Penitential Psalms appear to have been first published by Spira at the end of the Comedia, in folio, at Venice in 1477. They were afterwards printed in 1478 at Milan, in folio likewise. Quadrio republished them in 8vo. at Milan in 1752, with notes. Which edition has been incorporated by Zatta into his complete edition of Dante's works in 4to. at Venice in 1758. Alamanni's Penitential Psalms were written in 1525, though they were not printed it should seem until 1532, when they appeared at the end of a volume of his Poems published that year at Lyons; and afterward, in the more complete edition of his works, printed in two volumes, at Venice, in 1542. They are to be found also in the "Racolta di Salmi Penitenziali di diversi eccellenti Autori," published by Francesco da Trevigi at Venice in 1568, and again in 1572, and in the second book of Rime Spirituali printed at Venice, in 1550. Both Dante and Alamanni used the Terza Rima. Dante aims at being literal. Alamanni is paraphrastic. Wyatt's Paraphrase bears no marks of having been imitated from either. The reader will be able to judge of this by comparing the different Paraphrases together; a few lines will suffice. Dante opens his Paraphrase of the 36th Psalm thus.

Signor! non mi riprender con furore,
E non voler correggermi con ira,
Ma con dolcezza e con perfetto amore.
Io son ben certo che ragion ti tira
Ad esser giusto contro a' peccatori;
Ma pur benigno sei a chi sospira.
Aggi pietate de' miei gravi errori,
Però ch'io sono debile ed infermo,
Ed ho perduti tutti i miei vigori.

the introductory part is taken from a similar introduction by Beza. Of his Satires, one is a free translation from Alamanni: the other two are imitated from Horace and Persius.

Of all Wyatt's compositions, those which can best lay claim to originality are his amatory odes. I mean his lesser odes, for the two longest are taken from two Canzoni of Petrarch. But even of the lesser odes some are evidently borrowed from the French, some from Italian, and many I doubt not from Spanish writers: for it is not credible that Wyatt, with his love of poetry and knowledge of the language, should not have read and studied the Spanish poets during his residence in Spain.[1] Indeed, if we examine Wyatt's style with attention, we shall find it bearing a nearer resemblance to the style of the Spanish, than to that of either the French or the Italian poets.

Difendimi, O Signor, dallo gran vermo
E sanami, imperò ch'io non ho osso
Che conturbato possa omai star fermo.

Alamanni opens his Paraphrase of the same Psalm thus.

Padre del Ciel! cui nulla ascosa giace,
Ma tutto dentro e fuor si mostra aperto,
Dammi oggi, prego la tua santa pace,
Trammi, Signor! di questo aspro deserto
Delle rie colpe, e tua somma pietate
Se stessa guardi in ciò, non quel ch'io merto.
E s'io, come ben sai, molte fiate
Ho'l tuo gran nome, et me posto in oblìo,
Per cieco honor d' esta mondana etate;
Perdona il mio peccar, verace Dio,
Ch'io veggio ben con che già folle ardire,
Quel ch'era di Te, sol chiamato ho mio.

[1] At the end of the Ode which begins,

Where shall I have at mine own will,

as it occurs in the Harington MS. p. 65, Wyatt has subjoined in his own hand-writing,

Podra ser che no es.

It is probable that these words formed part of a Spanish piece which Wyatt had translated. Should this not have been the case, we may at least safely infer from the words that Wyatt wrote the poem in Spain.

There is a sort of gravity in the structure of Wyatt's periods, and a certain dignity in the flow of his versification, which is to be met with no where that I have ever remarked, but in the best Castilian writers. A single instance will suffice to explain my meaning.

Herrera thus begins one of his Elegies.

> Quién me daria, Amor, una voz fuerte,
> Y espíritu en mis lástimas osado,
> Para cantar las cuitas de mi suerte?[1]

What a striking resemblance does the turn of expression as well as thought in this passage bear to the following lines, with which Wyatt opens one of his odes.

> Where shall I have at mine own will
> Tears to complain? where shall I fet
> Such sighs, that I may sigh my fill,
> And then again my plaint repeat? *p.* 26.

Had we not known that Wyatt wrote many years before Herrera was born, we might have supposed him to have studied and imitated the Castilian Poet.

If we examine particularly the several species of composition which Wyatt attempted, we shall find him to have failed most in his Sonnets. In these he has shewn great want of taste as well in the choice of his subjects, as in his manner of treating them. The Sonnets he has selected from Petrarch are for the most part the worst that Petrarch wrote. Instead of taking such as were true to nature, and expressive of simple feeling, he has fixed on those which abound with ingenious subtleties and conceits. Thus at one time he tells us that his heart is a ship steered by cruelty through stormy seas, and dangerous rocks.

> My galley charged with forgetfulness,
> Thorough sharp seas in winter nights doth pass
> 'Tween rock and rock, and eke mine enemy, alas!
> That is my Lord, steereth with cruelness. *p.* 9.

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[1] Rimas de Fernando de Herrera, Vol. I. p. 161. Madrid, 1786.

At another time he likens himself to an huge mountain covered with woods, and full of springs, birds, beasts, rocks, and fruit-trees.

> Like to these unmeasurable mountains
> Is my painful life the burthen of ire,
> For of great height be they, and high is my desire,
> And I of tears, and they be full of fountains. *p.* 13.

And when he wishes to express the perplexities and conflicting hopes and fears that distract the Lover's mind, he tortures imagination to combine contrarieties. Thus he tells us that "he burns and freezes at the same time; that he flies above the wind, yet cannot raise himself from the earth; that he sees without eyes, and utters lamentations without a tongue."

Nor are these the only defects remarkable in Wyatt's Sonnets. That species of composition requires an even and a simple flow of versification. But the versification of Wyatt's Sonnets is uniformly harsh and unmelodious. The lines are cumbered with heavy monosyllables, and are deformed with antiquated words and ungraceful contractions; so that though the thoughts may be pleasing in themselves, they are so expressed as to destroy the effect they might have otherwise produced; as in the following instance.

The lover seeing his mistress, as he thinks, with an expression of tenderness upon her countenance, fondly persuades himself that it proceeds from latent regard towards himself. Encouraged by this belief he resolves to address her; but finds so many thoughts press upon him for utterance, that he knows not how to begin. This perplexity is perfectly in nature, and is thus feelingly and elegantly described by Petrarch.

> Ben s'io non erro, di pietate un raggio
> Scorgo fra 'l nubiloso altero ciglio,
> Che 'n parte rasserena il cor doglioso.
> Allor raccolgo l' alma; e poi ch' i' aggio
> Di scovrirle il mio mal preso consiglio,
> Tante le ho a dir, che incomminciar non oso. *Son.* 136.

Wyatt renders the thought thus.

Yet as I guess under disdainful brow
One beam of pity is in her cloudy look
That comforteth the mind that erst for fear shook.
And therewithal bolded I seek the way how
To utter the smart that I suffer within,
But such it is I 'not how to begin.

It is in vain to seek in these lines for any of the grace or elegance of the original. The sentiment itself thus expressed, loses all character of tenderness; communicates no pleasure, and excites no interest.

The same want of taste is observable in most of Wyatt's Rondeaus; of which, it should be observed, some are translations from Sonnets of Petrarch. Why Wyatt should have used that form in translating them, it is difficult to say. The Rondeau is adapted to express thoughts of which the character is artlessness and *Naïveté*, with a little turn of playfulness and arch satire about them; and not studied sentiments of grave and solemn complaint.[1]

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[1] Boileau in his Art Poetique thus describes the Rondeau:

Le Rondeau né Gaulois, a la naïveté. *Chant. III. V.* 140.

On which his commentator observes; "Ces petits Pöemes sont tout aussi difficiles à bien faire que le Sonnet, et n'ont pas des regles moins génantes. Le Naïf en fait d'ailleurs le caractere. The following is considered to be, if I mistake not, an elegant specimen of the amatory Rondeau.

Le premier jour du mois de Mai
Fut le plus heureux de ma vie.
Le beau projet que je formai,
Le premier jour du mois de Mai!
Si ce dessein vous plut, Silvie,
Le premier jour du mois de Mai,
Fut le plus heureux de ma vie.

Wyatt must have read Marot's Rondeaus; they are almost all either playful, or satiric.

Wyatt's two larger odes from Petrarch,

Mine old dear enemy, my froward master; *p.* 50;

and that which begins,

So feeble is the thread" that doth the burthen stay, *p.* 56,

exhibit all the faults of style and language which we have already noted in his Sonnets, and in his Rondeaus. Of these odes the second is the best. It seems to have been written without effort, and therefore has in some places the charm of simple feeling. In the first ode, however, there is a total absence of ease and elegance; so that a person, unacquainted with the original, will be at a loss to comprehend, upon what ground of taste the Italians can consider it to be one of Petrarch's best compositions. A single passage will suffice to confirm this remark, and shew Wyatt's inferiority.

In Petrarch we find the following harmonious and feeling lines.

Misero! a che, quel ~~chiaro ingegno altero~~!
E l'altre dote a me date dal cielo?
Che vo cangiando 'l pelo,
Nè cangiar posso l'ostinata voglia;
Così in tutto mi spoglia
De libertà, questo crudel ch'i accuso,
Ch' amaro viver m' ha volto in dolce uso. *Canzone*, 48.

Wyatt renders them thus;

But alas! where now had I ever wit,
Or else any other gift given me of Nature;
That sooner shall change my wearied sprit,
Than the obstinate will that is my rulèr;
So robbeth my liberty with displeasure
This wicked traitor whom I thus accuse;
That bitter life hath turned me in pleasant use. *p.* 81.

But Wyatt is more fortunate in his lesser odes, which often afford beautiful specimens a well of language, as of style, and turn of thought. They were composed probably on the impulse of the moment, and being written without effort are always natural, and frequently are tender and pathetic. His ode to his Lute is a piece of singular beauty; and has not been yet surpassed by any thing hitherto written in our language on a similar subject. The opening is dramatic, and empassioned.

Awake, my Lute! perform the last
Labour, that thou and I shall waste,
And end that I have now begun;
And when this song is sung and past,
My Lute be still! for I have done.

he then reproves his disdainful mistress for her cruelty; and having reminded her, that though in the pride of youth and beauty, she deemed herself secure from all reverse of fortune, the vengeance of offended Love still would overtake her, he proceeds to draw the following animated picture of her future mortifications.

May chance thee lie wither'd and old,
The winter nights that are so cold,
Plaining in vain into the moon.
Thy wishes then dare not be told!
But care who list, for I have done.

And then may chance thee to repent,
The time that thou hast lost and spent;
To cause thy Lovers sigh and swoon;
Then shall thou know beauty but lent,
And wish and want, as I have done.

The little ode on parting from his mistress is tender and simple. The picture drawn in the concluding stanza is natural, lively, and affecting.

She wept and wrung her hands withall;
Her tears fell in my neck:
She turn'd her face and let it fall,
And scarce therewith could speak.
Alas the while! *p.* 154.

In his ode entitled, "An earnest suit to his unkind Mistress," he gives a novel turn to amatory complaint:

And wilt thou leave me thus?
Say nay! say nay, for shame,
To save thee from the blame
Of all my grief and grame.[1]
And wilt thou leave me thus?
Say nay! say nay! *p.* 219.

In the following lines he is pathetic, and writes with that air of truth, which ever distinguishes genuine from artificial passion.

Forget not yet the tried intent,
Of such a truth as I have meant;
My great travail so gladly spent,
Forget not yet!

Forget not yet the great assays,
The cruel wrong, the scornful ways,
The painful patience in delays,
Forget not yet!

Forget not! oh! forget not this,
How long ago hath been, and is,
The mind that never meant amiss!
Forget not this! *p.* 235.

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[1] *Grame* means sorrow: it is derived from the Saxon, but it occurs with precisely the same meaning in the Italian. As in this passage from Dante;

Ed una lupa, che di tutte brame
Sembrava carca, con la sua magrezzea,
E molte genti fè già viver grame. *Inferno. Can. I. V.* 49.

In the ensuing stanza we meet with expressions that are new, as well as beautiful.

And if an eye may save, or slay,
  And strike more deep than weapon long;
And if a look by subtle play,
  May move one more than any tongue;
  How can ye stay that I do wrong,
Thus to suspect without desert;
For the eye is traitor to the heart. *p.* 159.

In the same ode we meet with another expression of still greater elegance and refinement.

But yet alas! *that look, all soul,*
  That I do claim of right to have
Should not methink, &c. *p.* 160.

The thought in the following passage is of a different nature; it is ingenious, but not overstrained, and is expressed with dignity.

My Love is like unto th' eternal fire
  And I, as those that do therein remain;
Whose grievous pain is but their great desire,
  To see the sight which they may not attain. *p.* 231.

The following passage is adduced as affording a striking proof of Wyatt's command of language. The thought is complicated, and laboured; yet it is expressed with ease, and precision. It is in the spirit of Cowley; and perhaps Cowley himself could not have rendered it better.

For to the flame, wherewith ye burn
  My thought and my desire,
When into ashes it should turn
  My heart, by fervent fire,
    Ye send a stormy rain,
    That doth it quench again,
  And make mine eyes express
  The tears, that do redress
  My life in wretchedness,

Then, when these should have drown'd
And overwhelm'd my heart;
The heart doth them confound,
Renewing all my smart.
Then doth the flame increase;
My torment cannot cease.
My woe doth thus revive,
And I remain alive,
With death still for to strive. *p.* 250.

But the style of thought and expression that is particularly characteristic of Wyatt's manner, is that of deep manly sorrow; which at the same time that it is descriptive of acute feeling, is free from querulousness. In the ode which begins

Resound my voice, ye woods! that hear me playne,

though some expressions occur which we could wish altered, we meet with many passages in it of great strength. Thus, having said that all the surrounding objects in nature seemed to listen to his complaints and compassionate his sufferings, he adds,

The hugy oaks have roared in the wind;
Each thing methought complaining in their kind. *p.* 25.

In the same elevated strain of manly sorrow are the following nervous lines

Heaven, and earth, and all that hear me playne,
Do well perceive what care doth make me cry;
Save you alone, to whom I cry in vain
Mercy, Madam! alas! I die, I die!

and thus afterwards, when he expostulates with his cruel mistress;

It is not now, but long and long ago
I have you serv'd as to my power and might
As faithfully as any man might do,
Claiming of you nothing of right, of right;

Save of your grace only to stay my life,
That fleeth as fast as cloud before the wind;
For since that first I entered in this strife
An inward death doth freat my mind, my mind.

If I had suffered this to you unware,
Mine were the fault, and you nothing to blame;
But since you know my woe, and all my care,
Why do I die, alas! for shame! for shame! *p.* 155.

In these and many similar passages that might be adduced we observe a certain earnestness of expression, and a dignified simplicity of thought, which distinguishes Wyatt's amatory effusions from Surrey's, and I might add from those of every other writer in our language.

It will readily be granted that Wyatt's odes, as generally is the case with those who write much, are far from being all of equal beauty. In some, the thoughts are not expressed with sufficient care and precision; and in others, the thoughts themselves are not worth the labour bestowed upon them. Still the greater number possess considerable merit. Wyatt's feelings are those of no common mind; he knows how to complain, yet command respect; and excites pity without incurring humiliation.

In his Epigrams, for I know not by what other name to call his smaller poems, Wyatt formed himself on the Strambotti of Serafino D'Aquila, a poet now almost entirely forgotten, but once so famous, that it was deemed an honour to have even seen his tomb.[1]

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[1] Qui giace Serafin! Partirti or puoi.
Sol d'aver visto il sasso che lo serva,
Assai sei debitore agli occhi tuoi.

Serafino Cimino, generally known by the name of Serafino dell' Aquila, a town in Abruzzo, the place of his birth, was born in 1466. He died at Rome in 1500. Crescimbeni derives the word Strambotto from the Italian, "*strambo*," in the sense of fantastical: the Strambotto being used to express strange and fantastical thoughts, and subtle conceits. *Commentari, &c. Vol. I. Lib. III. Cap. iv.*

Serafino was a poet of a lively fancy, but no judgment: his works abound with extravagant conceits, and all the glitter of that false taste which distinguished the writers of his school. Wyatt therefore, in this respect, owed him no great obligation. The form of the Epigram, however, which he borrowed from him, is pleasing, and may be often used with advantage. Wyatt availed himself of it to express those thoughts which are perpetually occurring to the poet's mind, but are not of sufficient importance to find place in laboured composition. Whenever he met therefore with any single idea or picturesque circumstance in the course of his reading, worthy notice, he moulded it into an epigram, such as we are now describing. Thus, one is taken from the account given by Josephus of the Hebrew Mother, who was driven by famine at the siege of Jerusalem to devour her own child. Another, on the courtier's life, was suggested by a passage in Seneca's Thyestes; and that of the man who hung himself for the loss of his treasure, by either the Greek of Plato, or the Latin of Ausonius. The enigmatical epigram on a gun is taken from a riddle in one of Pandulfo's Dialogues called Scopista: a work so little known that the reader will not be displeased to see transcribed from it the lines which Wyatt has translated.

Vulcanus genuit; peperit Natura; Minerva
Edocuit; Nutrix Ars fuit, atque dies.
Vis mea de Nihilo est; tria dant mihi corpora pastum.
Sunt nati, Strages, Ira, Ruina, Fragor.
Dic, Hospes, qui sum! Num terræ, an bellua ponti?
An neutrum! aut quo sim facta, vel orta modo.[1]

[1] The title of the work whence this Ænigma is taken, and that of the publication in which it is to be found are as follows.

Colloquia duo elegantissima, alterum Sensus et Rationis; alterum Adulationis et Paupertatis quibus viva humanæ vitæ imago exprimitur; Joanne Artopæo Spirensi auctore. Ejusdem, Arbor Eruditionis, et in eandem Oratio. Quibus propter elegantiam singularem et

The best of Wyatt's epigrams are those which may be considered as original. Of these I will adduce two. They will be found to be as elegant

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argumenti affinitatem adjunximus Pandulphi Collinutii Pisaurensis Apologos; Agenoriam; Misopeniam; Alethiam; Bombardam; Herculi Estensi Ferrarensi Duci dicatos.

Basiliæ; ex Officina Joannis Oporini Anno M.D.LXVII. Mense Maio.

In the Apologue, called Bombarda, from which Wyatt's Ænigma is taken, a person of the name of Phroninus is supposed to have built a city; and we are told, that being anxious to obtain for it the best means of defence possible, he went to consult on the subject with Heraclitus, called Scoteinos from the darkness of his answers. Heraclitus informs Phronimus that he would find what he wanted by looking into an egg. Unable to penetrate the meaning of this answer, Phronimus next goes to Diogenes the Cynic: who shews him a chesnut, and bids him take advice from that. This puzzles the poor man worse than ever, and makes him resolve to apply at once to Pallas herself. The Goddess hears his story, and replies by giving him the riddle in question, telling him that when he should be able to solve it, he would obtain the information he wished for. Phronimus quits the Goddess, delighted with her condescension, but not much edified by her answer; for he finds himself utterly unable to understand it. To conquer this new difficulty, he goes about consulting all the wise men he could hear of; but they are all unequal to the task: so that having wandered fruitlessly half the world over he begins to despair, when suddenly it comes into his head to consult Hercules: who very goodnaturedly tells him that the riddle was the simplest thing to be understood imaginable; and bids him listen to the interpretation of it. "In the beginning of time," said Hercules, "there was a mortal enmity between Nature and "a certain person called Vacuum. Juno, Neptune and Æolus took part with Nature, which "made the contest so unequal, that Vacuum was on the point of being overpowered. In his "distress he applied," continued Hercules, "to Vulcan for assistance, who advised him to "build a brazen house, without any window in it, and present it humbly as a peace-offering "to Juno; having first taken the precaution to lay in a store of three different sorts of food at "the bottom of the house; and to close the opening with stones: this done, Vulcan said he "would steal in at the backdoor of the house, and introducing Vacuum along with him, afford "him an opportunity of suddenly expelling Juno. Vacuum, pleased with the project, made the "present to Juno, who incautiously accepted it and thus gave Vulcan and Vacuum the means "of driving her before them out of the brazen house. Nature, however, hastened to Juno's "assistance, and rushing into the house again with a noise like thunder, put an end to the "existence of Vacuum in a moment; and confined Vulcan, for a punishment, in a flint "prison, from which," said Hercules, "he can never be extricated, but by stripes of iron." Phroninus expresses his gratitude to Hercules for the trouble he had been at in explaining the riddle to him, but takes the liberty of suggesting, that he understood the explanation ten

and pleasing in their way as any thing to be met with in our best succeeding writers. The first was written when he was about to quit Spain on his return to London.

Tagus, farewell! that westward with thy streams
Turns up the grains of gold already tried:
For I with spur, and sail go seek the Thames,
Gainward the sun that shew'th her wealthy pride;
And to the town, that Brutus sought with dreams,
Like bended moon doth lend her lusty side.
My King, my Country, alone for whom I live,
Of mighty love for this the wings me give.

There is great tenderness of thought and richness of allusion in these lines; they prove Wyatt's mind to have been well stored with reading. But what constitutes their chief merit is a certain air of truth which shews them to have been the spontaneous effusion of feeling. They are far superior on this account to some verses which the celebrated Naugerius wrote upon his return to Italy from Spain, whither he had been likewise sent as an ambassador from Venice, not long before Wyatt's appointment.

Salve! cura Deum, mundi felicior ora!
Formosæ Veneris dulces salvete recessus!
Ut vos, post tantos animi mentisque labores,
Aspicio, lustroque libens! ut munere vestro
Sollicitas toto depello à pectore curas.
Non aliis Charites perfundunt candida lymphis
Corpora, non alios contexunt serta per agros.[1]

---

times less than the riddle itself. Hercules listens graciously to this modest representation on the part of Phronimus, and to remove all further difficulties gives him directions to make a gun, which not only explained to him the best mode of defending his town, but solved both Minerva's riddle and the prior answers of Heraclitus and Diogenes.

[1] Naugerii Opera. Ed. Cominana, 4to. 1718. *p.* 221.

This is elegant and classical, but it is too general, particularly in the concluding lines, to excite much feeling.

The next Epigram I shall adduce is one of a different kind, but of singular beauty.

A face that should content me wondrous well,
Should not be fair, but lovely to behold;
With gladsome chere all grief for to expel.
With sober looks so would I that it should
Speak without words, such words as none can tell:
Her tress also should be of crisped gold.
With wit and these might chance I might be tied,
And knit again the knot that should not slide. *p.* 64.

Wyatt's Paraphrase of the Seven Penitential Psalms comes next to be considered. It seems to have been the work which his contemporaries, and he himself perhaps regarded as his highest effort. Surrey and Leland were sincere I doubt not in their commendations of it, when they both declared it to be a work worthy of eternal praise.[1] Posterity has judged otherwise. Of all Wyatt's compositions it is that which has sunk the earliest into oblivion; and now that it is reprinted will, I fear, notwithstanding its real merit, be the least read.

This is owing I apprehend not so much to want of skill in the writer, as to the nature of the subject which has occasioned failure, not in Wyatt's instance only, but in many others that might easily be cited. "From poetry," to use Johnson's words, "the reader justly expects, "and from good poetry always obtains the enlargement of his compre- "hension, and the elevation of his fancy: but this is rarely to be hoped "for by Christians from metrical devotion. Whatever is great, de- "sirable, or tremendous, is comprised in the name of the Supreme "Being. Omnipotence, cannot be exalted; Infinity, cannot be amplified; "Perfection, cannot be improved." For this reason, Devotional Poetry is seldom found to please: indeed it cannot be, strictly speaking, poetical. "Man admitted to implore the mercy of his Creator, and

[1] See Surrey's Poems, p. 45, l. 1. and Leland's Nœnia, 108.

"plead the merits of his Redeemer, is in an higher state than poetry "can confer." If Wyatt's Paraphrase, therefore, fall generally short of expectation, this cannot be a matter of wonder, and ought not to be one of blame.[1]

There are, however, some defects in the Paraphrase, with which, as they might have been avoided, Wyatt is justly chargeable.

Verse of every sort, as it is designed to affect the feelings, ought to delight the ear. This, which is a general principle, should have been particularly attended to in the composition before us; inasmuch as sentiments of sorrow and dejection require a versification of the simplest and most melodious kind. But Wyatt's versification in his Paraphrase is more crabbed and inharmonious than, perhaps, in any other part of his works. Its very structure is uncertain: it seems to fluctuate between the regular Iambic line, which Surrey had then introduced, and the old Rhythmical line to which Wyatt had been early accustomed; in consequence of which the even flow of metrical numbers is frequently in-

[1] That Wyatt's versification may not be thought more inharmonious than it really is, I must suggest that his lines ought to be read out loud. They would then be found to be constructed on regular principles, where they now seem altogether rude and licentious. The leading principles of Wyatt's versification, are three. I. He admits redundant syllables, which are to be disposed of in recitation, by forming them into feet, of which, either the first syllable is long and the two next short; like the dactyl of the Greeks and Romans; | – ⏑ ⏑ | or into feet, which may be called anapæsts; of which the first two syllables are short, and the third long. | ⏑ ⏑ – | II. He mixes feet, of which the first syllable is long, the second short; such as was the trochaic foot | – ⏑ | with Iambic feet, or those of which the first syllable is short, the second long | ⏑ – | III. He makes almost always a cæsura at the end of the fourth syllable. By attending to these rules, we shall not only read Wyatt's verses fluently, but feel them to possess an original and expressive flow of harmony. In the following lines the trochaic foot produces a fine effect.

And rĕcŏncīle || thĕ grēat | hātrĕd | ănd strife. *p.* 108.

Mў strēn gth | faīlĕth || to reach it at the full. *p.* 130.

The redundant short syllables produce often a fine effect.

Sūddĕn | cōnfūsiŏn || as stroke without delay.

In the following line we find both the trochaic and the anapæstic foot; yet properly enounced, the verse is musical and pleasing;

And found | mĕrcy || at plen | tĭfŭl mer | cy's hand. *p.* 116.

terrupted by the occurrence of defective or redundant lines that cannot be reduced to measure but by means of the old cæsura and rhythmical cadence. The language also is unequal. Many words are distorted from their natural pronunciation, and made to bear a strong accent on the last syllable for the sake of the rhyme; the old French mode of pronunciation, which Surrey succeeded in abolishing, is retained; and forced and inelegant contractions are used, as well as harsh and unpleasing licences. Thus "*quit,*" is pronounced "*quite,*" to rhyme with "*sprite,*" *p.* 139; the noun "*assembly,*" is made "*assemble,*" to rhyme with "*tremble,*" p. 111; and "*thirst*" is changed to "*thrist,*" to rhyme with "*trust,*" p. 135. In one place we find lines ending with "*redeemeth,*" "*esteem'th,*" and "*seem'th,*" p. 129; in another "*fever*" is made to rhyme with "*fervor,*" *p.* 111; "*praiseth*" with "*poiseth,*" and "*complisheth,*" *p.* 126; "*Son,*" with "*salvation,*" *p.* 136; and "*thing,*" with "*bemoaning*" and "*deserving,*" *p.* 107.

These are the defects of Wyatt's Paraphrase. Its merits are numerous, and such as shew its author to have been possessed of considerable learning and knowledge of his subject; to have had just and exalted views of the great mystery of Redemption; and to have been a pure, an humble, and a zealous Christian.

He sometimes in his Paraphrase gives a new and an ingenious turn to the original. As in this passage.

> And when mine enemies did me most assail,
> My friends most sure, wherein I set most trust,
> *Mine own virtues,* soonest then did fail
> And stand apart. Reason and Will unjust,
> As kin unkind, were furthest gone at need,
> So had they place their venom out to thrust
> That sought my death. *p.* 119, *l.* 19.

I am not aware that any commentator has given this fanciful interpretation to the passage. It is not necessary to the sense, and probably was not the Psalmist's meaning; but to a pious and a contemplative mind it opens a door to much useful meditation.

In the same strain of ingenious comment is the following passage.

For like as smoke my days been pass'd away;
My bones dried up as furnace in the fire;
My heart, my mind, is wither'd up like hay,
Because I have forgot to take my bread,
My bread of life, the word of Truth. *p.* 128.

The common translation is simply, "my heart is smitten and withered like grass, so that I forget to eat my bread."[1]

Wyatt sometimes introduces little distinctions of his own, which have a claim to an higher merit than that of mere ingenuity; they are those distinctions of which a heart, communing with itself, acknowledges at once both the force and the propriety.

But thou O Lord how long after this sort
Forbearest thou to see my misery!
Suffer me yet in hope of some comfort
Fear, and not feel that thou forgettest me. *p.* 108.

on which last line I would observe further, that it exhibits a fine instance of that compression by which one of the beneficial ends of poetry is effected. That of presenting truth to the mind in a form so precise, and in terms so chosen, that it is approved of by the judgment without the process of discussion, and retained without effort by the memory.

In some passages Wyatt is animated, as well as original.

Thou of my health shall gladsome tidings bring,
When from above remission shall be seen
Descend on earth; then shall for joy upspring
The bones, that were before consum'd to dust. *p.* 124.

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[1] Dante is as usual literal.

Percosso io sono, come il fien ne' prati,
Ed è già secco tutto lo mio core,
Perchè li cibi miei non ho mangiati.

Bishop Fisher, however, in his "treatise concerning the fruitful sayings of David on the Seven Penitential Psalms," gives the same turn to the thought, that Wyatt does. "The soul

Sometimes he approaches to the tenderness of a pathetic melancholy.

———then lift I up in haste
My hands to Thee: my soul to Thee doth call,
Like barren soil, for moisture of thy grace.
Haste to my help, O Lord! before I fall;
For sure I feel my spirit doth faint apace.
Turn not thy face from me that I be laid
In compt of them that headlong down do pass
Into the pit; shew me by times thine aid,
For on thy grace I wholly do depend. *p.* 139.

At other times he is solemn, full, and majestic.

No place so far, that to Thee is not near.
No depth so deep that thou ne may'st extend
Thine ear thereto; hear Thou my woeful plaint.
For, Lord, if thou observe what men offend,
And put thy native mercy in restraint;
If just exaction demand recompence,
Who may endure, O Lord! who shall not faint
At such account! dread and not reverence
Should so reign large: but Thou seek'st rather love;
For in thy hand is mercy's residence. *p.* 134.

Wyatt's Paraphrase is accompanied with an introduction, describing the occasion on which the Penitential Psalms are supposed to have been written; and every psalm is preceded by a sort of prologue connecting each with the other, and marking, as it were, the progress of the Royal Penitent's contrition. The introduction is fanciful and poetical.

Love, to give laws unto his subject hearts,
Stood in the eyes of Bersabee the bright;
And in a look anon himself converts

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in like manner is nourished with a certain meat; and if it refuse, and will not take that food, needs must it wax dry, and want good devotion. The proper meat for the soul is the word of God. Whosoever eateth not of this bread, shall wax lean in his soul, and at last wither, and come to nothing. Because, good Lord, I have not eaten this spiritual bread, I am blasted, and smitten with dryness like hay, having no devotion." *p.* 192. *Ed.* 1714.

Cruelly pleasant before King David's sight:
First daz'd his eyes, then further forth he starts.
With venom'd breath as softly as he might,
Touch'd his senses, and over-runs his bones
With creeping fire, sparpled for the nones.

Thus fatally seduced by the allurement of his senses,

And all forgot the wisdom and forecast,
Which, woe to realms! when that their kings do lack,

David adopts the guilty measure which gives him possession of his mistress: but afterwards being admonished by the Prophet of the enormity of his offence, he is struck with horror at it, and casting his crown of gold, and his purple pall, and his sceptre to the ground, and renouncing all

The pompous pride of state and dignity,

he retires to a dark and lonesome cave, taking nothing with him but his harp, to which he sings his several Penitential Psalms in succession.

In the two opening lines of the prologue, we trace evident marks of imitation from Petrarch; but the whole contrivance seems to have been borrowed from a piece of Beza's, entitled, "a Poetical Preface to David's Penitential Psalms." Wyatt has much abridged it; but all the leading circumstances are the same, as a few lines from the opening of Beza's Introduction will suffice to shew.

Forte perreratis cœlo, terrâque, marique,
Ales Amor, sacras Judææ callidus urbes
Visebat, pharetrâque minas, flammataque gestans
Tela manu. Jamque hospitium sedemque petebat
Venturæ nocti; dumque acres undique versat
Sæpe oculos, dubitatque etiam quâ sede moretur,
Tandem ad Bersabes convertit lumina formam.

Then deeming Bersabe's eyes to be the place most fit for his abode;

——pharetrâque, arcuque relictis
Aëreum sumit corpus, mirabile dictu!
Sic indutus Amor, formosam hinc, inde, puellam
Observat tacitus furtim, tandemque repertis
Sese oculis infert claroque in lumine condit. [1]

In the prologues which connect the several Psalms, we find many passages well conceived and not inelegantly expressed. The prologue to the fifty-first Psalm opens with this simile.

Like as the pilgrim that in a long way
Fainting for heat, provoked by somewind,
At some fresh shade lieth down at mid of day;
So of David the wearied voice and mind
Takes breath of sighs, when he had sung his lay
Under such shade as sorrow had assigned:
And as the one still minds his voyage end,
So doth the other to mercy still pretend. *p.* 121.

In the prologue to the hundred and forty-third Psalm, having mentioned Redemption, Wyatt presents us with the following animated passage, of which the conception is noble throughout, though there are one or two expressions in it we could wish altered.

This word "Redeem," that in his mouth did sound,
Did put David, it seemeth unto me,
As in a trance to stare upon the ground,
And with his thought the height of heaven to see,
Where he beholds "THE WORD" that should confound
The word of death, by humble ear to be [2]

[1] Prefatio Poetica in Davidicos Psalmos quos pœnitentiales vocant. Theodori Bezæ Vezelii Poemata, Sylva, iv.

[2] Wyatt has borrowed this expression "by humble ear," from the fortieth Psalm. "Sacrifice and meat-offering thou wouldest not; but mine ears hast thou opened." In which words allusion is made to the custom of passing a small sharp instrument through the ear of any one that became a voluntary servant; who by thus allowing himself to be fastened to the door

Of mortal maid, in mortal habit made;
Eternal life, in mortal veil to shade.

He seeth THAT WORD, when time full ripe should come,
Do 'way that veil, by fervent affection,
Torn off with death (for death shall have her doom)
And leap lighter from such corruption. *p.* 136.

From all these passages it is evident that though Wyatt's Paraphrase has defects which will prevent it from being ever a popular performance, it bears marks of no common intellect and vigour of mind. It is the work of one who had read much and thought more; of one who loved virtue and aspired to heavenly things; a work that will be highly esteemed by all, who entertain a just sense of the misery of guilt, and, to borrow Surrey's expression, "covet Christ to know.[1]"

The fate which has awaited Wyatt's Satires is somewhat remarkable,

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post of the house, gave a pledge of his obedience to the master he had chosen. This was called to open the ear; "aures fodere, forare." The custom was prevalent in the East, and upon it was founded Cicero's well known sarcasm on Octavius. For Octavius one day in the Senate said he could not hear Cicero, upon which he instantly retorted, "Certe solebas bene foratas habere aures;" intimating that he was, as Anthony reproached him with being, partly of African extraction. *Macrobii, Satur. Lib. VII. Cap.* 3. and *Suetonii Vita Octavii, cap.* 4.

[1] *Poems, p.* 46, *l.* 20. Warton tells us that Wyatt made a Version of the whole Psalter, and says it was a work distinct from the Paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms. In proof of this, he speaks of the commendations bestowed upon that version by both Surrey and Leland. But Surrey never commended any other Version by Wyatt from the Psalter than that of the Penitential Psalms. That the Sonnet he wrote on the subject applies to the Paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms alone, is clear from the circumstance of its being found in Wyatt's own hand-writing prefixed to his manuscript copy of that Paraphrase. The assertion therefore rests on the sole authority of Leland. His words are;

Transtulit in nostram Davidis carmina linguam.

This certainly might signify all David's Psalms, but it might also mean some of the Psalms only. In verse, people often are compelled to use general expressions, which, had they written

and deserves to be noticed. They are unquestionably his happiest and most finished productions. They may be ranked among the best satires in our language; and yet they never seem to have obtained either admirers or imitators; at least I do not recollect that any of our early writers have spoken of them in particular with commendation. This, I apprehend, may be easily accounted for. Wyatt had outstripped, as it were, his times. A taste for delicate satire cannot be general until refinement of manners is general likewise; and society is brought to that state which allows of the developement of foibles in character, and encourages philosophical inquiry into the motives and principles of human actions. As long as society is in a state of incipient refinement only, satire ever will be, and ever has been, coarse, personal, and indiscriminating; for the beauty of general allusions cannot then be felt; and few will be found enlightened enough to comprehend that the legitimate object of satiric poetry is not to humble an individual, but to improve the species.

What the prevailing notion of satire was in England in Wyatt's time may be ascertained by referring to the writings of Skelton, his contemporary. It is true indeed that Skelton's mode of writing has long been justly deemed almost a term of reproach; but when he wrote he was esteemed the best satiric poet of his age. I will adduce a few

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in prose, they would have avoided. Certain it is, that if Leland in the passage above quoted alludes to a complete Version of the Psalms by Wyatt, distinct from the Paraphrase, then he has omitted to make any mention of the Paraphrase at all; which is hardly probable, seeing it was Wyatt's most laboured performance. It was "opus tersum, spectabile:" and one constructed "magna arte," to use Leland's own words. If Wyatt therefore really did make a Version of the whole Book of Psalms, and rendered it a finished, perfect, and admirable work, it seems surprising that there should be no traces of it discoverable; especially as we have so large a number of Wyatt's poems preserved in his own MS. and in the Harington, and in the Duke of Devonshire's MSS. That Wyatt made a Version of particular Psalms we know. A Version of the Thirty-seventh Psalm will be found printed from the Harington MS. at page 198; and the lines printed at page lxxxvi. note 2, were, I doubt not, the Proem to a Version of some other Psalm. But that he made an entire Version of the whole Psalter, cannot, I think, without further proof be admitted.

specimens of his style. In his satire on the Scots he thus speaks of the Duke of Albany.

By your Duke of Albany,
We set not a prane;
By such a drunken Drane,
We set not a mite,
By such a coward Knight;
Such a proud pailliard;
Such a skyr-galliard;
Such a stark coward;
Such a proud poltron;
Such a foul coystron;
Such a doughty dog-swain;
Send him to France again,
To bring with him more train.

p. 255, *ed.* 1810.

In another place we have the following lines.

Sir Duke, nay, Sir Duck,
Sir Drake of the Lake, Sir Duck
Of the dunghill, for small luck
Ye have in feats of war,
Ye make not but ye mar:
Ye are a false entruster,
And a false abuser,
And an untrue knight;
Thou hast too little might
Against England to fight, &c. *ib. p.* 256.

In one of his latest poems he has these lines on Cardinal Wolsey.

Such a prelate I trow,
Were worthy to row,
Through the straights of Marock,
To the gibbet of Baldock:

For with us he so mells,
That within England dwells,
I would he were somewhere else;
For else by and bye,
He will drink us so dry,
And suck us so nigh,
That men shall scantly
Have penny or halfpenny.
God save his noble Grace,
And grant him a place,
Endless to dwell
With the devil of hell:
For an he were there
We need never fear
Of the fiend's black:
For I undertake,
He would so brag and cracke,
That he would then make
The devil to quake,
To shudder and to shake,
Like a fire-drake,
And with a coal rake,
Bruise them on a brake,
And bind them to a stake,
And set all hell on fire,
At his own desire,
He is such a grim sire.[1] *ibid, p.* 278.

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[1] I cannot forbear mentioning here a circumstance, recorded by Skelton in his satire called, "Why come ye not to Court," where, venting all his spleen against Wolsey, he tells us among other things that he had a disorder in one of his eyes which compelled him always to wear a flap before it. This fact, so particularly mentioned by Skelton, must have been notorious; and will serve to explain why almost all Wolsey's portraits are taken in profile. Skelton tells us that an empiric, by name Halthasor,

——with his gums of Araby,
Hath promised to heal our Cardinal's eye.

All these passages are unquestionably below criticism. But that is not the conclusion we are aiming at. The age that could admire them may be well supposed incompetent to taste, or decide upon the merits of Wyatt's more classic satires. It is no wonder therefore that they should have been neglected at the time, and afterwards have become almost forgotten; so that when Hall published his own satires, more than fifty years after, he described himself to be the first who had attempted that branch of composition in England.

> I first adventure, follow me who list,
> And be the second English satirist.[1]

This Balthasor it should seem had established his reputation by having cured a Lombard, then well known by the name of

> ——— Diego Lomelyn,
> That was wont to win
> Much money of the King,
> At the cards and hazarding.

He was probably one of those persons alluded to by Hall, who tells us that Henry in the second year of his reign "was much enticed to play at tennis and the dice; which appetite, certain crafty persons about him perceiving, brought in Frenchmen and Lombards to make wagers with him, and so he lost much money; but when he perceived their craft, he eschued their company and let them go." *Chronicles, Ed.* 1809, *p.* 520.

[1] See the Prologue to Hall's Virgidemiarum, or Satires in Six Books. In his Postscript, he tells us, that of modern satires he had never seen any he "could use for his direction" save Ariosto's, and one other "base French satire." Hall honestly tells us that the motive which led him to write his satires was the hope of profit, and that he had given to them "only the broken messes of his twelve o'clock hours." This will sufficiently account for the generalities, in which he deals. Warton seems to have been particularly fond of Hall. He reprinted his satires in a neat form at Oxford, in 1753; and devoted no less than three sections in the fourth volume of his History of English Poetry to a particular consideration of them. Hall's satires are certainly entitled to much praise; they are the work of an elegant, a poetic, and a virtuous mind: they shew scholarship, and exhibit, moreover, in many places fine specimens of versification: still I think the opinion advanced in the text concerning them will be found to be correct. Having referred to Warton's Critique on Hall's Satires, I must add, that the elegant

Hall's unblemished character leaves us no reason to doubt his word. We may conclude him therefore to have never heard of Wyatt's satires, or, from what he had heard, to have been deterred from reading them. A plain proof that their value had never been understood. In point of merit they are superior even to Hall's satires. Hall is too general and diffuse; he had evidently no deeper knowledge of mankind than the reading of the Classics supplied, or had been obtained from a partial view of human nature at the University, and during occasional visits to London; his learning, his piety, and sense of religion gave the rest. But Wyatt writes with a thorough insight into the human heart. His knowledge is his own, not gleaned from books, but actual observation. His remarks therefore are deep and penetrating, and will be found more and more just in proportion as they are studied.

The first of Wyatt's satires in point of time is, I apprehend, that on the Courtier's Life. It is a translation, or rather a free and masterly imitation of Alamanni's tenth satire to Thomaso Sertini, which begins,

Io vi dirò poi che d' udir vi cale.[1]

From Alamanni, Wyatt took likewise his form of stanza, the Terza Rima, which he has employed in his two other satires; and, what was of greater importance, he borrowed from him his particular style likewise; a style which the Italian critics have censured as being somewhat more elevated than is, strictly speaking, suited to satiric poetry. Certainly on light occasions it is not sufficiently natural or playful: it wants that character of easy insinuation which has been so well described of old;

Omne vafer vitium ridenti Flaccus amico
Tangit, et admissus circum præcordia, ludit.

Historian of English Poetry did not live to print more of the fourth volume than the first eighty-eight pages. Those pages, and whatever else may have been preserved of that volume, will be given, we confidently hope, in the reprint of the whole work, of which we understand Mr. Park has undertaken the charge.

[1] Alamanni's Satire will be printed entire in the Appendix, No. VII.

At the same time we must allow it to be well adapted to the expression of elevated sentiments, particularly in those passages which mark a generous contempt of vice and folly.

Wyatt's second Satire on the "Mean and sure Estate" seems to have been suggested by Horace's story of the Town and Country Mouse, which Wyatt relates in a new and lively manner of his own; subjoining to it moral reflection, in a high strain of philosophic reasoning upon the beauty and dignity of virtue.[1]

[1] Among the fables of Robert Henryson, a Scottish poet of considerable merit who flourished in the 15th century, is one, "Of the Uponlondis Mous, and the Burges Mous," to which it does not seem improbable but that Wyatt might have been indebted, if not for the idea of the story in this Satire, at least for the mode of telling it. I have therefore printed it in the Appendix, No. VI. It is true that Henryson's Fables were not published until 1621. But Wyatt might have seen them in manuscript; in the same manner as Surrey must have seen Gawin Douglas' translation of the Æneid in manuscript; for we know that Gawin Douglas' translation was not printed till some years after Surrey's death. See *Vol. I. Dissertation, p. cciv.* There is considerable uncertainty as to the exact time when Henryson lived. Sibbald supposes him to have been born about the year 1425, and to have died before the year 1500. See *Chronicle of Scot. Poet. Vol. I. p.* 87. His Testament of Cresseide, a piece of considerable merit, is printed at the end of the Troilus and Cressida, in all the common editions of Chaucer's works. Of his smaller pieces many have been printed by Lord Hailes, and many by Pinkerton, in their selections from the early Scottish poets. Of the fable of the Two Mice, Hailes has printed only the Moralitas. It is given entire by Ramsay in his Evergreen, and by Sibbald in his Chronicle, who says that he has printed it faithfully from the Bannatyne MS. I have given it from the Harleian MS. No. 3865. The reader will find that it differs greatly from Sibbald's copy. Should Wyatt's Satire, on comparison, be thought to have been taken in any degree from Henryson's Fable, it must be considered a circumstance of no small credit to the Scottish poets that they were deemed worthy of being studied and imitated by the two great Reformers of our language: and a question will naturally arise, whether they may have been imitated by them in more instances than those two I have adduced. The question cannot well be decided until we have a good critical edition of all the early Scotch poets before us. This is a work which is loudly called for; but it is one which we hope no one but an able and impartial scholar will venture to undertake. The result would be highly honourable to Scottish literature. It has long since been remarked by Warton, and other writers, that several Scotch poets at the close of the 15th, and at the early part of the 16th century, had attained to a degree of elegance and richness in poetic composition and versification which our own native poets were then altogether strangers to.

The third Satire, "How to use the Court," is evidently an imitation of Horace's fifth Satire of the second book.

Hoc quoque Teresia præter narrata petenti, &c.

But it is one of those imitations which entitle to all the praise of originality. Wyatt is indebted to Horace for little more than general ideas. The particular subject to which the Satire is applied is different, and so likewise are the actors. In fact Wyatt cannot be said to have borrowed any one thought distinctly from Horace. His thoughts seem to have been rather excited by reading the Latin Satirist than taken from him. I will explain my meaning by an instance.

In Horace we meet with the following ironical direction. "If," says Tiresias, "one of those who have been named in the same will with "you, should happen to have a dangerous cough, offer to make over "to him, provided he be older than yourself, at his own price, any "part of your legacy he may wish to purchase." This mode of flattery is not obvious: at all events the experiment would be a dangerous one; and few would be disposed to try it. Wyatt has caught the thought, but with incomparably greater shrewdness and penetration has given it another form.

Some time also rich Age begin'th to dote.
See thou, when there thy gain may be the more,
Stay him by the arm whereso he walk or go.
Be near alway, *and if he cough too sore,*
What he hath spit tread out, and please him so. p. 92.

In what a lively dramatic manner does this last direction describe the mean servility of the parasite, in hiding from his feeble patron the near approach of death! and how forcibly does it put before us the childish pusillanimity of the rich old dotard, clinging to life with all its miseries, as the only state of existence he had ever thought of, or desired.

When we turn from this general view of Wyatt's Satires, to con-

sider particular passages, we shall be struck with the opening to the Satire, "Of the mean and sure estate." It is very artificially contrived, as it immediately excites interest, by placing before us a circumstance of antient simple manners, highly descriptive of the tranquillity of domestic life; thus predisposing the mind to acquiesce in the moral reflections which were afterwards to be drawn from the story.

My mother's maids when they do sit and spin,
They sing sometimes a song made of the Field Mouse;
Who, for because her livelihood was but thin,
Would needs go seek her townish sister's house. *p.* 82.

The reflections themselves are conceived in the generous spirit of an exalted morality, and are expressed with force and dignity.

Alas, my Poynz! how men do seek the best
And find the worst, by error as they stray.
And no marvel; when sight is so oppress'd,
And blind the guide, anon out of the way
Goeth guide and all——
O! wretched minds! there is no gold that may
Grant that ye seek; no war, no peace, no strife;
No! no! although thy head were hoop'd with gold.
Sergeant with mace, halberd, sword, nor knife
Cannot repulse the care that follow should.

The classical allusions in this passage are so obvious they need not be pointed out; but we may observe that they lose nothing by being accommodated to the circumstances of Wyatt's own times. The Lictor, and his fasces, would have presented but a trite allusion to commonplace learning, and could not have produced any great effect upon the mind: but the King surrounded by all the pomp and circumstance of power, his head, "hooped with gold," and the serjeant of his guard, with the various insignia of his office, keeping watch over the entrance to the presence chamber, yet unable to exclude the intrusion of care and

sorrow, and mental suffering, present a picture the truth and beauty of which cannot but be felt by every one.

The conclusion to the same Satire is in a strain of thought even still more solemn and dignified; imitated indeed, but enlarged and much improved from the philosophic Persius, who closes his third Satire with these spirited lines.

Magne Pater divum, sævos punire tyrannos
Haud aliâ ratione velim, cum dira libido
Moverit ingenium ferventi tincta veneno,
Virtutem videant intabescantque relictâ.

Wyatt thus expresses himself.

Henceforth, my Poynz, this shall be all and sum:
These wretched fools shall have nought else of me.
But to the great God, and to his high doom,
None other pain pray I for them to be,
But that, when rage doth lead them from the right,
Then looking backward, Virtue they may see
Even as she is, so goodly fair and bright.
And when they clasp their lusts in arms across,
Grant them, good Lord, as thou may'st of thy might,
To fret inward for losing such a loss. *p.* 86.

In the Satire on the Courtier's Life, Wyatt gives us the following natural and pleasing picture of himself. Having described his occupations at Allington Castle, and congratulated himself that he was neither in France or Flanders, where sensuality alone was studied; nor yet in Spain, where those who wish to thrive must incline themselves,

Rather than to be, outwardly to seem;

Nor yet in Italy,

—where Christ is given in prey
For money, poison, and trahison, at Rome
A common practice, used night and day,

He adds;

But here I am in Kent, and Christendom,
Among the Muses; where I read and rhyme.
Where, if thou list, mine own John Poynz, to come,
Thou shalt be judge how I do spend my time.

The conclusion to the last Satire "How to use the Court," addressed to Sir Francis Bryan, is singularly happy. He points out to him in a strain of fine irony the different arts by which he might attain to wealth and power, and bids him above all things avoid Truth, as that was the most unprofitable thing imaginable, and tells him to use Virtue as it went then a-days,

In word alone, to make his language sweet.

This premised, he proceeds to give him more particular directions for the advancement of his fortunes, and suggests among other things, that if he should have a niece, a cousin, sister, or even a daughter, whom a great man should solicit, though dishonestly, he ought without any foolish scruple,

Advance his cause, and he shall help thy need:
It is but Love; turn thou it to a laughter.

Perceiving however that his friend, instead of listening to his advice, treats it with contempt, he suddenly interrupts himself, and asks in a lively dramatic manner,

Laugh'st thou at me? Why! do I speak in vain?
" No, not at thee, but at thy thrifty jest.
" Wouldst thou I should for any loss or gain
" Change that for gold, which I have ta'en for best?
" Next godly things to have an honest name?
" Should I leave that, then take me for a beast."
Nay then farewell! an' if thou care for shame,
Content thee then with honest poverty;
With free tongue what thee mislikes to blame,

And for thy Truth some time adversity;
And therewithal, this gift I shall thee give,
In this world now little prosperity,
And coin to keep, as water in a sieve.

It was not possible for Wyatt to have paid his friend an higher or a more natural compliment, or at the same time to have marked more pointedly his own detestation of the arts by which he saw dishonest men rising into favour at Court.

From the consideration of Wyatt's merits thus generally, in point of composition, we turn next to consider his language and style of versification.

Wyatt's versification when he first began to write was evidently rhythmical, and differed in no essential point from that of either Hawes or Barclay, or the other writers, who preceded him. This will be evident from the following lines, as they occur in all the printed copies.

But death were deliverance // and life length of pain.
Of two ills lets see " now chuse the least.
This bird to deliver " you that hear her playne,
Your advice you Lovers " which shall be best! *p.* 48.

And again;

Mine old dear enemy, " my froward master,
Afore that Queen I caused " to be accited
Which holdeth the divine " part of nature,
That like as gold in fire " he might be tried. *p.* 50.

But the conclusive proof of Wyatt's having had rhythmical verse in contemplation is to be drawn from his manuscript, where we find him marking the Cæsura in his own hand-writing; and sometimes the mode of disposing of the redundant syllable, so as to preserve the rhythm of the verse; as in the following instances.

I am in hold : if pity thee meveth :
Go bend thy bow : that stony hearts breaketh : MS. fo. 1.

Right at her ease; and little thee dreadeth
Weapon'd thou art; and she unarm'd sitteth ib. fo. 1.
So chanceth it oft; that every passion. ib. fo. 3.
Disdainful doubleness × have I for my hire. ib. fo. 4.
O cruel causer of undeserved change: ib. fo. 5.

In the pieces that were written by him at a later period of his life, Wyatt seems to have adopted the Iambic form of verse, which Surrey's better taste had by that time introduced. We find him also paying a greater attention to the variety of his pauses; aiming likewise at studied involution of sentence, and borrowing particular idioms from the Italian, instead of the French writers, with whom he appears to have been at first most conversant.[1] But his early habits were so strong, that in what he attempted he was not always successful. His versification to the last was disfigured by verses, which being formed on the old rhythmical system were either defective or redundant, and could not be reduced to harmony without the use of the Cæsura in

[1] This is evident, not only from some of his poems which bear evident marks of having been taken immediately from the French, such as is the ode which begins,

Though this the port, and I thy servant true. *p. 157.*

of which the burden is "En vogant la Galere;" but from the large number of words purely French, and idioms peculiar to that language used by Wyatt throughout all his writings. A striking instance of this occurs at page 304, where speaking of the Nuns at Barcelona, he says, that "most were gentlewomen, which walk upon their horses." This phrase, which is taken from the French, is one so foreign from our own language, that I thought the passage was corrupt, till I found that Lord Calthorpe's MS. agreed with the Harleian MS. in giving that reading. That Wyatt afterwards adopted the Italian idiom, as better suited to the purposes of poetry, is clear from the following passage:

Because I knew the wrath of thy favour
Provoked by right, *had of my pride disdain. p.* 129.

Sometimes Wyatt adhered servilely to the Italian, as in this line,

That bitter life have turned me in pleasant use. *p.* 51.

Which runs thus word for word in Petrarch,

Ch' amaro viver m' ha volto in dolce uso.

the middle, and the pause at the end of the line. He retained likewise the use of the French pronunciation in those words which were derived originally from that language; and he flung a strong and heavy accent on final syllables, which renders it now difficult for us to read some passages of his poems with pleasure, or trace in them any of that beauty, which as they were once commended, we must suppose them to have once possessed. Such are the following lines:

So chaunceth it oft that every passion
The mind hideth by colour contrary
With feigned visage now sad, now mery,
Whereby if I laugh any time or season, &c. p. 7.

This remark, however, applies to Wyatt's heroic verses rather than to those written in shorter measure; which being not so studied are often simple, fluent, and harmonious. Of his versification in the octosyllabic measure the following passages may serve as specimens. The reader's taste and selection will readily supply more.

Blame not my Lute, for it must sound
Of this, or that, as pleaseth me.
For lack of wit the Lute is bound
To give such tunes as pleaseth me.
Though my songs be somewhat strange,
And speak such words as touch thy change,
Blame not my Lute.[1] *p.* 205.

The following lines boast more merit than that of fluency alone.

[1] The Ode, of which this stanza forms the opening, is first printed in this volume from the Duke of Devonshire's MS. The whole piece is one of considerable merit, and must have been once very popular, as we find it was moralized by John Hall, who published some poems of a religious and serious nature under the title of "The Court of Virtue," in 1565. Mr. Ellis has printed part of Hall's Moralization in the second volume of his Specimens. The reader will find it entire in the Appendix, No. XXVIII. and at Appendix, No. XXIX. another Moralization by the same writer of another of Wyatt's favourite Odes.

My Lute, awake! perform the last
Labour, that thou and I shall waste.

And when in mind I did consent
To follow this, my fancy's will;
And when my heart did first relent
To taste such bait, my life to spill,
I would my heart had been as thine,
Or else thy heart had been as mine. *p.* 43.

Not that Wyatt's heroic verses are always wanting in either elegance or harmony. The following lines are musical and fluent.

Wherefore, O Lord, as thou hast done alway,
Teach me the hidden wisdom of thy lore. *p.* 124.

So are these likewise, though they retain a certain character of gravity.

Thou place of sleep, wherein I do but wake,
Besprent with tears, my bed! I thee forsake. *p.* 24.

Wyatt sometimes attains to that terseness and compression which reminds us of Dryden's happiest manner; as in the following line.

Their tongues reproach, their wit did fraud supply. *p.* 119.

And again,

He granteth most to them that most do crave.

In which, and in many other similar lines, we find a good model of the heroic verse.

When he attempted involution, Wyatt was not always happy. In the following lines the sense is obscured and injured by it.

O Lord! since my mouth thy mighty name
Suff'reth itself my Lord to name and call. *p.* 107.

And again,

The pompous pride of state and dignity
Forthwith rebates repentant humbleness. *p.* 105.

In the use of his pauses he is more successful.

> I, Lord, am strayed; I, sick without recure,
> Feel all my limbs that have rebell'd, for fear
> Shake—in despair unless thou me assure. *p.* 108.

And thus in another place;

> Perceiving thus the tyranny of sin,
> That with his weight hath humbled and depress'd
> My pride; by grudging of the worm within
> That never dieth—I live withouten rest.

From these passages, therefore, we are warranted in concluding that Wyatt when he wrote his latter pieces understood the principles of correct versification; and that, had he lived to revise what he had written, he probably would have corrected all the faults of his early style.

In point of language Wyatt does not seem to have done as much, or to have made as many improvements as might have been expected. A far greater number of antiquated words, and obsolete forms of speech are to be found in his writings, than in Surrey's; which is the more remarkable, as he enjoyed the same advantage which Surrey did, of living in the Court, and conversing continually with the great.[1] It was a

[1] See the Dissertation, *Vol. I. p. ccxliv.* If the opinion there advanced should be deemed to want the support of authority, it might be supported by that of the best Italian writers, who called the language suited to the higher purposes of poetry, "parlar Cortigiano." Thus Ciampi, in his life of Cino da Pistoia, speaking of the attempt made by him and Dante to improve the poetic language of Italy, says; Sì l'uno che l' altro s' accorsene di non poter ben riuscire nell' impresa, se prima non avessero nobilitata, dirozzata, et arrichita la lingua che adoprare nei loro versi dovevano. Di qui è, che a niuno degli italiani dialetti data la preferenza, ma da tutti il meglio scegliendo, e specialmente dal parlar Cortigiano, cioè dal linguaggio usato dalle culte persone nelle corti dei Grandi, recarono alle rime loro in tal modo e grazia, e forza, ed espressione, che tutti a quelle piegando le orecchie maravigliati, non più fu conceduto il primato a Guittone di Arezzo, ed agli altri di quella classe, ma a Dante bensì ed a Mess. Cino." *Vita e Poesie di Messer Cino da Pistoia dall' Abate Sebastiano Ciampi. Pisa.* 1813. *p.* 81. See also Dante's work de la Volgare Eloquenza, particularly Chapter xvi. Book 1.

circumstance indeed in favour of the latter, that he began to write a few years later than Wyatt did. The interval it is true was not greater than perhaps ten or fifteen years; but even that interval was of importance when the change had been once begun, and things were tending rapidly towards improvement. It operated much to Wyatt's disadvantage, that he translated early from several languages. This, unavoidably gave an uncertainty and a want of precision to his style, which might have been avoided had he proposed to himself only one author as his model. He seems also not to have studied with any definite view the writers in his own language. For though it is evident that he had read Chaucer, and admired him, his imitations are neither frequent, nor of a description to make us suppose that he took him as his master, or considered him to be "the well-head of English undefiled." In both these points Surrey acted with better

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where he describes the "Volgare Illustre" to be a language, "il quale è di tutte le città Italiane, e che non pare che sia di niuna; col quale i volgari di tutte le città d' Italia si hanno a misurare ponderare, et comparare." In the xviiith chapter of the same book he goes on to explain why this "Volgare Illustre" was to be "aulico, e Cortigiano," that is, the language used by polished persons in the courts of princes.

I will illustrate my meaning in a single instance. In one of his serious odes, Wyatt uses the following expression;

Alas the grief, and deadly woeful smert
The careful chance, *shapen afore my shert.* p. 168.

It is taken from Chaucer.

Y-sticked through my true careful hert,
That shaped was my death *erst than my shert.* *Knight's Tale, v.* 1568.

Mr. Tyrwhitt, indeed, comparing this passage with another in Troilus and Cressida,

O! fatal Sistren, *which or any cloth*
Me shapen was my destiny me spun. *B. III. l.* 734.

conjectures that the word "shirt," is not to be taken in a familiar sense, but that it meant generally the cloth in which the new born infant was wrapped. This is a very ingenious conjecture: but, supposing it were granted, still the word in Wyatt's time being used only in a familiar sense, ought, in good taste, to have been avoided.

taste, and obtained more successful results. He directed his attention to Chaucer and Petrarch exclusively, choosing the one as the model for his style in composition; the other as the ground-work of his language. It is to this cause principally, that the greater uniformity of Surrey's language is to be attributed.[1] That the superiority should have been so great as it is, still remains a matter of surprise, because Wyatt and Surrey studied much together; and were in the habit of communicating their compositions to one another. They appear to have sometimes chosen purposely the same subject for the sake probably of experiment, and friendly competition. Thus Surrey's sonnet,

Love that liveth and reigneth in my breast, *p.* 16.

and Wyatt's, which begins

The long love that in my thought doth harbour, *p.* 1.

were written as a sort of exercise of style; as were also Surrey's little ode,

As oft as I behold and see, *p.* 7.

and Wyatt's ode, preserved among the Harleian MSS. which begins,

Like as the wind with raging blast;

for there is in reality no difference between those two poems, except that which arises from the difference of style, peculiar to their respective writers.[2]

[1] In the notes on Surrey's Poems, I have pointed out his numerous imitations of Chaucer. They are such as leave, I think, no doubt on the question. Had it been an object to multiply instances, they might have been considerably increased. I cannot forbear mentioning however one, which ought not to have been omitted. The long poem, which on Turberville's authority I have ascribed to Surrey, at page 56, seems to have been suggested in great measure by a passage in Chaucer's Court of Love; where Philogenet, is described as being assailed by Displeasure, and comforted by Hope. See and compare the Court of Love, from l. 1030, to 1090. with Surrey, p. 60, l. 18, to p. 64. I consider this imitation as forming an additional reason attributing that piece to Surrey.

[2] See the notes on Surrey's Poems, p. 281, where the poem here alluded to is given entire.

A further proof of their community of study may be drawn from their frequent imitations of one another. The Paraphrase of the Seven Penitential Psalms alone supplies a sufficient number of parallel passages to establish the fact. Wyatt thus describes David immersed in thought.

> And whilst he ponder'd these things in his heart
> His knee his arm, his hand sustain'd his chin. *p.* 133.

Surrey thus describes himself, when lost in contemplating the objects below him from his prison.

> When Windsor walls sustained my wearied arm
> My hand, my chin, to ease my restless head. *Vol. I. p.* 50.

Surrey thus paints his grief for the loss of his friend;

> The tears berain my cheeks of deadly hue,
> The which as soon as sobbing sighs, alas!
> Upsupped have, thus I my plaint renew. *Ibid.*

Wyatt thus represents David's sorrow,

> Else had the wind blown in all Israel's ears
> The woeful plaint, and of their King the tears;
> Of which some part when he upsupped had
> He turns his look, &c. *p.* 122.

Again; in one of Wyatt's smaller odes we meet with the following thought;

> Such hammers work within my head
> That sound nought else into my ears. *p.* 239.

which thought Surrey has adopted when speaking of Wyatt himself;

> A head where wisdom mysteries did work,
> Whose hammers beat still in that lively brain. *Vol. I. p.* 45.

These instances make it clear that Wyatt and Surrey studied much together; and as we find that Wyatt's later pieces bear a nearer resemblance to Surrey's than those which were written by him at an early period, it is probable that their style would ultimately have been as nearly the same as the style of two poets of original genius ever can be. As they now stand, Wyatt's style, when compared with Surrey's, must be deemed rude and unformed. And, indeed, that Wyatt was generally considered inferior to Surrey as a writer, is evident from this, that though he is often highly commended, he is but little imitated; we find, therefore, that while the works of succeeding authors abound with passages either imitated from Surrey, or modelled upon his principles of composition, few comparatively speaking, occur borrowed from Wyatt.

And now, after what has been said of the particular merits of these two great reformers of our language, and fathers of modern English poetry, it will be easy to form a comparison between them.

They were men whose minds, may be said to have been cast in the same mould; for they differ only in those minuter shades of character which always must exist in human nature; shades of difference so infinitely varied, that there never were and never will be two persons in all respects alike. In their love of virtue, and their instinctive hatred and contempt of vice; in their freedom from personal jealousy; in their thirst after knowledge, and intellectual improvement; in nice observation in nature, promptitude to action, intrepidity, and fondness for romantic enterprise; in magnificence and liberality; in generous support of others, and high-spirited neglect of themselves; in constancy in friendship, and tender susceptibility of affections of a still warmer nature, and in every thing connected with sentiment and principle, they were one and the same; but when those qualities branch out into particulars, they will be found in some respects to differ.

Wyatt had a deeper and a more accurate penetration into the characters of men than Surrey had: hence arises the difference in their Satires. Surrey in his satire against the citizens of London, deals

only in reproach; Wyatt, in his, abounds with irony, and those nice touches of ridicule which make us ashamed of our faults, and therefore often silently effect amendment.

Surrey's observation of nature was minute, but he directed it towards the works of nature in general, and the movements of the passions, rather than to the foibles and the characters of men; hence it is that he excels in the description of rural objects, and is always tender and pathetic. In Wyatt's complaints we hear a strain of manly grief which commands attention; and we listen to it with respect for the sake of him that suffers. Surrey's distress is painted in such natural terms, that we make it our own, and recognise in his sorrows, emotions which we are conscious of having felt ourselves.

In point of taste, and perception of propriety in composition, Surrey is more accurate and just than Wyatt; he therefore seldom either offends with conceits, or wearies with repetition; and when he imitates other poets, he is original as well as pleasing. In his numerous translations from Petrarch, he is seldom inferior to his master; and he sometimes improves upon him. Wyatt is almost always below the Italian, and frequently degrades a good thought by expressing it so, that it is hardly recognisable. Had Wyatt attempted a translation of Virgil as Surrey did, he would have exposed himself to unavoidable failure.[1]

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[1] Warton twice mentions Wyatt as a translator from Virgil in the same terms with which he describes Surrey. "Wyatt's and Surrey's versions from Virgil are the first regular translations in English of an antient classic poet." *Vol. III.* p. 38; and again, "They were both engaged in translating Virgil," *p.* 40. I wish Warton had been particular in his reference, and that he had cited Wyatt's translation by name. I am not aware that he attempted any thing of the kind. In his song of Iopas, indeed, which is a description of the sphere, Wyatt, to give an introduction to the poem, feigns that it was the song which Virgil, in the first Æneid, speaks of Iopas as having sung before Æneas, when received by Dido at a solemn banquet at Carthage.

——— cithará crinitus Iopas
Personat auratâ docuit quæ maximus Atlas.
Hic canit errantem Lunam, Solisque labores;
Unde hominum genus, et pecudes; unde imber et ignes;
Arcturum, pluviasque Hyadas, geminosque Triones.

But though in all these points Wyatt confessedly ranks below Surrey, and though his works have not produced as general an effect upon our literature as Surrey's have done, still we owe him much. He was the first English writer who can be said to have aimed at any thing like legitimate style in prose. His two letters to his son, formed on the model of Seneca's Epistles, are grave and sententious, and often exhibit well constructed periods, and a graceful flow of language. In his Oration, his style is even still more varied and artificial. In some places it is grave and dignified; in others it is terse and pointed, and admirably well suited to sarcasm and satire;[1] when to this we add that Wyatt was the first in point of time to draw our attention to classic composition;[2] and reflect, that he taught succeeding writers

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Quid tantum Oceano properent se tingere soles
Hiberni, vel quæ tardis mora noctibus obstet.

Of these lines Wyatt can be said to have imitated only the first and second.

That mighty Atlas did teach," the supper lasting long,
With crisped locks, on golden harp" Iopas sang in his song. *p.* 60.

Every thing else in Wyatt's piece is purely of his own invention, and has no place whatever in Virgil. I can hardly suppose Warton not to have been aware of this, and therefore am sorry that he did not specify what Wyatt's translations were to which he has alluded, or where they may be found.

[1] Wyatt's merits as a prose writer will be best estimated by comparing him patiently and critically with the prose writers who immediately preceded him. To make the proof complete, therefore, of what has been asserted above, a series of specimens from their writings ought to be here adduced. But that would extend the notes to an inconvenient length; for if the quotations were not both long and numerous, I might be suspected of having selected such passages only, as suited my purpose. I shall refer the question therefore to the reader's own judgment, if he is disposed to pursue it. The only caution I will give is this, that he do not suffer himself to be misled by an happily expressed sentence that may now and then be found to occur in our prose writers at the period we are speaking of. Were those passages more numerous than they are, they could not be adduced as instances of style. They are happy accidents only, growing out of the genius of the language, and not the result of system on the part of the writers themselves.

Leland expressly says of Wyatt,

Nobilitas didicit, te præceptore, Britanna,
Carmina per varios scribere posse modos.

to give refinement of thought to amatory strains, and that he led the way to genuine satire, though his own age was not refined enough to profit by the example; we must allow that he is entitled to an ample share of praise and admiration.[1]

I hope it will not be objected to these expressions, that they tend to give a greater importance to the writers of a few obscure Songs and Sonnets at the beginning of the sixteenth century, than can with any propriety, be claimed for them. That those writers have remained so long obscure is a sort of reproach upon our literature: that the general question connected with their works is of importance, what scholar, or what reflecting person will venture to deny?

There is no subject of inquiry connected with human learning, that can be presented to the mind more interesting than what concerns the progress of improvement in language. For as reason, next to the capacity of immortality, with which it is interwoven, is the most precious gift that has been bestowed on man; and as it

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[1] What has been said above of Wyatt, that he led the way to the improvements made in our style of amatory composition, must not be so understood as to contradict any thing advanced respecting Surrey in the Dissertation prefixed to his poems at p. 229. In point of time Wyatt certainly preceded Surrey; perhaps, however, not more than ten, or fifteen years, at most. Could we ascertain the date of Wyatt's poems, it would be found, I doubt not, that his earliest productions did not differ in style from those of the writers who had preceded him. Wyatt's style was improved by Surrey. From him he learnt, in a great degree, elegance of expression and fluency of numbers, without which his poems would not have had any sensible effect at all upon our literature. Moreover, when it is said that Surrey was "the first who gave us a model of the sonnet in our language," the observation applies to sonnets of original composition; and to those only is the reference made. See the *Dissertation ut sup.* It is probable that Wyatt must have translated some sonnets from Petrarch before Surrey began to write; but of Wyatt's sonnets which may be deemed original, not one can lay claim to the merit of being a model in that species of composition; which Surrey's sonnets are. The best of Wyatt's original sonnets, in point of conduct, is that which begins,

Divers do use, as I have heard and know. *p.* 143.

But even that is far inferior to Surrey's original sonnets, and bears evident marks of having been written by him at a late period of his life.

is language that endows reason with efficacy, he who labours to improve, enlarge, and fix the language of any country; he who by adding to its graces and its harmony adapts it to the purposes of poetry; and by giving it strength and precision, makes it adequate to the higher purposes of science, is entitled to public gratitude, as well as commendation.

This the wisdom of antiquity discerned; and therefore conferred liberal honours upon all, who, by improving language, promoted the common interests of society. Surely if in Egypt, or in Greece, those who first invented, or afterwards increased the number of letters were ranked among the tutelary deities of nations; if statues were erected and public honours decreed to such as contrived new measures in poetic composition, or added to the compass of the lyre, it would be injustice no less than insensibility in us to deem it an idle speculation only, whether Surrey and Wyatt are entitled to the praise which is here claimed for them.[1]

In the long interval that had elapsed between Chaucer and themselves, the English language had not advanced in elegance, perspicuity, copiousness, or strength. To this cause chiefly was it owing, that during the above period no works were written of any account in our native tongue, either in history, poetry, morals, or science. Genius was not extinct among us; but our language not seconding exertion, exertion was discontinued. What was written in one generation, was difficult to be understood in the next; and was therefore soon to be superseded by something more intelligible.

The inconveniences arising from this uncertain state of our language Surrey and Wyatt perceived, and applied themselves to remedy. That they did much towards fixing it, the most careless observer must allow. That they did not effect more, is no fault imputable to them. Had not an untimely death taken Wyatt away just as his taste and judgment were matured; and had not the unrelenting jealousy of political

[1] Plato mentions it as the magnificent praise bestowed upon Homer of old, that, τὴν Ἑλλάδα πεπαίδευκε that he had educated as it were, the whole nation. *De Repub. Lib. x. p.* 606.

intrigue cut Surrey off in the vigor of his youth, there seems no reason to doubt but that they would have perfected their undertaking: and having revised and polished the works they had written, and undertaken others[1] of a larger scope, and such as might have called forth all the powers of their mind, they probably would have fixed, even then, the standard of our language, and have placed it beyond the reach of those changes to which after their death it was exposed. For from the time the noble Surrey fell beneath the hand of oppression, until Spenser appeared, no poet arose equal to the task of finishing what he and Wyatt had begun; and even of Spenser himself it must be allowed, that he did less than might have been expected from his genius and his learning.[2]

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[1] We have been told by Leland and all our early writers, that Surrey translated into English Boccaccio's letter of consolation to his friend Pino de' Rossi. No trace whatever of that translation has been as yet discovered. The loss is much to be lamented, not only as it prevents us from forming a perfect comparison between Wyatt and Surrey; but as it deprives us of the means of knowing what Surrey's notions were respecting English prose. The laudable diligence exerted in the present day to discover and preserve whatever regards the ancient literature of our country, leads us to hope that the piece in question may still be found. As Boccaccio's letter alluded to, is not as commonly to be met with as his other works, I will subjoin a few sentences from the beginning of it, to guide those who may be led to pursue the search after Surrey's translation of it.

M. Giovanni Boccaccio, a M. Pino de' Rossi,

Io stimo, M. Pino, che sia non solamente utile, ma necessario l' aspettar tempo debito ad ogni cosa. Chi è sì fuor di se che non conosca, invano darsi conforti alla misera madre, mentre ch' ella davanti da se lo corpo vede del morto figliuolo? e quel medico esser poco savio, che prima che il malor sia maturo, si fatica di porvi la medicina che il purghi? e via meno quel che delle biade cerca prender frutto altora che la materia a producere i fiori è disposta. Le quali cosse mentrechè meco medesimo ho riguardate, infino a questo dì, come da cosa non fruttuosa, di scrivervi mi sono astenuto; avvisando nella novità del vostro infortunio non che a' miei conforti, ma a quelli di qualunque altro, voi aver chiusi gli orecchi del intelletto.

Opere di M. Gio. Boccaccio, 8vo. Vol. IV. Firenze, 1723.

[2] It was the opinion of Ben Jonson, an opinion often copied from him, though not always acknowledged, that "Spenser, in affecting the ancients, writ no language. Yet," continues that admirable writer, "I would have him read for his matter, as Virgil read

On this ground, therefore, our regret at the untimely fate of those two great reformers of our language cannot be deemed ill-founded; neither ought the praise bestowed upon them to be condemned as a blind prepossession in favour of antiquity.

Accustomed from infancy to hear our native tongue spoken as it now is finally settled, and adapted to all the purposes of learned as well as civil life; capable alike of expressing elevated ideas with dignity, and things familiar with elegance, we are hardly qualified to judge of the extent of the benefit conferred upon us by those who rescued it from its original rudeness and deformity. But, if we consider the case as it occurred in another country, we shall be able to appreciate the value of what was done in our own.

What was it that gave at the time, and still continues to give so much importance to the writings of Petrarch? It was not that he wrote feelingly and tenderly of love; though he himself seems to have considered that as the reason why he was so much honoured and ad-

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"Ennius." See *Ben Jonson's Explorata, or Discoveries. Works, Vol. VII. p.* 128. Having Jonson's work before me, I trust I shall be pardoned in extracting from it another passage, which I would strongly urge on the reader's attention. It is one that applies as well to some opinions advanced in the dissertation prefixed to Surrey's poems, respecting a vitiated taste in language and composition, as to what I shall have to remark at the close of the present essay. "There cannot be one colour of the mind; another of the wit. If the mind be staid, grave, "and composed, the wit is so; that vitiated, the other is blown and deflowered. Do we not "see if the mind languish, the members are dull? Look upon an effeminate person! his very "gait confesseth him. If a man be fiery, his motion is so; if angry, it is troubled and "violent; so that we may conclude, WHERESOVER MANNERS AND FASHIONS ARE COR-"RUPTED, LANGUAGE IS. It imitates the public riot. The excess of feasts and apparel are the "notes of a sick state; and the wantonness of language, of a sick mind." *Ibid. p.* 101. With great propriety therefore did that sterling old writer rank the observation just cited concerning corruption of language, under the head of "Corruption of Manners." For there ever has been a connection between the decay of national virtue, and the decay of national taste and language. The corruption of the Roman language first shewed itself in the captivating but meretricious graces of the style of Tacitus. How nearly connected with this, those more fatal corruptions were which about the same time took place in Roman manners; and how closely both kept pace together, until the mighty fabric of the Roman empire itself fell into utter ruin, I need not here stop to shew. Suffice it to remark, that we have seen in our own

mired;[1] but because he had taught Italy the use and the power of its native tongue. Before his time the common language of the country, the "Volgare Lingua," was not thought competent to any of the higher purposes of learning or of business. It was deemed suited to domestic uses only. If ideas of more than ordinary refinement were to be expressed, or transactions of importance recorded, recourse was had to the Latin. This produced much inconvenience. The end proposed could not be answered but with labour and trouble; and after all, the lower and the middle orders of society were excluded from a knowledge of things, in which, nevertheless, they had a common interest with persons of a more exalted rank. But when once Petrarch had shewn them that the "Volgare Lingua" was capable of such improvement as would render it equal to any exertion that could be required of language; when the lover learnt that he could address his mistress in his own tongue with an elegance, to which the Poets of Provence alone were deemed capable of attaining; and when princes found that they could discuss all points of business with ease and precision, without the intervention of the dead languages, the astonishment of the nation at large was equal to its delight. The effect produced upon

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country an admiration bestowed upon the style of Gibbon, equal to that which the style of Tacitus, its prototype, obtained from the rising youth of Rome. Here may the parallel cease!

DII! MELIORA PIIS ERROREM QUE HOSTIBUS ILLUM!

[1] See particularly that sonnet of Petrarch which begins,

S'io avessi pensato, che sì care
Fossin le voci de' sospir mie' in rima! &c.

Towards the conclusion of the sonnet he adds with his usual elegance of feeling,

Pianger cercai, non già del pianto honore.

The work upon which Petrarch meant to build his fame, was a long Latin poem, called Africa, on the subject of Scipio's wars. To the writing and correcting this poem, he devoted a great portion of his life; yet so entirely is it swallowed up in the superior merits of his compositions, in "Volgare Lingua," that few of Petrarch's admirers have ever read it, and many perhaps have never heard its name.

them was similar to that which music is said to have on savage nations the first time they hear the sweetness of modulated sounds. They seemed to awake as from sleep; they felt as if some new intellectual power had been discovered; and the faculty of reason itself became of greater importance to them; for they felt that from that period they had the means of perpetuating all the operations and conclusions of their minds, and by fixing past discoveries, proceed step by step to future;

Sì che 'l piè fermo sempre era 'l piè basso.

Under these circumstances, therefore, what wonder was it that a single sonnet addressed by Petrarch, in his harmonious and expressive language, to any of the princes of his times, should have been received as a present more precious than gold; and that kings and emperors should have united to court the favour of a man, whose writings were about to form an epoch in the history of their country.

It is true that the change effected by Wyatt and Surrey in our own country was not of equal magnitude; still they did much. Take the quaint and unharmonious periods of the prose writers who preceded Wyatt, and compare them with the terse and fluent style of his oration before the Privy Council: read the lifeless attempts to express passion in Hawes and Skelton, and contrast them with the elegance and pathos of Surrey's tender muse. If the comparison be fairly and impartially made, no one, I think, will censure me as claiming too much for Wyatt and Surrey when I say, that they are entitled to the same sort of respect among us, that Italy has long since bestowed upon Petrarch. Not that they are equal to him in point of beauty; but that they wrote with similar views, and went far to accomplish the same object.[1]

[1] I shall not be accused, I hope, of any desire to derogate from Petrarch's merits, when I suggest that, much as he did for the language and poetry of Italy, he possessed advantages which few writers but himself enjoyed. He was placed early in a situation which enabled him to devote his whole time and thoughts to study and composition. He lived, moreover, to polish all his poems with the nicest care and attention; and when they were finished they were transcribed with scrupulous fidelity, and copies were multiplied to be placed in the libraries of the

"And let it not be objected either to Wyatt or Surrey, that they devoted so large a portion of their writings to describe the hopes

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great, or to be publickly commented upon by the learned. Afterwards, when the art of printing was invented, his poems were among the first works to be published, and editions were repeated upon editions, for the most part with such religious exactness, that it might be said his very words were numbered. These advantages respect the text of Petrarch; he himself enjoyed that of studying the Provençal poets, in their own country, confessedly the most elegant and polite poets of the times: and from them he is supposed to have borrowed largely. He was preceded also in his own country by many writers of great genius and learning, who had gone a considerable way towards perfecting the Italian language before he began to write, and had left specimens in every branch of composition which he is found to have attempted. Not to mention Guido d' Arezzo, and Guido Cavalcanti, and Dante himself, of whose fame Petrarch was said to have been jealous (though he so studiously imitated him in his Triumphs, that he has been styled in consequence "il Dante ingentilito"), if we consider the works of Cino da Pistoia, those alone will be sufficient to prove that Petrarch was greatly indebted to the poets who preceded him. From Cino, Petrarch sometimes borrowed entire verses: as in his VIIth Canzone, where we meet with the following line;

La dolce vista e 'l bel guardo soave;

which forms the opening to Cino's XVIth Canzone. Sometimes Petrarch took thoughts from him with little change of expression. Thus in the first of his three celebrated odes to Laura's eyes, fancifully called "Le tre Sorelle," he has the following passage.

Luci beate e liete,
Se non che 'l veder voi stesse v' è tolto;
Ma quante volte a me vi rivolgete,
Conoscete in altrui quel che voi sete.

But Cino had previously written an ode in praise of the eyes of Madonna Selvaggia, his mistress, in which he had said,

Poichè veder voi stessi non potete
Vedete in altri almen quel che voi sete.

In the following lines, which form the opening to Cino's second sonnet, we find so many expressions and turns of thought used by Petrarch, that we perceive at once he must have studied him attentively as his master.

Io son sì vago della bella luce
Degli occhi traditor che m' hanno ucciso,
Che là dov' io son vinto, e son deriso
La gran vaghezza pur mi riconduce.

and the fears, the enjoyments and the disappointments of love. It has ever been so in the history of all nations. Love the most universal, is the most importunate of all the affections of the mind; it will make

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Many other passages might be adduced, in which the same general resemblance of style is to be found. But the strongest proof of Petrarch's obligations to him may be found in the circumstance of his having formed his celebrated ode, which begins

Quell' antiquo mio dolce empio Signore,

on one of Cino's sonnets. I am aware that Muratori supposes that sonnet to have been written by one Gandolfo Porrino, in the 16th century, for the purpose of imposing on Castelvetro; but he assigns no other reason than that he thinks no one could have written so well, previous to Petrarch. As the sonnet occurs in MS. collections of Cino's poems, written before Porrino lived, Muratori's conjecture cannot be for a moment admitted. The sonnet in question is as follows.

Mille dubbi in un di; mille querele,
Al tribunal dell' alta Imperatrice
Amor contra me forma irato, e dice;
" Giudica chi di noi sia più fidele!
" Questi, sol mia cagion, spiega le vele.
" Di fama al mondo, ove saria *infelice.*"
" Anzi d'ogni *mio mal sei la radice*"
Dico, " e provai già *di tuo dolce il fele.*"
Ed egli; " Ahi! falso servo *fuggitivo!*
" E questo il merto che mi *rendi, ingrato,*
" Dandoti una, a cui 'n terra egnal non era?
" Che val," seguo, " se tosto me n' hai privo?"
" Io no," risponde. Ed ella; " A sì gran piato
" Convien più tempo a dar sentenza vera."

What has been here said does not go to detract any thing essential from Petrarch's merits as a writer: but when the merits of Surrey and Wyatt are under consideration it is but common justice to remark, that had those two early restorers of English literature been possessed of equal advantages, they would have been able to have stood on the fair ground of competition with the proudest names of modern Italy. Cino da Pistoia was born 1270: he died in 1336 or 1337. Petrarch was born in 1304, and died in 1374. Quadrio thus describes the several poets that have been mentioned above. " Dante è ne' suoi pensamenti, nerboruto, fantastico, e forte: " il Cavalcanti, in luogo delle materiali idee le spirituali usando, filosofeggia con sentimenti " maravigliosi, e ne' suoi concetti è sempre elevato; Cino è naturale, tenero e soave; Petrarca " e maravigliosamente affectuosso, gentile e pulito." *Storia d'ogni Poesia, Vol. III. p. 62.*

itself felt; and when felt, will press forward for utterance, whilst every other passion is either unheard, or silent.[1]

This, however, is not without benefit to the world at large. Men are for the most part won to intellectual pursuits by the early fascinations of pathetic and amatory poetry; having thus acquired a taste for letters, they are easily led afterwards step by step to the attainment of solid learning, which, had it been proposed to them at the commencement under the severe aspect of science, might have repressed the rising ardour of inquiry. It is the verdant meadow, and the gentle acclivity, studded with flowers, and watered with rivulets at the bottom of the mountain, that first induces us to undertake the laborious task of climbing to its airy top: the outset is pleasurable, and the amusement we receive beguiles our toil; as we advance the ascent is more difficult, but by this time habit has reconciled us to exertion: the air grows purer and fresher the higher we proceed; the space we have already measured gives us strength and spirits to encounter what remains, until at length we reach the highest summit, and then looking down with complacency on the difficulties surmounted, smile as we contemplate far below us the flowery paths that first caught our attention.

Thus much may be urged in the defence of all those poets, who like Surrey and Wyatt have made love the chief subject of their strains; but then like them they must have described love under that form, in which alone it can be recognised by good and honourable minds; as a passion free alike from effeminacy and libertinism, moving under the controul of reason, and making itself subservient to the real happiness and moral improvement of our being.

There never have been wanting writers, indeed, who, abusing talents bestowed upon them for better purposes, delight to describe passion in its worst and most offensive form; who are either base enough to solicit desire; or dwell with horrid complacency on characters in which

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[1] Speaking of Laura's and Petrarch's romantic passion, the Italians say,

Da lor' onesto, aardente, e vivo amore
Naque uno stil, che mai non ebbe equale.

love, if such an abuse of the term can be allowed, is found coupled with violence and rapine, and daring contempt of moral rectitude, and savage promptitude to deeds of murder and revenge.

But Surrey and Wyatt were not writers of that description. Had they been such, I should not have come forward to claim for them an honourable place in the literature of their country; or the attempt, I trust, would have proved abortive.

As for those writers who set at defiance all the sound and sober laws of chaste composition, and in their affectation of singularity, and love of popular applause, offend against the very principles of moral feeling; of them we will indulge an hope, that calmer thoughts, and maturer reflection may yet reclaim them to efforts more worthy of their talents and themselves, and such as shall give them a fair claim to lasting celebrity. Should we be disappointed in that hope, we will wait in patience until the time come, for come it will (would! that it were arrived already) when looking back dispassionately upon past illusions, we shall be astonished to think that the seductions of fashion, and the prevalence of a corrupt taste, had ever led us to tolerate writings of pestilential example; shall tremble to reflect that we suffered the unsuspecting ear of youth and female purity, to be assailed by strains breathing sentiments which no sophistry can palliate, no plea of passion excuse; and, with the burning blush of shame, erase the very names of such as wrote them from that bright list of authors, of whom alone the literature of any country can with justice be proud; of those, who have made Poetry the graceful handmaid and attendant upon Religion; who have engaged our feelings on the side of Virtue; and approved themselves to be, like the honoured Bard of old, the faithful guardians of domestic innocence, and the morals of the age.[1]

[1] When Agamemnon went on his fatal expedition against Troy, he left his Bard behind him in his palace; and to him he entrusted the guardianship of Clytemnestra's virtue. The Son of Song was faithful to his charge; and Ægysthus was not able to prevail. He was removed. The fatal policy succeeded. Clytemnestra yielded to the arts of the seducer.

SONGS AND SONNETS

OF

SIR THOMAS WYATT

THE ELDER.

The Lover for shame-fastness hideth his desire within his faithful heart.

THE long love that in my thought doth harboùr,
And in mine heart doth keep his residence,
Into my face presseth with bold pretence,
And therein campeth spreading his bannèr.
She that me learns to love and suffèr,
And wills that my trust, and lust's negligence
Be reined by reason, shame, and reverence,
With his hardiness takes displeasùre.
Wherewithall unto the heart's forest he fleèth,
Leaving his enterprise with pain and cry,
And there him hideth, and not appearèth.
What may I do, when my master fearèth?
But in the field with him to live and die:
For good is the life, ending faithfully.

The Lover waxeth wiser and will not die for affection.

WAS I never yet of your love grieved,
Nor never shall while that my life doth last;
But of hating myself that date is past,
And tears continual sore have me wearied.
I will not yet in my grave be buried,
Nor on my tomb your name have fixed fast,
As cruel cause that did the spirit soon haste
From th' unhappy bones, by great sighs stirred.
Then if an heart of amorous faith and will
May content you, without doing grief
Please it you so to this to do relief:
If otherwise ye seek for to fulfil
Your disdain ye err, and shall not as ye ween;
And ye yourself the cause thereof hath been.

The abused Lover seeth his folly and intendeth to trust no more.

THERE was never file half so well filed,
To file a file for any smith's intent;
As I was made a filing instrument
To frame others, while I was beguiled.
But reason hath at my folly smiled,
And pardon'd me since that I me repent
Of my lost years, and time mispent;
For youth did me lead, and falsehood guided.

Yet this trust I have of full great apparence:
Since that deceit is aye returnable,
Of very force it is agreeable,
That therewithal be done the recompense.
Then guile beguiled, plained should be never;
And the reward, little trust for ever.

The Lover describeth his being stricken with sight of his Love.

The lively sparks that issue from those eyes,
Against the which ne vaileth no defence,
Have pierc'd mine heart, and done it none offence,
With quaking pleasure more than once or twice.
Was never man could any thing devise,
The sun-beams to turn with so great vehemence
To daze man's sight, as by their bright presence
Dazed am I; much like unto the guise
Of one y-stricken with dint of lightning,
Blinded with the stroke, erring here and there;
So call I for help, I not when ne where,
The pain of my fall patiently bearing:
For after the blaze, as is no wonder,
Of deadly "Nay," hear I the fearful thunder.

The wavering Lover willeth and dreadeth to move his desire.

Such vain thought as wonted to mislead me
In desart hope, by well assured moan,
Maketh me from company to live alone,
In following her whom reason bid me flee.
She fleeth as fast by gentle cruelty;
And after her mine heart would fain be gone:
But armed sighs my way do stop anon,
'Twixt hope and dread locking my liberty.
Yet as I guess, under disdainful brow
One beam of pity is in her cloudy look,
Which comforteth the mind, that erst for fear shook:
And therewithall bolded I seek the way how
To utter the smart that I suffer within;
But such it is, I not how to begin.

The Lover having dreamed of his Love complaineth that the dream is not either longer or truer.

Unstable dream! according to the place,
Be stedfast once, or else at least be true:
By tasted sweetness make me not to rue
The sudden loss of thy false, feigned grace.
By good respect, in such a dangerous case
Thou brought'st not her into this tossing mew,
But madest my sprite live, my care to renew,
My body in tempest her succour to embrace.

The body dead, the spirit had his desire;
Painless was th' one, th' other in delight.
Why then, alas! did it not keep it right,
Returning to leap into the fire
And where it was at wish, it could not remain?
Such mocks of dreams, they turn to deadly pain.

The Lover unhappy biddeth happy Lovers rejoice in May while he waileth that month to him most unlucky.

You! that in love find luck and abundance,
And live in lust, and joyful jollity,
Arise! for shame, do away your sluggardy;
Arise, I say! do May some observance.
Let me in bed lie dreaming in mischance;
Let me remember the haps most unhappy,
That me betide in May most commonly,
As one, whom love list little to advance.
Sephane said true, that my nativity
Mischanced was with the ruler of the May.
He guessed, I prove of that the verity;
In May my wealth, and eke my life, I say,
Have stond so oft in such perplexity:
Rejoice! let me dream of your felicity.

The Lover confesseth him in love with Phyllis.

If waker care; if sudden pale colour;
If many sighs, with little speech to plain;
Now joy, now woe, if they my chere distain;
For hope of small, if much to fear therefore;
To haste, to slack my pace less, or more,
Be sign of love, then do I love again.
If thou ask whom; sure, since I did refrain
Brunet, that set my wealth in such a roar,
Th' unfeigned chere of Phyllis hath the place
That Brunet had; she hath, and ever shall.
She from myself now hath me in her grace;
She hath in hand my wit, my will, and all.
My heart alone well worthy she doth stay;
Without whose help scant do I live a day.

Of others' feigned sorrow, and the Lover's feigned mirth

Cæsar, when that the traitor of Egypt
With th' honourable head did him present,
Covering his gladness, did represent
Plaint with his tears outward, as it is writ.
And Hannibal eke, when fortune him shytt
Clean from his reign, and from all his intent,
Laugh'd to his folk, whom sorrow did torment;
His cruel despite for to disgorge, and quit.

So chanceth it oft, that every passiòn
The mind hideth by colour contrary,
With feigned visage, now sad, now merry;
Whereby if I laugh any time or season,
It is for because I have no other way
To cloke my care, but under sport and play.

Of change in Mind.

Each man tells me I change of my devise
And on my faith, methink it good reason
To change purpose, even after the season;
For in every case to keep still one guise,
Is meet for them that would be taken wise;
And I am not of such manner condition,
But treated after a diverse fashion;
And thereupon my diverseness doth rise.
But you that blame this diverseness most,
Change you no more, but still after one rate
Treat ye me well, and keep ye the same state;
And whiles with me doth dwell this wearied ghost,
My word, nor I, shall never be variable,
But always as your own both firm and stable.

How the Lover perisheth in his delight as the fly in the fire.

Some fowls there be that have so perfect sight,
Again the sun their eyes for to defend:
And some because the light doth them offend,
Do never 'pear but in the dark or night.

Other rejoice that see the fyer bright,
And ween to play in it, as they do pretend,
And find the contrary of it, that they intend.
Alas! of that sort I may be by right,
For to withstand her look I am not able;
And yet can I not hide me in no dark place.
Remembrance so followeth me of that face,
So that with teary eyen, swoln, and unstable,
My destiny to behold her doth me lead;
Yet do I know I run into the glead.

Against his tongue that failed to utter his suits.

Because I have thee still kept fro' lies and blame.
And to my power always have thee honoured,
Unkind tongue! right ill hast thou me rend'red,
For such desert to do me wreke and shame.
In need of succour most when that I am
To ask reward, then standest thou like one afear'd
Alway most cold; and if thou speak o'word
It is as in dream, unperfect and lame.
And ye salt tears, again my will each night
That are with me, when fain I would be alone,
Then are ye gone when I should make my moan.
And you so ready sighs to make me shright,
Then are ye slack when that ye should outstart;
And only my look declareth my heart.

Description of the contrarious passions in a Lover.

I FIND no peace, and all my war is done;
I fear and hope, I burn, and freeze like ice;
I fly above the wind, yet can I not arise;
And nought I have, and all the world I seize on.
That looseth nor locketh, holdeth me in prison;
And holdeth me not, yet can I scape no wise:
Nor letteth me live, nor die, at my devise,
And yet of death it giveth me occasion.
Without eyen I see, and without tongue I plain;
I desire to perish, and yet I ask health;
I love another, and thus I hate myself;
I feed me in sorrow, and laugh in all my pain.
Likewise displeaseth me both death, and life;
And my delight is causer of this strife.

The Lover compareth his state to a ship in perilous storm tossed on the sea.

MY galley charged with forgetfulness,
Thorough sharp seas in winter nights doth pass
'Tween rock and rock; and eke mine enemy, alas!
That is my lord, steereth with cruelness:
And every oar, a thought in readiness;
As though that death were light in such a case.
An endless wind doth tear the sail apace
Of forced sighs, and trusty fearfulness.

A rain of tears, a cloud of dark disdain,
Hath done the wearied cords great hinderance,
Wreathed with error, and eke with ignorance.
The stars be hid that led me to this pain;
Drowned is reason that should me consort,
And I remain, despairing of the port.

Of doubtful Love.

AVISING the bright beams of those[a] fair eyes,
Where he is that mine oft moisteth and washeth;
The wearied mind straight from the heart departeth,
For to rest in his worldly paradise,
And find the sweet bitter, under this guise.
What webs he hath wrought, well he perceiveth:
Whereby with himself on love he plaineth,
That spurreth with fire, and brideleth with ice.
Thus is it in such extremity brought,
In frozen thought[b] now, and now it standeth in flame,
'Twixt misery and wealth, 'twixt earnest and game,
But few glad, and many a diverse thought,
With sore repentance of his hardiness:
Of such a root, cometh fruit fruitless.

The Lover abused, renounceth love.

MY love to scorn, my service to retain,
Therein, methought, she used cruelty,
Since with good will I lost my liberty,
To follow her which causeth all my pain.

[a] *these.* [b] *though.*

Might never care cause me for to refrain,
But only this, which is extremity,
Giving me nought, alas! nor to agree
That as I was her man, I might remain.
But since that thus ye list to order me,
That would have been your servant true and fast,
Displease thee not, my doting days be past;
And, with my loss, to leave I must agree.
For as there is a certain time to rage,
So is there time such madness to assuage.

To his Lady cruel over her yielding Lover.

Such is the course that nature's kind hath wrought,
That snakes have time to cast away their stings:
Ain'st chain'd prisoners what need defence be sought!
The fierce lion will hurt no yielden things.
Why should such spite be nursed then in thy thought?
Sith all these powers are prest under thy wings;
And eke thou seest, and reason thee hath taught,
What mischief malice many ways it brings.
Consider eke, that spite availeth nought;
Therefore this song thy fault to thee it sings.
Displease thee not, for saying thus [a] my thought,
Nor hate thou him from whom no hate forth springs:
For furies that in hell be execrable,
For that they hate, are made most miserable.

[a] methought; *my thought.*

How unpossible it is to find quiet in Love.

Ever mine hap is slack, and slow in coming;
Desire increasing, mine hope uncertain,
That leave it, or wait, it doeth me like pain;
And, tiger like, swift it is in parting.
Alas! the snow shall be black and scalding,
The sea waterless, fish in the mountain,
The Thames shall return back into his fountain,
And where he rose, the sun shall take lodging,
Ere that I in this find peace or quietness;
Or that Love, or my Lady, right-wisely,
Leave to conspire again me wrongfully.
And if that I have, after such bitterness,
Any thing sweet, my mouth is out of taste;
That all my trust and travail is but waste.

Of Love, Fortune, and the Lover's Mind.

Love, and Fortune, and my Mind remember
Of that, that is now, with that, that hath ben,
Do torment me so, that I very often
Envy the dead beyond all measure.
Love slayeth mine heart, Fortune is depriver
Of all my comfort; the foolish mind then
Burneth and plaineth, as one that sildam
Liveth in rest: still in displeasure

My pleasant days they fleet away, and pass;
But daily yet the ill doth change into the worse,
And more than the half is run of my course.
Alas! not of steel, but of brickel glass,
I see that from mine hand falleth my trust;
And all my thoughts are dashed into dust.

The Lover prayeth his offered heart to be received.

How oft have I, my dear and cruel foe,
With those your eyes for to get peace and truce,
Proffer'd you mine heart; but you do not use
Among so high things, to cast your mind so low.
If any other look for it, as ye trow,
Their vain weak hope doth greatly them abuse;
And thus I disdain that that ye refuse.
It was once mine, it can no more be so.
If I then it chase, nor it in you can find
In this exile, no manner of comfort;
Nor live alone, nor where he is called resort,
He may wander from his natural kind.
So shall it be great hurt unto us twain,
And yours the loss, and mine the deadly pain.

The Lover's life compared to the Alps.

Like to these unmeasurable mountains
Is my painful life, the burden of ire;
For of great height be they, and high is my desire;
And I of tears, and they be full of fountains.

Under craggy rocks they have barren plains;
Hard thoughts in me my woeful mind doth tire.
Small fruit and many leaves their tops do attire;
Small effect with great trust in me remains.
The boiseous winds oft their high boughs do blast;
Hot sighs from me continually be shed.
Cattle in them, and in me love is fed;
Immovable am I, and they are full stedfast.
Of restless birds, they have the tone and note;
And I always plaints that pass thorough my throat.

Charging of his Love as unpiteous and loving other.

If amorous faith, an heart unfeigned;
A sweet langour, a great lovely desire;
If honest will kindled in gentle fire;
If long errour, in a blind maze chained:
If in my visage each thought depainted;
Or else in my sparkling voice, lower or higher,
Which now fear, now shame woefully doth tire;
If a pale colour, which love hath stained:
If to have another than myself more dear;
If wailing or sighing continually,
With sorrowful anger feeding busily;
If burning afar off, and freezing near,
Are cause that by love myself I destroy,
Yours is the fault, and mine the great annoy.

The Lover forsaketh his unkind Love.

My heart I gave thee, not to do it pain,
But to preserve it was to thee taken.
I served thee, not to be forsaken,
But that I should be rewarded again.
I was content thy servant to remain,
But not to be payed under this fashion.
Now since in thee is none other reason,
Displease thee not if that I do refrain;
Unsatiate of my woe, and thy desire!
Assured by craft to excuse thy fault!
But since it please thee to feign a default,
Farewell! I say, parting from the fire.
For he that believeth bearing in hand,
Plougheth in the water, and soweth in the sand.

The Lover describeth his restless state.

The flaming sighs that boil within my breast,
Sometime break forth, and they can well declare
The heart's unrest, and how that it doth fare,
The pain thereof, the grief, and all the rest.
The water'd eyen from whence the tears do fall,
Do feel some force, or else they would be dry:
The wasted flesh of colour dead can try,
And sometime tell what sweetness is in gall.
And he that lust to see, and to discern,
How care can force within a wearied mind,
Come he to me; I am that place assign'd.

But for all this no force, it doth no harm;
The wound, alas! hap in some other place,
From whence no tool away the scar can raze.

But you, that of such like have had your part,
Can best be judge; wherefore, my friend so dear,
I thought it good my state should now appear
To you, and that there is no great desert.
And whereas you, in weighty matters great,
Of fortune saw the shadow, that you know,
For trifling things I now am stricken so,
That though I feel my heart doth wound and beat,
I sit alone, save on the second day
My fever comes, with whom I spend my time
In burning heat, while that she list assign.
And who hath health and liberty alway,
Let him thank God, and let him not provoke,
To have the like of this my painful stroke.

The Lover laments the death of his Love.

The pillar perish'd is whereto I leant;
The strongest stay of mine unquiet mind:
The like of it, no man again can find,
From east to west still seeking though he went.
To mine unhap; for hap away hath rent
Of all my joy the very bark and rind;
And I, alas! by chance am thus assign'd
Dearly to mourn, till death do it relent.

But since that thus it is by destiny,
What can I more but have a woful heart;
My pen in plaint, my voice in woeful cry,
My mind in woe, my body full of smart,
And I myself, myself always to hate;
Till dreadful death do ease by doleful state.

A renouncing of Love.

Farewell Love! and all thy laws for ever;
Thy baited hooks shall tangle me no more:
Senec, and Plato, call me from thy lore,
To [a] perfect wealth my wit for to endeavour.
In blind errour when I did persever,
Thy sharp repulse that pricketh aye so sore,
Hath taught me to set in trifles no store,
And scape forth, since liberty is lever.
Therefore farewell! go, trouble younger hearts,
And in me claim no more authority.
With idle youth go use thy property,
And thereon spend thy many brittle darts;
For, hitherto though I have lost all my time,
Me lusteth no [b] longer rotten boughs to clime.

[a] parfit. [b] lenger.

RONDEAUX.

Request of Cupid for revenge of his unkind love.

BEHOLD, Love! thy power how she despiseth:
My great pain, how little she regardeth;
The holy oath, whereof she takes no cure,
Broken she hath and yet she bideth sure,
Right at her ease, and little thee dreadeth.
Weaponed thou art, and she unarm'd sitteth;
To thee disdainful, her life she leadeth;
To me spiteful, without cause or measure,
Behold, Love!
I am in hold; if thee pity [a]moveth,
Go! bend thy bow, that stony hearts breaketh,
And with some stroke revenge the displeasure
Of thee, and him that sorrow doth endure,
And, as his lord, thee lowly here intreateth;
Behold, Love!

Complaint for true Love unrequited.

WHAT 'vaileth truth? or by it to take pain?
To strive by steadfastness for to attain
To be just and true, and flee from doubleness?
Since all alike, where ruleth craftiness,

[a] meveth.

Rewarded is both false and plain.
Soonest he speeds that most can feign.
True meaning heart is had in disdain.
Against deceit and doubleness,
What 'vaileth truth?
Deceived is he, by crafty train,
That means no guile, and doth remain
Within the trap, without redress:
But for to love, lo! such a mistress,
Whose cruelty nothing can refrain,
What 'vaileth truth!

The Lover sendeth sighs to moan his suit.

Go! burning sighs! unto the frozen heart;
Go! break the ice, which pity's painful dart
Might never pierce; and if mortal prayer
In heaven be heard, at least, I desire,
That death or mercy be end of my smart.
Take with thee pain, whereof I have my part,
And eke the flame from which I cannot start,
And leave me then in rest, I you require.
Go! burning sighs!
I must go work, I see, by craft and art,
For truth and faith in her is laid apart;
Alas! I cannot therefore assail her
With pitiful plaint and scalding fyer,
That out of my breast doth strainably start.
Go! burning sighs!

ODES.

The Lover complaineth the unkindness of his Love.

My lute, awake! perform the last
Labour, that thou and I shall waste,
And end that I have now begun;
For when this song is sung and past,
My lute! be still, for I have done.

As to be heard where ear is none;
As lead, to grave in marble stone,
My song may pierce her heart as soon:
Should we then sing, or sigh, or moan?
No, no, my lute! for I have done.

The rock doth not so cruelly
Repulse the waves continually,
As she my suit and affection;
So that I am past remedy;
Whereby my lute and I have done.

Proud of the spoil that thou hast got
Of simple hearts, thorough Love's shot,
By whom, unkind, thou hast them won;
Think not he hath his bow forgot,
Although my lute and I have done.

Vengeance may fall on thy disdain,
That makest but game of earnest pain.
Trow not alone under the sun,
Unquit to cause thy lovers plain,
Although my lute and I have done.

May chance thee lie wither'd, and old,
The winter nights that are so cold,
Plaining in vain unto the moon:
Thy wishes then dare not be told;
Care then who list! for I have done.

And then may chance thee to repent
The time that thou hast lost and spent,
To cause thy lovers sigh, and swoon:
Then shalt thou know beauty but lent,
And wish and want, as I have done.

Now cease, my lute! this is the last
Labour, that thou and I shall waste,
And ended is that I begun;
Now is this song both sung and past:
My lute! be still, for I have done.

The Lover rejoiceth the enjoying the favour of his Love.

Once, as methought, fortune me kiss'd,
And bade me ask what I thought best,
And I should have it as me list,
Therewith to set my heart in rest.

I asked nought but my dear heart,
To have for evermore mine own;
Then at an end were all my smart,
Then should I need no more moan.

Yet for all that a stormy blast
Had overturned this goodly day;
And fortune seemed at the last,
That to her promise she said nay.

But like as one out of despair,
To sudden hope revived I:
Now Fortune sheweth herself so fair,
That I content me wonderly.

My most desire my hand may reach;
My will is alway at my hand;
Me need not long for to beseech
Her, that hath power me to command.

What earthly thing more can I crave?
What would I wish more at my will?
Nothing on earth more would I have,
Save that I have, to have it still.

For Fortune hath kept her promess,
In granting me my most desire:
Of my sufferance I have redress;
And I content me with my hire.

The Lover sheweth how he is forsaken of Fortune who sometime favoured him.

THEY flee from me that sometime did me seek,
With naked foot stalking in my chamber.
I have seen them gentle, tame, and meek,
That now are wild, and do not remember,
That sometime they put themself in danger
To take bread at my hand; and now they range,
Busily seeking with a continual change.

Thanked be Fortune, it hath been otherwise,
Twenty times better; but once in special,
In thin array, after a pleasant guise,
When her loose gown from her shoulders did fall;
And she me caught in her arms long and small,
Therewithal sweetly she did me kiss,
And softly said: "Dear heart, how like you this?"

It was no dream, I lay broad waking ———
But all is turned, thorough my gentleness,
Into a strange fashion of forsaking;
And I have leave to go of her goodness,
And she also to use new fangleness:
But since that I so kindly am served,
I would fain know what she hath deserved.

The Lover to his bed, with describing of his unquiet state.

Thou! restful place! reviver of my smart,
Thou labours' salve! increasing my sorrow;
Thou! body's ease, and troubler of my heart;
Quieter of mind, and my unquiet foe;
Forgetter of pain, rememb'ring my woe;
Thou place of sleep, wherein I do but wake,
Besprent with tears, my bed, I thee forsake.

The frost, the snow may not redress my heat,
Nor yet no heat abate my fervent cold.
I know nothing to ease my paines meet;
Each care causeth increase by twenty fold,
Reviving cares upon my sorrows old.
Such overthwart affects they do me make,
Besprent with tears my bed for to forsake.

Yet helpeth it not: I find no better ease
In bed, or out. This most causeth my pain;
Where most I seek how best that I may please,
Yet that I gave I cannot call again:
My heart once set, I cannot it refrain:
No place from me my grief away can take,
Wherefore with tears, my bed, I thee forsake.

The Lover complaineth that his Love doth not pity him.

Resound my voice, ye woods, that hear me plain,
Both hills and vales, causing reflection;
And rivers eke, record ye of my pain,
Which have ye oft forced by compassion,
As judges, to hear mine exclamation,
Among whom pity, I find, doth remain;
Where I it seek, alas! there is disdain.

Oft, ye rivers, to hear my woful sound
Have stopt your course; and, plainly to express,
Many a tear by moisture of the ground,
The earth hath wept to hear my heaviness,
Which causeless I suffer without redress:
The hugy oaks have roared in the wind;
Each thing, me thought, complaining in their kind.

Why then, helas! doth not she on me rue?
Or is her heart so hard that no pity
May in it sink, my joy for to renew?
O stony heart! who hath thus framed thee
So cruel, that art cloked with beaulty!
No grace to me from thee there may proceed;
But as rewarded, death for to be my meed.

The Lover complaineth himself forsaken.

WHERE shall I have at mine own will,
Tears to complain? where shall I fet
Such sighs, that I may sigh my fill,
And then again my plaints repeat?

For though my plaint shall have none end,
My tears cannot suffice my woe:
To moan my harm have I no friend;
For fortune's friend, is mishap's foe.

Comfort, God wot, else have I none,
But in the wind to waste my words;
Nought moveth you my deadly moan,
But all you turn it into bourds.

I speak not now to move your heart,
That you should rue upon my pain;
The sentence given may not revert:
I know such labour were but vain.

But since that I for you, my dear,
Have lost that thing, that was my best;
A right small loss it must appear,
To [a] lose these words, and all the rest.

[a] lese.

But though they sparkle in the wind,
  Yet shall they shew your falsed faith,
Which is returned unto his kind;
  For like to like, the proverb saith.

Fortune and you did me advance;
  Methought I swam, and could not drown:
Happiest of all, but my mischance
  Did lift me up, to throw me down.

And you with her, of cruelness,
  Did set your foot upon my neck,
Me, and my welfare, to oppress;
  Without offence your heart to wreke.

Where are your pleasant words, alas!
  Where is your faith! your stedfastness?
There is no more, but all doth pass;
  And I am left all comfortless.

But since so much it doth you grieve,
  And also me, my wretched life;
Have here my truth: nought shall relieve,
  But death alone, my very strife.

Therefore farewell, my life, my death,
  My gain, my loss, my salve, my sore;
Farewell also, with you, my breath!
  For I am gone for evermore.

A renouncing of hardly escaped Love.

FAREWELL the reign of cruelty!
Though that with pain my liberty
Dear have I bought, yet shall surety
Conduct my thoughts of joy needy.

Of force I must forsake pleasure;
A good cause just, since I endure
Thereby my woe, which be ye sure,
Shall therewith go me to recure,

I fare as one escap'd that fleeth,
Glad that [he] is gone, yet still feareth,
Spied, to be caught, and so dreadeth,
That he for nought his pain leseth.

In joyful pain, rejoice mine heart,
Thus to sustain of each a part.
Let not this song from thee astart;
Welcome among my pleasant smart.

The Lover taught, mistrusteth allurements.

IT may be good, like it who list,
But I do doubt; who can me blame?
For oft assured, yet have I mist,
And now again I fear the same:

The windy words, the eyes quaint game,
Of sudden change make me aghast:
For dread to fall, I stand not fast.

Alas! I tread an endless maze,
That seeketh to accord two contraries;
And hope still, and nothing hase,
Imprisoned in liberties;
As one unheard, and still that cries;
Always thirsty, yet nothing I taste:
For dread to fall I stand not fast.

Assured, I doubt I be not sure;
And should I trust to such surety?
That oft hath put the proof in ure,
And never hath found it trusty.
Nay, sir, in faith, it were great folly;
And yet my life thus I do waste:
For dread to fall I stand not fast.

The Lover rejoiceth against fortune that by hindering his suit, had happily made him forsake his folly.

In faith I wot not well what to say,
Thy chances been so wonderous;
Thou, Fortune with thy [a]diverse play,
That causeth joy full dolorous,
And eke the same right joyous:

[a] divers.

Yet, though thy chain hath me enwrapt,
Spite of thy hap, hap hath well hapt.

Though thou me set for a wonder,
And seekest by change to do me pain,
Men's minds yet may thou not order:
And honesty, and it remain,
Shall shine for all thy cloudy rain,
In vain thou seekest to have [me] trapped,
Spite of thy hap, hap hath well happed.

In hindering thou diddest further,
And made a gap, where was a stile.
Cruel wills been oft put under;
Weening to lower, thou diddest smile.
Lord! how thyself thou diddest beguile,
That in thy cares wouldest me have lapped,
But spite of thy hap, hap hath well happed.

The Lover's sorrowful state maketh him write sorrowful songs, but souch, his Love, may change the same.

Marvel no more although
The songs I sing do moan;
For other life than woe,
I never proved none.
And in my heart also
Is graven, with letters deep,

A thousand sighs and mo,
A flood of tears to weep.

How may a man in smart
Find matter to rejoice?
How may a mourning heart
Set forth a pleasant voice?
Play who that can that part,
Needs must in me appear,
How fortune overthwart,
Doth cause my mourning cheer.

Perdie! there is no man,
If he never saw sight,
That[a] perfectly tell can
The nature of the light.
Alas! how should I than,
That never tasted but sour,
But do as I began;
Continually to low'r.

But yet perchance some chance
May chance to change my tune;
And when such chance doth chance,
Then shall I thank fortune.
And if I have such chance,
Perchance ere it be long,
For such a pleasant chance,
To sing some pleasant song.

[a] perfitly.

The Lover sendeth his complaints and tears to sue for grace.

Pass forth, my wonted cries,
Those cruel ears to perse,
Which in most hateful wise
Do still my plaints reverse.
Do you, my tears, also
So wet her barren heart,
That pity there may grow,
And cruelty depart.

For though hard rocks among
She seems to have been bred;
And of the tiger long
Been nourished and fed;
Yet shall that nature change,
If pity once win place;
Whom, as unknown and strange,
She now away doth chase.

And as the water soft,
Without forcing or strength,
Where that it falleth oft,
Hard stones doth pierce at length;
So in her stony heart,
My plaints at last shall grave;
And, rigour set apart,
Win grant of that I crave.

Wherefore, my plaints, present
Still so to her my suit,
As ye, through her assent,
May bring to me some fruit,
And as she shall me prove,
So bid her me regard;
And render love for love,
Which is a just reward.

The Lover's case cannot be hidden, however he dissemble.

Your looks so often cast;
Your eyes so friendly roll'd;
Your sight fixed so fast,
Always one to behold:
Though hide it fain ye would,
It plainly doth declare,
Who hath your heart in hold,
And where good will ye bear.

Fain would ye find a cloak
Your brenning fire to hide,
Yet both the flame and smoke
Breaks out on every side.
Ye cannot love so guide,
That it no issue win;
Abroad needs must it glide,
That brennes so hot within.

For cause yourself do wink,
Ye judge all other blind,
And secret it you think,
Which every man doth find.
In waste oft spend ye wind,
Yourself in love to quit;
For agues of that kind
Will shew who hath the fit.

Your sighs you fet from far,
And all to wry your woe:
Yet are ye ne'er the narre;
Men are not blinded so.
Deeply oft swear ye, no;
But all those oaths are vain:
So well your eye doth shew,
Who puts your heart to pain.

Think not therefore to hide,
That still itself betrays;
Nor seek means to provide,
To dark the sunny days.
Forget those wonted ways,
Leave off such frowning cheer;
There will be found no stays,
To stop a thing so clear.

The Lover prayeth not to be disdained refused mistrusted nor forsaken.

Disdain me not without desert,
Nor leave me not so suddenly;
Since well ye wot that in my heart
I mean ye not but honestly.

Refuse me not without cause why,
Nor think me not to be unjust;
Since that by lot of fantasy,
This careful knot needs knit I must.

Mistrust me not, though some there be,
That fain would spot my stedfastness.
Believe them not, since that ye see
The proof is not as they express.

Forsake me not, till I deserve,
Nor hate me not, till I offend;
Destroy me not, till that I swerve;
But since ye know what I intend.

Disdain me not, that am your own;
Refuse me not, that am so true;
Mistrust me not, till all be known;
Forsake me not now for no new.

The Lover lamenteth his estate, with suit for grace.

For want of will in woe I plain,
Under colour of soberness;
Renewing with my suit my pain,
My wan-hope with your stedfastness.
Awake! therefore of gentleness;
Regard at length, I you require,
The swelting pains of my desire.

Betimes who giveth willingly,
Redoubled thanks aye doth deserve;
And I that sue unfeignedly,
In fruitless hope, alas! do sterve.
How great my cause is for to swerve,
And yet how stedfast is my suit:
Lo! here ye see, where is the fruit.

As hound that hath his keeper lost,
Seek I your presence to obtain;
In which my heart delighteth most,
And shall delight, though I be slain.
You may release my band of pain;
Loose then the care that makes me cry,
For want of help, or else I die.

I die, though not incontinent,
By process, yet consumingly,
As wast of fire which doth relent,
If you as wilful will deny.

Wherefore cease of such cruelty,
And take me wholly in your grace,
Which lacketh will to change his place.

The Lover waileth his changed joys.

If ever man might him avaunt,
Of fortune's friendly chere,
It was myself, I must it grant,
For I have bought it dear,
And dearly have I held also
The glory of her name,
In yielding her such tribute, lo!
As did set forth her fame.

Sometime I stood so in her grace,
That, as I would require,
Each joy I thought did me embrace,
That furthered my desire.
And all those pleasures, lo! had I
That fancy might support;
And nothing she did me deny
That was unto my comfort.

I had, what would you more, perdie!
Each grace that I did crave;
Thus Fortune's will was unto me
All thing that I would have.

But all too rathe, alas, the while!
She built on such a ground;
In little space too great a guile,
In her now have I found.

For she hath turned so her wheel,
That I, unhappy man,
May wail the time that I did feel,
Wherewith she fed me than.
For broken now are her behests,
And pleasant looks she gave;
And therefore now all my requests,
From peril cannot save.

Yet would I well it might appear
To her, my chief regard;
Though my deserts have been too dear
To merit such reward.
Sith Fortune's will is now so bent
To plague me thus, poor man;
I must myself therewith content,
And bear it as I can.

To his Love, that had given him answer of refusal.

Th' answer that ye made to me, my dear,
When I did sue for my poor heart's redress,
Hath so appall'd my countenance, and my chere,
That in this case I am all comfortless;
Since I of blame no cause can well express.

I have no wrong, where I can claim no right;
Nought ta'en me fro, where I nothing have had:
Yet of my woe, I cannot so be quite,
Namely, since that another may be glad
With that, that thus in sorrow maketh me sad.

Yet none can claim, I say, by former grant,
That knoweth not of any grant at all:
And by desert, I dare well make avaunt,
Of faithful will, there is nowhere that shall
Bear you more truth, more ready at your call.

Now good then, call again that friendly word,
That sav'th your friend in saving of his pain;
And say, my dear, that it was said in bourd.
Late, or too soon, let that not rule the gain,
Wherewith free will true desert retain.

The Lover describeth his being taken with sight of his love.

So unwarely was never no man caught,
With stedfast look upon a goodly face,
As I of late; for suddenly, methought,
My heart was torn out of his place.

Thorough mine eye the stroke from hers did slide,
Directly down unto my heart it ran;

In help whereof the blood thereto did glide,
And left my face both pale and wan.

Then was I like a man for woe amazed;
Or like the bird that flieth into the fire;
For while that I on her beauty gazed,
The more I burn'd in my desire.

Anon the blood start in my face again,
Inflam'd with heat, that it had at my heart;
And brought therewith, throughout in every vein,
A quaking heat with pleasant smart.

Then was I like the straw, when that the flame
Is driven therein, by force and rage of wind.
I cannot tell, alas! what I shall blame,
Nor what to seek, nor what to find.

But well I wot the grief holds me so sore,
In heat and cold, betwixt hope and dread;
That, but her help to health doth me restore,
This restless life I may not lead.

The Lover excuseth him of words, wherewith he was unjustly charged.

PERDIE! I said it not,
Nor never thought to do;
As well as I, ye wot
I have no power thereto.

And if I did, the lot
That first did me enchain
May never slake the knot,
But straight it to my pain.

And if I did, each thing
That may do harm or woe,
Continually may wring
My heart, where so I go.
Report may always ring
Of shame of me for aye,
If in my heart did spring
The word that ye do say.

If I said so, each star
That is in heaven above
May frown on me, to mar
The hope I have in love.
And if I did, such war
As they brought out of Troy,
Bring all my life afar
From all this lust, and joy.

And if I did so say,
The beauty that me bound
Increase from day to day,
More cruel to my wound.
With all the moan that may
To plaint may turn my song;

My life may soon decay,
Without redress by wrong.

If I be clear for thought,
Why do ye then complain?
Then is this thing but sought
To turn me to more pain.
Then that that ye have wrought,
Ye must it now redress;
Of right therefore ye ought
Such rigour to repress.

And as I have deserved,
So grant me how my hire;
Ye know I never swerved,
Ye never found me liar.
For Rachel have I served,
For Leah car'd I never;
And her I have reserved
Within my heart for ever.

The Lover curseth the time when first he fell in love.

When first mine eyes did view and mark
Thy fair beauty to behold;
And when my ears listned to hark
The pleasant words that thou me told;
I would as then I had been free
From ears to hear, and eyes to see.

And when my lips gan first to move,
Whereby my heart to thee was known;
And when my tongue did talk of love
To thee, that hast true love down thrown;
I would my lips, and tongue also,
Had then been dumb, no deal to go.

And when my hands have handled ought
That thee hath kept in memory;
And when my feet have gone, and sought
To find, and get thy company;
I would each hand a foot had been,
And I each foot, a hand had seen.

And when in mind I did consent
To follow this my fancy's will;
And when my heart did first relent
To taste such bait, my life to spill;
I would my heart had been as thine;
Or else thy heart, had been as mine.

The Lover determineth to serve faithfully.

SINCE Love will needs that I shall love,
Of very force I must agree;
And since no chance may it remove,
In wealth and in adversity;
I shall alway myself apply
To serve, and suffer patiently.

Though for good will I find but hate,
And cruelty, my life to waste;
And though that still a wretched state
Should pine my days unto the last;
Yet I profess it, willingly
To serve, and suffer patiently.

For since my heart is bound to serve,
And I not ruler of mine own;
Whatso befall, till that I sterve
By proof full well it shall be known,
That I shall still myself apply
To serve, and suffer patiently.

Yea! though my grief find no redress,
But still increase before mine eyes;
Though my reward be cruelness,
With all the harm, hap can devise;
Yet I profess it, willingly
To serve, and suffer patiently.

Yea! though Fortune her pleasant face
Should shew, to set me up aloft;
And straight my wealth for to deface,
Should writhe away, as she doth oft;
Yet would I still myself apply
To serve, and suffer patiently.

There is no grief, no smart, no woe
That yet I feel, or after shall,
That from this mind may make me go;
And whatsoever me befall,

I do profess it, willingly
To serve, and suffer patiently.

To his unkind Love.

WHAT rage is this? what furor? of what kind?
What power, what plague, doth weary thus my mind?
Within my bones to rankle is assigned
What poison, pleasant, sweet!

Lo! see mine eyes swell with continual tears;
The body still away sleepless it wears;
My food nothing my fainting strength repairs,
Nor doth my limbs sustain.

In deep wide wound the deadly stroke doth turn
To cured scar, that never shall return.
Go to! triumph! rejoice thy goodly turn;
Thy friend thou dost oppress.

Oppress thou dost, and hast of him no cure,
Nor yet my plaint no pity can procure,
Fierce tiger fell! hard rock without recure!
Cruel rebel to love!

Once may thou love, never beloved again!
So love thou still, and not thy love obtain!
So wrathfull love, with spites of just disdain,
May freat thy cruel heart!

The Lover complaineth his estate.

I SEE that chance hath chosen me
Thus secretly to live in pain;
And to another given the fee,
Of all my loss to have the gain:
By chance assign'd thus do I serve,
And other have that I deserve.

Unto myself sometime, alone,
I do lament my woful case;
But what availeth me to moan,
Since truth and pity hath no place
In them, to whom I sue and serve,
And other have that I deserve.

To seek by mean, to change this mind,
Alas! I prove it will not be;
For in my heart I cannot find
Once to refrain, but still agree,
As bound by force alway to serve;
And other have that I deserve.

Such is the fortune that I have,
To love them most that love me lest;
And to my pain to seek, and crave
The thing, that other have possest;
So thus in vain alway I serve,
And other have that I deserve.

And till I may appease the heat,
If that my hap will hap so well,
To wail my woe my heart shall freat,
Whose pensive pain my tongue can tell:
Yet thus unhappy must I serve,
And other have that I deserve.

Whether liberty by loss of life or life in prison and thraldom be to be preferred.

LIKE as the bird within the cage inclosed,
The door unsparred, and the hawk without,
'Twixt death and prison piteously oppressed,
Whether for to choose, standeth in doubt;
Certes! so do I, which do seek to bring about,
Which should be best by determination;
By loss of life, liberty; or life by prison.

O! mischief, by mischief to be redressed!
Where pain is the best, there lieth little pleasure.
By short death out of death bet to be delivered,
Rather than with painful life, thraldom, and dolour:
For small pleasure much pain to suffer.
Sooner therefore to choose me thinketh it wisdom,
By loss of life liberty, than life by prison.

By length of life yet should I live and suffer,
Adwaiting time, and fortune's chance.

Many things do happen within an howèr:
That which me oppressed may me advance.
In time is trust, which by death's grievance
Is utterly lost. Then were it not reason
By death to choose liberty, and not life by prison.

But death were deliverance, and life length of pain.
Of two ills, let see, now choose the lest.
This bird to deliver, you that hear her plain;
Your advice, you lovers, which shall be best?
In cage thraldom, or by th' hawk to be oppress:
And which for to choose make plain conclusion;
By loss of life liberty, or life by prisòn.

He ruleth not though he reign over realms that is subject to his own lusts.

If thou wilt mighty be, flee from the rage
Of cruel will; and see thou keep thee free
From the foul yoke of sensual bondàge.
For though thine empire stretch to Indian sea,
And for thy fear trembleth the fard'st Thulè,
If thy desire have over thee the power,
Subject then art thou, and no governor.

If to be noble and high, thy mind be moved,
Consider well thy ground, and thy beginning;

For he that hath each star in heaven fixed,
And gives the moon her horns, and her eclipsing,
Alike hath made thee noble in his working;
So that wretched no way may thou be,
Except foul lust and vice do conquer thee.

All were it so thou had a flood of gold,
Unto thy thirst yet should it not suffice;
And though with Indian stones, a thousand fold
More precious than can thyself devise,
Y-charged were thy back, thy covetise
And busy biting yet should never let
Thy wretched life, ne do thy death profet.

POEMS.

Wyatt's Complaint upon Love to Reason, with Love's answer.

MINE old dear en'my, my froward mastèr,
Afore that Queen I caus'd to be accited
Which holdeth the divine part of Nature;
That like as gold, in fire he might be tried.
Charged with dolour, there I me presented
With horrible fear, as one that greatly dreadeth
A wrongful death, and justice alway seeketh.

And thus I said: " Once my left foot, Madàme,
" When I was young, I set within his reign;
" Whereby, other than fierly burning flame
" I never felt, but many a grievous pain.
" Torment I suff'red, anger and disdain,
" That mine oppressed patience was past,
" And I mine own life hated at the last.

" Thus hitherto have I my time passed
" In pain and smart; what ways profitable?
" How many pleasant days have me escaped?
" In serving this false liar, so deceivable.

" What wit have words so prest and forcible,
" That may contain my great mishappiness,
" And just complaints of his ungentleness!

" O! small honey! much aloes, and gall,
" In bitterness have my blind life tasted.
" His false sweetness, that turneth as a ball,
" With the amorous dance have made me traced;
" And where I had my thought and mind araised
" From all earthly frailness, and vain pleasure,
" He took me from rest, and set me in errour.

" He hath made me regard God much less than I ought,
" And to myself to take right little heed.
" And for a woman have I set at nought
" All other thoughts, in this only to speed;
" And he was only counsellor of this deed:
" Always whetting my youthly desire,
" On the cruel whetstone, tempered with fire.

" But, alas! where now had I ever wit,
" Or else any other gift, given me of nature?
" That sooner shall change my wearied sprite,
" Than the obstinate will, that is my ruler.
" So robbeth my liberty with displeasure
" This wicked traitor, whom I thus accuse;
" That bitter life have turned me in pleasant use.

" He hath chased me thorough divers regions,
" Thorough desart woods, and sharp high mountains,
" Thorough froward people, and strait pressions,
" Thorough rocky seas, over hills and plains,
" With weary travel, and laborous pains;
" Always in trouble and in tediousness,
" In all errour, and dangerous distress.

" But nother he, nor she, my tother foe,
" For all my flight did ever me forsake;
" That though timely death hath been so slow
" That as yet it hath me not overtake,
" The heavenly gods of pity do it slake;
" And not this his cruel extreme tyranny,
" That feedeth him with my care and misery.

" Since I was his, hour rested I never,
" Nor look for to do; and eke the wakey nights,
" The banished sleep may no wise recover.
" By deceit and by force over my sprites
" He is ruler: and since, there never bell strikes
" Where I am that I hear not, my plaints to renew;
" And he Himself he knoweth that I say is true.

" For never worms have an old stock eaten,
" As he my heart, where he is alway resident;
" And doth the same with death daily threaten:

" Thence come the tears, and the bitter torment,
" The sighs, the words, and eke the languishment,
" That annoy both me, and peradventure other;
" Judge thou, that knowest th' one, and th' other."

Mine adversary, with grievous reproof
Thus he began; " Hear, Lady, th' other part:
" That the plain truth, from which he draweth aloof,
" This unkind man shall shew, ere that I part.
" In young age I took him from that art
" That selleth words, and maketh a clattering knight,
" And of my wealth I gave him the delight.

" Now shameth he not on me for to complain,
" That held him evermore in pleasant game,
" From his desire that might have been his pain:
" Yet only thereby, I brought him to some frame,
" Which as wretchedness he doth greatly blame.
" And towards honour I quickened his wit,
" Where else as a daskard he might have sit.

" He knoweth that Atrides, that made Troy freat;
" And Hannibal, to Rome so troubelous;
" Whom Homer honoured, Achilles that great;
" And the African Scipion the famous;
" And many other, by much virtue glorious,
" Whose fame and honour did bring them above,
" I did let fall in base dishonest love.

" And unto him, though he no deal worthy were,
" I chose right the best of many a million;
" That under the moon was never her peer
" Of wisdom, womanhood, and discretion;
" And of my grace I gave her such a fashion,
" And eke such a way I taught her for to teach,
" That never base thought his heart mighthave reach.

" Evermore thus to content his mistress,
" That was his only frame of honesty,
" I stirred him still towards gentleness,
" And caused him to regard fidelity;
" Patience I taught him in adversity.
" Such virtues he learned in my great school,
" Whereof he repenteth, the ignorant fool.

" These were the deceits, and the bitter gall
" That I have used, the torment and the anger;
" Sweeter, than for to enjoy any other in all.
" Of right good seed ill fruit I gather;
" And so hath he that th' unkind doth further.
" I nourish a serpent under my wing,
" And of his nature now ginneth he to sting.

" And for to tell at last my great service,
" From thousand dishonesties I have him drawen;
" That, by my means, in no manner of wise
" Never vile pleasure him hath overthrawen:
" Where, in his deed, shame hath him always gnawen,

" Doubting report that should come to her ear:
" Whom now he accuseth, he wonted to fear.

" Whatsoever he hath of any honest custom,
" Of her, and me, that holdeth he every whit.
" But, lo! there was never nightly phantom
" So far in errour, as he is from his wit
" To plain on us: he striveth with the bit
" Which may rule him, and do him pleasure and pain;
" And in one hour make all his grief remain.

" But one thing there is above all other;
" I gave him wings wherewith he might up-fly
" To honour and fame, and if he would, farther
" Than mortal things, above the starry sky;
" Considering the pleasure that an eye
" Might give in earth, by reason of his love,
" What should that be, that lasteth still above?

" And he the same himself hath said or this;
" But now, forgotten is both that, and I
" That gave her him, his only wealth and bliss."
And at this word, with deadly shright and cry;
" Thou gave her me," quoth I, " but by and by
" Thou took her straight from me, that woe-worth thee."
" Not I," quoth he, " but price, that is well worthy."

At last, both each for himself concluded;
I trembling; but he, with small reverence;

" Lo! thus, as we have now each other accused,
" Dear lady, we wait only thy sentence."
She, smiling afterthe said audience,
" It liketh me," quoth she, " to have heard your question,
" But lenger time doth ask resolution."

Complaint of the absence of his Love.

So feeble is the thread" that doth the burden stay
Of my poor life, in heavy plight" that falleth in decay;
That but it have elsewhere' some aid or some succours,
The running spindle of my fate" anon shall end his course.
For since th' unhappy hour" that did me to depart
From my sweet weal, one only hope" hath stayed my life apart;
Which doth persuade such words" unto my sory mind;
" Maintain thyself, O woful sprite," some better luck to find.
" For though thou be deprived" from thy desired sight,
" Who can thee tell, if thy return" be for thy most delight:
" Or, who can tell, thy loss" if thou once mayst recover
" Some pleasant hour thy woe may wrap," and thee defend and cover."
This is the trust that yet," hath my life sustained;
And now, alas! I see it faint," and I by trust am trained.

The time doth fleet, and I" perceive th' hours how they bend
So fast, that I have scant the space" to mark my coming end.
Westward the sun from out" th' east scant doth shew his light,
When in the west he hides him straight," within the dark of night;

And comes as fast where he" began his path awry;
From east to west, from west to th' east," so doth his journey lie.
The life so short, so frail," that mortal men live here,
So great a weight, so heavy charge" the body that we bear;
That when I think upon" the distance and the space,
That doth so far divide me from" my dear desired face;
I know not how t' attain" the wings that I require,
To lift my weight that it might flee" to follow my desire.
Thus of that hope that doth" my life something sustain,
Alas! I fear, and partly feel," full little doth remain.

Each place doth bring me grief," where I do not behold
Those lively eyes, which of my thoughts" were wont the keys to hold.
Those thoughts were pleasant sweet," whilst I enjoy'd that grace;
My pleasure past, my present pain," where I might well embrace.
But for because my want" should more my woe increase,
In watch, in sleep, both day and night," my will doth never cease
That thing to wish, whereof" since I did lose the sight,
I never saw the thing that might" my faithful heart delight.
Th' uneasy life I lead" doth teach me for to mete
The floods, the seas, the land and hills" that doth them intermete
'Tween me, and those shining" lights that wonted to clear
My dark pangs of cloudy thoughts," as bright as Phœbus' sphere.
It teacheth me also" what was my pleasant state;
The more to feel by such record" how that my wealth doth bate.

If such record, alas!" provoke th' inflamed mind,
Which sprang that day that I did leave" the best of me behind;

If Love forget himself" by length of absence let?
Who doth me guide, O woful wretch!" unto this baited net
Where doth increase my care:" much better were for me
As dumb as stone, all thing forgot," still absent for to be.
Alas! the clear crystal," the bright transparent glass,
Doth not bewray the colour hid" which underneath it has,
As doth th' accumbred sprite" the thoughtful throes discover
Of fierce delight, of fervent love," that in our hearts we cover.
Out by these eyes it shew'th," that evermore delight
In plaint and tears to seek redress;" and that both day and night.

Those new kinds of pleasures" wherein most men rejoice,
To me they do redouble still" of stormy sighs the voice.
For I am one of them" whom plaint doth well content,
It sits me well mine absent wealth," me-seems, for to lament,
And with my tears t' assay" to charge mine eyes twain;
Like as mine heart above the brink is fraughted full of pain.
And for because thereto," of those fair eyes to treat
Doth me provoke, I shall return" my plaint thus to repeat;
For there is nothing else" that touches so me within,
Where they rule all, and I alone" nought but the case, or skin.
Wherefore I do return" to them as well, or spring,
From whom descends my mortal woe," above all other thing.
So shall mine eyes i pain" accompany mine heart,
That were the guides that did it lead," of love to feel the smart.

The crisped gold that doth" surmount Apollo's pride;
The lively streams of pleasant stars," that under it doth glide;

Wherein the beams of love″ doth still increase their heat;
Which yet so far, touch me so near,″ in cold to make me sweat;
The wise and pleasant talk,″ so rare, or else alone,
That did me give the courteous gift,″ that such had never none,
Be far from me, alas!″ and every other thing
I might forbear with better will″ than that, that did me bring
With pleasant word and chere,″ redress of lingered pain,
And wonted oft, in kindled will″ to virtue me to train.
Thus am I driven to hear,″ and hearken after news;
My comfort scant, my large desire″ in doubtful trust renews.

And yet with more delight″ to moan my woful case,
I must complain those hands, those arms,″ that firmly do embrace
Me from myself, and rule″ the stern of my poor life;
The sweet disdains, the pleasant wraths,″ and eke the lovely strife,
That wonted well to tune″ in temper just and meet
The rage, that oft did make me err″ by furor undiscreet;
All this is hid me fro″ with sharp and cragged hills.
At others' will my long abode,″ my deep despair fulfils.
But if my hope sometime″ rise up by some redress,
It stumbleth straight for feeble faint,″ my fear hath such excess.
Such is the sort of hope,″ the less for more desire;
Whereby I fear, and yet I trust″ to see that I require,
The resting-place of love,″ where virtue lives and grows:
Where I desire my weary life″ may sometime take repose.

My Song! thou shalt attain″ to find that pleasant place,
Where she doth live, by whom I live:″ may chance thee have this grace,

When she hath read and seen" the dread wherein I sterve,
Between her breasts she shall thee put," there shall she thee reserve.
Then tell her that I come;" she shall me shortly see;
If that for weight the body fail," this soul shall to her flee.

The song of Iopas, unfinished.

When Dido feasted first" the wand'ring Trojan knight,
Whom Juno's wrath with storms did force," in Libic sands to light;
That mighty Atlas did teach," the supper lasting long,
With crisped locks, on golden harp," Iopas sang in his song:
" That same," quoth he, " that we," the world do call and name,
" Of heaven and earth, with all contents," it is the very frame;
" Or thus, of heavenly powers," by more power kept in one:
" Repugnant kinds! in middes of whom" the earth hath place alone.
" Firm, round, of living things" the mother, place, and nurse;
" Without the which, in equall weight," this heaven doth hold his course:
" And it is call'd by name," the first moving heaven.
" The firmament is next," containing other seven.
" Of heavenly powers that same" is planted full and thick,
" As shining lights, which we call stars," that therein cleave and stick.
" With great swift sway the first," and with his restless source,
" Carrieth itself, and all those eight," in even continual course.
" And of this world so round" within that rolling case,
" There be two points that never move," but firmly keep their place.

' The t'one we see alway," the t'other stands object;
" Against the same dividing just," the round by line direct.
" Which by imagination," drawen from t' one to t'other,
" Toucheth the centre of the earth," for way there is none other.
" And these been call'd the poles," describ'd by stars not bright;
" Arctic the one, northward we see;" Antarctic t' other hight.
" The line that we devise" from t' one to t'other so
" As axle is, upon the which" the heavens about doth go;
" Which of water, nor earth," of air, nor fire, have kind;
" Therefore the substance of those same," were hard for man to find.
" But they been uncorrupt," simple and pure, unmixt;
" And so we say been all those stars" that in those same be fixt.
" And eke those erring seven" in circles as they stray;
" So call'd, because against that first" they have repugnant way,
" And smaller by-ways too," scant sensible to man;
" Too busy work for my poor harp;" let sing them he that can.
" The widest save the first" of all these nine above,
" One hundred year doth ask of space," for one degree to move:
" Of which degrees we make," in the first moving heaven,
" Three hundred and threescore in parts," justly divided even.
" And yet there is another" between those heavens two,
" Whose moving is so sly, so slack," I name it not for now.
" The seventh heav'n, or the shell" next to the starry sky,
" All those degrees that gather'th up" with aged pace, so sly,
" And doth perform the same," as elders' count hath been,
" In nine-and-twenty years complete," and days almost sixteen,
" Doth carry in his bowt" the star of Saturn old;
" A threat'ner of all living things" with drought, and with his cold.

" The sixth, whom this contains," doth stalk with younger pace,
" And in twelve year doth somewhat more" than t' others' voyage was.
" And this in it doth bear" the star of Jove benign;
" 'Tween Saturn's malice and us men" friendly defending sign.
" The fifth bear'th bloody Mars," that in three hundred days,
" And twice elev'n, with one full year," hath finish'd all those ways.
" A year doth ask the fourth," and hours thereto six,
" And in the same the day his eye," the Sun, therein he sticks.
" The third that govern'd is" by that, that governeth me,
" And love for love, and for no love" provokes, as oft we see,
" In like space doth perform" that course, that did the t'other:
" And so doth the next to the same," that second is in order.
" But it doth bear the star," that call'd is Mercury,
" That many a crafty secret step" doth tread, as calcars try.
" That sky is last, and first" next us those ways hath gone
" In seven-and-twenty common days," and eke the third of one;
" And beareth with his sway" the diverse Moon about,
" Now bright, now brown, now bent, now full," and now her light is out.
" Thus have they of their own" two movings all these Seven,
" One, wherein they be carried still," each in his several heaven;
" Another of himselves," where their bodies been laid,
" In by-ways and in lesser rounds," as I afore have said;
" Save of them all the Sun" doth stray least from the straight:
" The starry sky hath but one course," that we have call'd the eight.
" And all these movings eight" are meant from west to th' east,
" Although they seem to climb aloft," I say, from east to west;

" But that is but by force" of the first moving sky,
" In twice twelve hours from east to west," that carrieth them by and by.
" But mark we well also" these movings of these seven,
" Be not 'bout that axletree" of the first moving heaven;
" For they have their two poles" directly t'one to t'other," &c.

SONGS AND EPIGRAMS.

A description of such a one as he would love.

A FACE that should content me wond'rous well,
Should not be fair, but lovely to behold;
With gladsome chere, all grief for to expell;
With sober looks so would I that it should
Speak without words, such words as none can tell;
The tress also should be of crisped gold.
With wit, and these, might chance I might be tied,
And knit again the knot that should not slide.

Why Love is blind.

OF purpose Love chase first for to be blind;
For he with sight of that, that I behold,
Vanquish'd had been against all godly kind.
His bow your hand, and truss should have unfold,
And he with me to serve had been assign'd.
But, for he blind and reckless would him hold,
And still by chance his deadly strokes bestow,
With such as see I serve, and suffer woe.

The Lover blameth his instant desire.

DESIRE, alas! my master, and my foe,
So sore alter'd thyself, how may'st thou see;
Sometime thou seekest, that drives me to and fro;
Sometime thou lead'st, that leadeth thee and me.
What reason is to rule thy subject so,
By forced law, and mutability?
For where by thee I doubted to have blame,
Even now, by hate, again I doubt the same.

Against hoarders of money.

FOR shamefast harm of great and hateful need,
In deep despair as did a wretch go,
With ready cord out of his life to speed,
His stumbling foot did find an hoard, lo!
Of gold, I say, where he prepar'd this deed,
And in exchange he left the cord tho.
He that had hid the gold, and found it not,
Of that he found, he shap'd his neck a knot.

Description of a gun.

VULCAN begat me; Minerva me taught;
Nature my mother; craft nourish'd me year by year.
Three bodies are my food; my strength is in nought:
Anger, wrath, waste, and noise, are my children dear.

Guess, friend, what I am, and how I am wrought:
Monster of sea, or of land, or of elsewhere;
Know me, and use me, and I may thee defend;
And if I be thine en'my, I may thy life end.

Of the Mother that eat her child at the siege of Jerusalem.

In doubtful breast whilst motherly pity,
With furious famine standeth at debate,
Saith th' Hebrew mother; "O child unhappy!
"Return thy blood, where thou hadst milk of late.
"Yield me those limbs that I made unto thee,
"And enter there where thou wert generate:
"For of one body, against all nature,
"To another must I make sepulture."

To his Love whom he had kissed against her will.

Alas! Madam, for stealing of a kiss,
Have I so much your mind therein offended?
Have I then done so grievously amiss,
That by no means the matter may be mended?
Then revenge you: and the next way is this;
Anotner kiss shall have my life ended.
For to my mouth the first my heart did suck;
The next shall clean out of my breast it pluck.

Of the jealous man that loved the same woman and espied this other sitting with her.

THE wand'ring gadling in the summer tide,
That finds the adder with his rechless foot,
Starts not dismay'd so suddenly aside,
As jealous despite did, though there were no boot,
When that he saw me sitting by her side,
That of my health is very crop, and root.
It pleased me then to have so fair a grace,
To sting that heart that would have my place.

To his Love from whom he had her gloves.

WHAT needeth these threnning words, and wasted wind?
All this cannot make me restore my prey.
To rob your goods, I wis is not my mind,
Nor causeless your fair hand did I display.
Let Love be judge, or else whom next we find,
That may both hear what you and I can say.
She took from me an heart, and I a glove from her;
Let us see now, if th' one be worth th' other.

The Lover complaineth that deadly sickness cannot help his affection.

TH' en'my of life, decayer of all kind,
That with his cold withers away the green,
This other night me in my bed did find,
And offered me to rid my fever clean;

And I did grant, so did despair me blind.
He drew his bow with arrow sharp and keen,
And strake the place where Love had hit before,
And drave the first dart deeper, more and more.

Of the feigned Friend.

RIGHT true it is, and said full yore ago;
"Take heed of him that by thy back thee claweth:"
For none is worse than is a friendly foe.
Though they seem good, all thing that thee delighteth,
Yet knoweth it well, that in thy bosom creepeth:
For many a man such fire oft kindleth,
That with the blaze his beard singeth.

Comparison of Love to a stream falling from the Alps.

FROM these high hills as when a spring doth fall,
It trilleth down with still and subtle course;
Of this and that it gathers aye, and shall,
Till it have just off flowed the stream and force;
Then at the foot it rageth over all.
So fareth love; when he hath ta'en a source
His rein is rage; resistance 'vaileth none:
The first eschew, is remedy alone.

Of his Love that pricked her finger with a needle.

She sat and sewed that hath done me the wrong
Whereof I plain, and have done many a day;
And whilst she heard my plaint in piteous song,
Wished my heart the sampler as it lay.
The blind master whom I have served so long,
Grudging to hear that he did hear her say,
Made her own weapon do her finger bleed,
To feel if pricking were so good in deed.

Of the same.

Who hath heard of such cruelty before!
That, when my plaint remember'd her my woe
That caused it, she, cruel more and more,
Wished each stitch, as she did sit and sew,
Had prick'd my heart for to increase my sore;
And, as I think, she thought it had been so;
For as she thought, "This is his heart indeed,"
She pricked hard, and made herself to bleed.

The Lover that fled Love now follows it with his harm.

Sometime I fled the fire that me brent,
By sea, by land, by water, and by wind;
And now I follow the coals that be quent,
From Dover to Calais, against my mind.

Lo! how desire is both sprung, and spent!
And he may see, that whilom was so blind;
And all his labour he now laughs to scorn:
Mashed in the briers, that erst was all to torn.

The Lover compareth his heart to the over-charged gun.

THE furious gun, in his raging ire,
When that the bowle is rammed in too sore,
And that the flame cannot part from the fire,
Cracketh in sunder, and in the air doth roar
The shivered pieces; right so doth my desire,
Whose flame increaseth from more to more;
Which to let out, I dare not look nor speak:
So inward force my heart doth all-to-break.

How by a kiss he found both his life and death.

NATURE, that gave the bee so feat a grace,
To find honey of so wondrous fashion,
Hath taught the spider, out of the same place
To fetch poison, by strange alteration.
Though this be strange, it is a stranger case
With one kiss, by secret operation,
Both these at once in those your lips to find;
In change whereof, I leave my heart behind.

To his Lover to look upon him.

All in thy look my life doth whole depend;
Thou hidest thyself, and I must die therefore.
But since thou mayst so easily help thy friend,
Why dost thou stick to salve that thou madest sore?
Why do I die since thou mayst me defend?
And if I die, thy life may last no more;
For each by other doth live and have relief;
I in thy look, and thou most in my grief.

Of disappointed purpose by negligence.

Of Carthage, he that worthy warriour,
Could overcome, but could not use his chance;
And I likewise, of all my long endeavour,
The sharp conquest though fortune did advance,
Could not it use; the hold that is given over
I unpossess; so hangeth in balance
Of war, my peace; reward of all my pain.
At Mountzon thus, I restless rest in Spain.

Of his return from Spain.

Tagus, farewell! that westward with thy streams
Turns up the grains of gold already tried;
With spur and sail, for I go seek the Thames,
Gainward the sun that sheweth her wealthy pride;

And to the town which Brutus sought by dreams,
Like bended moon, doth lend her lusty side.
My King, my Country, alone for whom I live,
Of mighty Love the wings for this me give.

Wyatt being in prison to Bryan.

Sighs are my food; my drink they are my tears;
Clinking of fetters such music would crave:
Stink, and close air, away my life wears;
Innocency is all the hope I have.
Rain, wind, or weather, I judge by mine ears;
Malice assaults that righteousness should have.
Sure I am, Bryan, this wound shall heal again;
But yet, alas! the scar shall still remain.

Of such as had forsaken him.

Look! my fair falcon, and your fellows all,
How well pleasant it were your liberty!
Ye not forsake me, that fair might ye befal.
But they, that sometime lik'd my company,
Like lice away from dead bodies crawl;
Lo! what a proof in light adversity.

But ye, my birds, I swear by all your bells,
Ye be my friends, and so be but few else.

He hopeth hereafter for better chance.

He is not dead that sometime had a fall!
The sun returns, that was under the cloud;
And when fortune hath spit out all her gall,
I trust good luck to me shall be allow'd.
For I have seen a ship into haven fall,
After the storm hath broke both mast and shroud.
And eke the willow, that stoopeth with the wind,
Doth rise again, and greater wood doth bind.

That pleasure is mixed with every pain.

Venemous thorns that are so sharp and keen,
Sometime bear flowers fair, and fresh of hue.
Poison oft time is put in medicine,
And causeth health in man for to renew.
Fire that purgeth all thing that is unclean,
May heal and hurt; and if these been true,
I trust sometime my harm may be my health;
Since every woe is joined with some wealth.

The Courtier's Life.

In Court to serve, decked with fresh array,
Of sugred meats feeling the sweet repast;
The life in banquets, and sundry kinds of play;
Amid the press of lordly looks to waste,
Hath with it join'd oft-times such bitter taste,
That whoso joys such kind of life to hold,
In prison joys, fetter'd with chains of gold.

Of the mean and sure estate.

Stand whoso list, upon the slipper top
Of high estate; and let me here rejoice,
And use me quiet without let or stop,
Unknown in Court, that hath such brackish joys.
In hidden place so let my days forth pass;
That when my years be done withouten noise,
I may die aged, after the common trace:
For him death grip'th right hard by the crop,
That is much known of other, and of himself, alas!
Doth die unknown, dased with dreadful face.

The Lover suspected of change prayeth that it be not believed against him.

ACCUSED though I be without desert,
Sith none can prove, believe it not for true;
For never yet, since that you had my heart,
Intended I to false, or be untrue.
Sooner I would of death sustain the smart,
Than break one word of that I promised you:
Accept therefore my service in good part.
None is alive, that can ill tongues eschew;
Hold them as false; and let not us depart
Our friendship old, in hope of any new.
Put not thy trust in such as use to feign,
Except thou mind to put thy friend to pain.

Of dissembling words.

THROUGHOUT the world, if it were sought,
Fair words enough a man shall find;
They be good cheap; they cost right nought;
Their substance is but only wind:
But well to say, and so to mean,
That sweet accord is seldom seen.

Of sudden trusting.

DRIVEN by desire, I did this deed,
To danger myself without cause why;
To trust th' untrue, not like to speed;
To speak and promise faithfully.
But now the proof doth verify,
That, "Whoso trusteth ere he know,
"Doth hurt himself, and please his foe."

To a Lady, to answer directly with yea or nay.

MADAM, withouten many words,
Once I am sure ye will, or no:
And if ye will, then leave your bourds,
And use your wit, and shew it so.

And with a beck ye shall me call,
And if of one, that burneth alway,
Ye have any pity at all,
Answer him fair with yea, or nay.

If it be yea, I shall be fain;
If it be nay, friends as before;
Ye shall another man obtain,
And I mine own, and yours no more.

Answer.

Of few words, Sir, you seem to be,
And where I doubted what I would do
Your quick request hath caused me
Quickly to tell you what you shall trust to.

For he that will be called with a beck,
Makes hasty suit on light desire:
Is ever ready to the check
And burneth in no wasting fire.

Therefore whether you be lief or loth,
And whether it grieve you light or sore
I am at a point: I have made an oath,
Content you with "Nay;" for you get no more.

The Lover professeth himself constant.

Within my breast I never thought it gain,
Of gentle mind the freedom for to lose;
Nor in my heart sank never such disdain,
To be a forger, faults for to disclose.
Nor I cannot endure the truth to glose,
To set a gloss upon an earnest pain;
Nor I am not in number one of those
That list to blow, retreat to every train.

The Lover blameth his Love for renting of the letter he sent her.

Sufficed not, Madàme, that you did tear
My woful heart, but thus also to rent
The weeping paper that to you I sent,
Whereof each letter was written with a tear?

Could not my present pains, alas! suffice
Your greedy heart? and that my heart doth feel
Torments, that prick more sharper than the steel,
But new and new must to my lot arise?

Use then my death, so shall your cruelty,
Spite of your spite, rid me from all my smart;
And I no more, such torments of the heart
Feel, as I do: this shall you gain thereby.

The Lover complaineth and his Lady comforteth.

Lover. It burneth yet, alas! my heart's desire.
Lady. What is the thing that hath inflam'd thy heart?
Lover. A certain point, as fervent as the fire.
Lady. The heat shall cease, if that thou wilt convert.
Lover. I cannot stop the fervent raging ire.
Lady. What may I do, if thyself cause thy smart?
Lover. Hear my request, alas! with weeping chere.
Lady. With right good will; say on, lo! I thee hear.

LOVER. That thing would I, that maketh two content.
LADY. Thou seekest, perchance, of me, that I may not.
LOVER. Would God! thou wouldst, as thou mayst well, assent.
LADY. That I may not, the grief is mine, God wot.
LOVER. But I it feel, whatso thy words have meant.
LADY. Suspect me not, my words be not forgot.
LOVER. Then say, alas! shall I have help or no?
LADY. I see no time to answer yea, but no.

LOVER. Say, "Yea," dear heart! and stand no more in doubt.
LADY. I may not grant a thing that is so dear.
LOVER. Lo! with delays thou drives me still about.
LADY. Thou wouldest my death, it plainly doth appear.
LOVER. First may my heart his blood and life bleed out.
LADY. Then for my sake, alas! thy will forbear.
LOVER. From day to day thus wastes my life away.
LADY. Yet for the best, suffer some small delay.

LOVER. Now good! say, yea; do once so good a deed.
LADY. If I said yea, what should thereof ensue?
LOVER. An heart in pain, of succour so should speed:
'Twixt yea and nay, my doubt shall still renew.
My sweet! say yea, and do away this dread.
LADY. Thou wilt needs so, be it so; but then be true.
LOVER. Nought would I else, nor other treasure none.
Thus hearts be won by love, request, and moan.

The Lover suspected blameth ill tongues.

MISTRUSTFUL minds be moved
To have me in suspect;
The truth it shall be proved,
Which time shall once detect.

Though falsehood go about,
Of crime me to accuse;
At length I do not doubt,
But truth shall me excuse.

Such sauce as they have served
To me without desàrt;
Even as they have deserved,
Thereof God send them part.

Of his Love, called Anna.

WHAT word is that, that changeth not,
Though it be turn'd and made in twain?
It is mine Anna, God it wot,
And eke the causer of my pain,
[Who] love rewardeth with disdain;
Yet is it loved: what would ye more?
It is my health, and eke my sore.

A riddle of a gift given by a Lady.

A LADY gave me a gift she had not;
And I received her gift I took not;
She gave it me willingly, and yet she would not;
And I received it, albeit I could not.
If she give it me, I force not;
And if she take it again, she cares not;
Construe what this is, and tell not;
For I am fast sworn, I may not.

That speaking or proffering brings alway speeding.

SPEAK thou and speed, where will or power ought help'th,
Where power doth want, will must be won by wealth:
For need will speed, where will works not his kind;
And gain, thy foes thy friends shall cause thee find.
For, suit and gold, what do not they obtain?
Of good and bad the tryers are these twain.

SATIRES.

SATIRE THE FIRST.

TO JOHN POYNZ.

Of the mean and sure estate.

My Mother's maids, when they did sow and spin,
They sang sometime a song of the field mouse;
That, for because her livelode was but thin,
Would needs go seek her townish Sister's house.
She thought herself endured to much pain;
The stormy blasts her cave so sore did souse,
That when the furrows swimmed with the rain,
She must lie cold, and wet, in sorry plight;
And worse than that, bare meat there did remain
To comfort her, when she her house had dight.
Sometime a barley corn, sometime a bean,
For which she laboured hard both day and night
In harvest time, whilst she might go and glean:
And when [her] store was 'stroyed with the flood,
Then well-away! for she undone was clean.
Then was she fain to take, instead of food,
Sleep if she might, her hunger to beguile.
"My Sister," quoth she, "hath a living good;

" And hence from me she dwelleth not a mile.
" In cold and storm, she lieth warm and dry
" In bed of down; the dirt doth not defile
" Her tender foot; she laboureth not as I.
" Richly she feedeth, and at the rich man's cost.
" And for her meat she needs not crave nor cry.
" By sea, by land, of the delicates the most
" Her cater seeks, and spareth for no peril.
" She feedeth on boiled bacon meat, and roast,
" And hath thereof neither charge nor travail.
" And, when she list, the liquor of the grape
" Doth glad her heart, till that her belly swell."
And at this journey she maketh but a jape;
So forth she goeth, trusting of all this wealth
With her Sister her part so for to shape,
That if she might keep herself in health,
To live a lady while her life doth last.
And to the door now is she come by stealth,
And with her foot anon she scrapeth full fast.
Th' other, for fear, durst not well scarce appear,
Of every noise so was the wretch aghast.
At last she asked softly, " Who was there,"
And in her language, as well as she could.
" Peep," quoth the other, " Sister, I am here."
" Peace," quoth the town-mouse, " why speakest thou so loud?"
And by the hand she took her fair, and well:
" Welcome," quoth she, " my Sister, by the rood."
She feasted her, that joy it was to tell
The fare they had; they drank the wine so clear,
And, as to purpose now and then it fell,

She cheer'd her with, "How, Sister! what cheer!"
Amids this joy befel a sorry chance,
That, well-away! the stranger bought full dear
The fare she had; for, as she look'd askance,
Under a stool she spied two steaming eyes
In a round head with sharp ears: in France
Was never mouse so fear'd, for the unwise
Had not y-seen such a beast before;
Yet had nature taught her after her guise
To know her foe, and dread him evermore.
The towny mouse fled, she knew whither to go;
Th' other had no shift, but wonders sore
Fear'd of her life, at home she wished her tho;
And to the door, alas! as she did skip,
Th' heaven it would, lo! and eke her chance was so,
At the threshold her sely foot did trip,
And ere she might recover it again,
The traitor cat had caught her by the hip,
And made her there against her will remain,
That had forgotten her poor surety, and rest,
For seeming wealth, wherein she thought to reign.
Alas! my Poynz, how men do seek the best,
And find the worst, by errour as they stray!
And no marvel! when sight is so opprest,
And blind the guide, anon out of the way
Goeth guide, and all, in seeking quiet life.
O! wretched minds! there is no gold that may
Grant that ye seek, no war, no peace, no strife;
No! no! although thy head were hoop'd with gold.
Serjeant with mace, halbert, sword, nor knife,

Cannot repulse the care that follow should.
Each kind of life hath with him his disease.
Live in delight, even as thy lust would,
And thou shalt find, when lust doth most thee please,
It irketh straight, and by itself doth fade.
A small thing it is that may thy mind appease.
None of ye all there is, that is so mad
To seek grapes upon brambles, or briers:
Nor none I trow, that hath his wit so bad
To set his haye for conies over rivers;
Ne ye set not a drag-net for an hare:
And yet the thing that most is your desire,
Ye do mis-seek, with more travail and care.
Make plain thine heart, that it be not knotted
With hope or dread; and see thy will be bare
From all affects, whom vice hath ever spotted.
Thyself content with that is thee assigned,
And use it well that is to thee allotted.
Then seek no more out of thyself to find
The thing, that thou hast sought so long before;
For thou shalt feel it sitting in thy mind,
Mad, if ye list to continue your sore.
Let present pass, and gape on time to come,
And deep yourself in travail more and more.
Henceforth, my Poynz, this shall be all and sum,
These wretched fools shall have nought else of me:
But to the great God, and to his high doom,
None other pain pray I for them to be,
But, when the rage doth lead them from the right,
That looking backward, Virtue they may see,

Even she is, so goodly fair, and bright;
And whilst they clasp their lusts in arms across,
Grant them, good Lord, as thou may'st of thy might,
To freat inward, for losing such a loss.

SATIRE THE SECOND.

TO JOHN POYNZ.

Of the Courtier's life.

MINE own John Poynz, since you delight to know
The cause why that homeward I do me draw,
And fly the press of Courts, where so they go,
Rather than to live thrall under the awe
Of lordly looks, wrapped within my cloak,
To will, and lust, learning to set a law;
It is not, because I scorn, or mock
The power of them, to whom fortune hath lent
Charge over us, of right to strike the stroke.
But true it is, that I have ever meant
Less to esteem them than the common sort;
Of outward things that judge in their intent,
Without regard that doth inward resort.
I grant sometime that of glory the fire
Doth touch my heart: and me lust not report
Blame by honour, and honour to desire.
But how may I this honour now attain,
That cannot dye the colour of black a liar?

My Pointz, I cannot frame my tongue to feign;
To cloke the truth for praise, without desàrt,
Of them, that lust all vices to retain.
I cannot honour them that set their part
With Venus, and Bacchus, all their life long;
Nor hold my peace of them, although I smart.
I cannot crouch, nor kneel to such a wrong,
To worship them as God on earth alone,
That are like wolves these sely lambs among.
I cannot with my words complain, and moan,
And suffer nought; nor smart without complaint;
Nor turn the word that from my mouth is gone.
I cannot speak with look right as a saint;
Use wiles for wit, and make deceit a pleasure;
And call craft, counsel; for profit still to paint.
I cannot wrest the law to fill the coffer,
With innocent blood to feed myself fat,
And do most hurt, where that most help I offer.
I am not he, that can allow the state
Of high Cæsar, and doom Cato to die,
That by his death did scape out of the gate
From Cæsar's hands, if Livy doth not lie,
And would not live where liberty was lost:
So did his heart the common weal apply.
I am not he, such eloquence to boast,
To make the crow in singing as the swan;
Nor call the lion of coward beasts the most,
That cannot take a mouse as the cat can;
And he that dieth for hunger of the gold,
Call him Alexander; and say that Pan

Passeth Apollo in music many fold;
Praise Sir Thopas for a noble tale,
And scorn the story that the Knight told:
Praise him for counsel that is drunk of ale;
Grin when he laugheth, that beareth all the sway;
Frown when he frowneth, and groan when he is pale;
On others' lust to hang both night and day.
None of these points would ever frame in me;
My wit is nought, I cannot learn the way.
And much the less of things that greater be;
That asken help of colours of devise,
To join the mean with each extremity;
With the near virtue to cloke alway the vice;
And, as to purpose likewise it shall fall,
To press the virtue that it may not rise.
As, drunkenness good fellowship to call;
The friendly foe, with his double face,
Say he is gentle, and courteous therewithal;
And say that favel hath a goodly grace
In eloquence; and cruelty to name
Zeal of justice, and change in time and place;
And he that suffereth offence without blame,
Call him pitiful; and him true and plain,
That raileth rechless to every's man's shame;
Say he is rude, that cannot lie and feign;
The lecher, a lover; and tyranny
To be the right of a prince's reign.
I cannot, I, no, no! it will not be.
This is the cause that I could never yet
Hang on their sleeves that weigh, as thou mayst see,

A chip of chance, more than a pound of wit.
This maketh me at home to hunt, and to hawk;
And in foul weather at my book to sit,
In frost and snow;. then with my bow to stalk;
No man doth mark whereso I ride, or go.
In lusty leas at liberty I walk;
And of these news I feel nor weal, nor woe,
Save that a clog doth hang yet at my heel.
No force for that; for it is ordered so,
That I may leap both hedge and dyke full well.
I am not now in France to judge the wine;
With savoury sauce the delicates to feel;
Nor yet in Spain, where one must him incline
Rather than to be, outwardly to seem:
I meddle not with wits that be so fine.
Nor Flanders cheer letteth not my sight to deem
Of black and white, nor taketh my wit away
With beastliness; they beasts do so esteem.
Nor I am not, where Christ is given in prey
For money, poison, and trahison, at Rome
A common practice, used night and day;
But here I am in Kent and Christendom,
Among the Muses, where I read and rhyme:
Where if thou list, my Poynz for to come,
Thou shalt be judge how I do spend my time.

SATIRE THE THIRD.

TO SIR FRANCIS BRYAN.

How to use the Court and himself therein.

" A SPENDING hand, that alway poureth out,
" Had need to have a bringer-in as fast:"
And, " On the stone that still doth turn about,
" There groweth no moss:" these proverbs yet do last:
Reason hath set them in so sure a place,
That length of years their force can never waste.
When I remember this, and eke the case
Wherein thou standes, I thought forthwith to write,
Bryan, to thee, who knows how great a grace
In writing is, to counsel man the right.
To thee therefore, that trots still up and down,
And never rests, but running day and night
From realm to realm, from city, street, and town;
Why dost thou wear thy body to the bones?
And might'st at home sleep in thy bed of down,
And drink good ale so noppy, for the nones.
Feed thyself fat, and heap up pound by pound.
Likest thou not this? "No." Why? "For swine so groins
" In sty, and chaw dung moulded on the ground,
" And drivel on pearls, with head still in the mangèr;
" So of the harp the ass doth hear the sound;
" So sacks of dirt be fill'd up in the cloister,
" That serve for less than do these fatted swine.
" Though I seem lean and dry without moisture,

" Yet will I serve my Prince, my Lord, and thine;
" And let them live to fed the paunch that list;
" So I may live to feed both me and mine."
By God! well said. But what and if thou wist
How to bring in, as fast as thou dost spend?
" That would I learn." And it shall not be miss'd
To tell thee how. Now hark what I intend.
Thou know'st well first, whoso can seek to please,
Shall purchase friends where truth shall but offend;
Flee therefore truth; it is both wealth and ease:
For though that truth of every man hath praise,
Full near that wind goeth truth in great misease.
Use Virtue, as it goeth now-a-days,
In word alone, to make thy language sweet,
And of thy deed yet do not as thou says;
Else be thou sure, thou shalt be far unmeet
To get thy bread; each thing is now so scant.
Seek still thy profit upon thy bare feet;
Lend in no wise, for fear that thou do want,
Unless it be as to a calf a cheese.
By which return be sure to win a cant
Of half at least—it is not good to leese.
Learn at Kitson, that in a long white coat,
From under the stall, without lands or fees,
Hath leapt into the shop; who knoweth by rote
This rule, that I have told thee here before.
Some time also rich age beginneth to dote;
See thou, when there thy gain may be the more,
Stay him by the arm whereso he walk or go;
Be near alway, and if he cough too sore,

What he hath spit tread out, and please him so.
A diligent knave that pikes his master's purse
May please him so, that he withouten mo',
Executor is; and what is he the worse.
But if so chance thou get nought of the man,
The widow may for all thy charge deburse.
A riveled skin! a stinking breath; what then;
A toothless mouth shall do thy lips no harm.
The gold is good; and though she curse or ban,
Yet where thee list thou may lie good and warm:
Let the old mule bite upon the bridle,
Whilst there do lie a sweeter in thine arm.
In this also see that thou be not idle:
Thy niece, thy cousin, sister, or thy daughter,
If she be fair, if handsome be her middle,
If thy better hath her love besought her,
Advance his cause, and he shall help thy need:
It is but love, turn thou it to a laughter.
But ware, I say, so gold thee help and speed,
That in this case thou be not so unwise
As Pandar was in such a like deed.
For he, the fool of conscience, was so nice,
That he no gain would have for all his pain.
Be next thyself; for friendship bears no price——
Laughest thou at me? why? do I speak in vain?
"No, not at thee, but at thy thrifty jest.
"Wouldest thou I should, for any loss or gain,
"Change that for gold, that I have ta'en for best?
"Next godly things, to have an honest name:
"Should I leave that! then take me for a beast."

Nay then, farewell! and if thou care for shame,
Content thee then with honest poverty,
With free tongue, what thee mislikes, to blame;
And, for thy truth, sometime adversity.
And therewithal this gift I shall thee give;
In this world now, little prosperity,
And coin to keep, as water in a sieve.

THE

PENITENTIAL PSALMS.

CERTAIN PSALMS

CHOSEN OUT OF THE

PSALTER OF DAVID,

COMMONLY CALLED

THE SEVEN PENITENTIAL PSALMS,

DRAWN INTO ENGLISH METRE

BY SIR THOMAS WYATT, KNIGHT:

WHEREUNTO IS ADDED

A PROLOGUE OF THE AUTHOR BEFORE EVERY PSALM,

VERY PLEASANT AND PROFITABLE TO THE GODLY READER.

IMPRINTED AT LONDON,

IN PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD, AT THE SIGN OF THE STAR, BY THOMAS RAYNALD AND JOHN HARRINGTON.

To the right honourable and his singular good Lord, William, Marquis of Northampton, Earl of Essex, Baron of Kendal, Lord Parr, and Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, your most bounden orator at commandment, John Harrington wisheth health and prosperity with increase of virtue, and the mercy of God for ever.

Considering the manifold duties and abundant service that I owe unto your good Lordship, right honourable and my singular good Lord, I cannot but see infinite causes why I, chiefly of all others, ought with all cheerful and ready endeavour to gratify your good Lordship by all means possible, and to apply myself wholly to the same as one that would gladly, but can by no means be able to do accordingly as his bounden duty requireth. I cannot, I say, but see and acknowledge myself bounden, and not able to do such service as I owe, both for the inestimable benefits that your noble progenitors, and also your good Lordship hath shewed unto my parents and predecessors, and also to myself, as to one least able to do any acceptable service, though the will be at all times most ready. In token whereof your Lordship shall at all times perceive by simple things that my little wit shall be able to invent, that if mine heart could do any service, no labour or travail should with-hold me from doing my duty; and that if busy labour and

the heart might be able to pay the duty that love oweth, your Lordship should in no point find me ingrate or unthankful. And to declare this my ready will I have dedicated unto your name this little treatise, which, after I had perused, (and by the advice of others better learned than myself determined to put in print, that the noble fame of so worthy a Knight as was the author hereof, Sir Thomas Wyatt, should not perish but remain, as well for his singular learning as valiant deeds in martial feats) I thought that I could not find a more worthy patron for such a man's work than your Lordship, whom I have always known to be of so godly a zeal to the furtherance of God's holy word, and his sacred Gospel: most humbly beseeching your good Lordship herein to accept my good will, and to esteem me as one that wisheth unto the same all honour, health, and prosperous success. Amen.

Your good Lordship's

most humble at commandment,

JOHN HARRINGTON.

THE

PENITENTIAL PSALMS,

&c.

HS

THE GREAT MACEDON THAT OUT OF PERSIA CHASED
DARIUS, OF WHOSE HUGE POWER ALL ASIA RANG;
IN THE RICH ARK IF HOMER'S RHYMES HE PLACED,
WHO FEIGNED GESTS OF HEATHEN PRINCES SANG;
WHAT HOLY GRAVE, WHAT WORTHY SEPULTURE
TO WYATT'S PSALMS SHOULD CHRISTIANS THEN PURCHASE,
WHERE HE DOTH PAINT THE LIVELY FAITH AND PURE,
THE STEADFAST HOPE, THE SWEET RETURN TO GRACE
OF JUST DAVID BY PERFECT PENITENCE;
WHERE RULERS MAY SEE IN A MIRROUR CLEAR,
THE BITTER FRUITS OF FALSE CONCUPISCENCE,
HOW JEWRY BOUGHT URIAS' DEATH FULL DEAR.
IN PRINCES HEARTS GOD'S SCOURGE Y-PRINTED DEEP,
OUGHT THEM AWAKE OUT OF THEIR SINFUL SLEEP.

THE PROLOGUE

TO THE

PENITENTIAL PSALMS.

Love, to give law unto his subject hearts,
Stood in the eyes of Barsabè the bright;
And in a look anon himself converts,
Cruelly pleasant, before King David's sight.
First daz'd his eyes, and further-forth he starts
With venomed breath, as softly as he might;
Touch'd his senses, and over-runs his bones
With creeping fire, sparpled for the nones.

And when he saw that kindled was the flame,
The moist poison in his heart he lanced,
So that the soul did tremble with the same;
And in this brawl as he stood and tranced,
Yielding unto the figure, and the frame
That those fair eyes had in his presence glanced,
The form that Love had printed in his breast,
He honour'th it as thing of things best.

So that forgot the wisdom and fore-cast,
Which, woe to realms! when that their Kings doth lack:
Forgetting eke, God's Majesty as fast,
Yea, and his own, forthwith he doth to make
Urie to go into the field in haste;
Urie, I say, that was his idol's make,
Under pretence of certain victory,
For enemies' swords a ready prey to die.

Whereby he may enjoy her out of doubt,
Whom more than God or than himself he mindeth.
And after he had brought this thing about,
And of that lust possess'd himself he findeth
That hath and doth reverse, and clean turn out
Kings from kingdoms, and cities undermindeth;
He blinded, thinks this train so blind and close
To blind all thing, that nought may it disclose.

But Nathan hath spied out this treachery,
With rueful chere and sets afore his face
The great offence, outrage, and injury
That he hath done to God as in this case,
By murder for to cloak adultery.
He shew'th him eke from heaven the threats, alas!
So sternly sore, this Prophet, this Nathan,
That all amaz'd this aged, woful man.

Like him that meets with horrour and with fear,
The heat doth straight forsake the limbes cold,
The colour eke droopeth down from his chere;
So doth he feel his fire manyfold;
His heat, his lust, his pleasure all in fere
Consume and waste, and straight his crown of gold,
His purple pall, his sceptre he lets fall,
And to the ground he throw'th himself with-all.

The pompous pride of state and dignity
Forthwith rebates repentant humbleness;
Thinner vile cloth than clotheth poverty
Doth scantly hide and clad his nakedness;
His fair hoar beard of reverent gravity,
With ruffled hair, knowing his wickedness;
More like was he the self same repentance,
Than stately prince of worldly governance.

His harp he taketh in hand to be his guide,
Wherewith he off'reth his plaints, his soul to save,
That from his heart distills on every side.
Withdrawing him into a dark cave
Within the ground, wherein he might him hide,
Flying the light as in prison or grave:
In which as soon as David entered had,
The dark horrour did make his fault a-drad.

But he, without prolonging or delay
Of that, that might his Lord, his God appease,
Fall'th on his knees, and with his harp, I say,
Afore his breast fraughted with disease
Of stormy sighs, his chere coloured like clay,
Dressed upright, seeking to counterpese
His song with sighs, and touching of the strings,
With tender heart, lo! thus to God he sings.

PSALM VI.

O LORD! since my mouth thy mighty name
Suffer'th itself, my Lord, to name and to call,
Here hath my heart hope taken by the same;
That the repentance which I have, and shall,
May at thy hand seek mercy, as the thing
Only comfort of wretched sinners all.
Whereby I dare with humble bemoaning,
By thy goodness of thee this thing require;
Chastise me not for my deserving,
According to thy just conceived ire.
O Lord! I dread, and that I did not dread
I me repent, and evermore desire
Thee, Thee to dread. I open here and spread
My fault to thee; but thou for thy goodness
Measure it not, in largeness nor in breade.
Punish it not as asketh the greatness
Of thy furour, provok'd by mine offence:
Temper, O Lord! the harm of my excess
With mending will, that I for recompence
Prepare again; and rather pity me,
For I am weak, and clean without defence:

More is the need I have of remedy.
For of the whole the leche taketh no cure;
The sheep that stray'th the shepherd seeks to see:
I, Lord, am stray'd. I sick without recure.
Feel all my limbs that have rebelled, for fear
Shake; in despair unless thou me assure.
My flesh is troubled; my heart doth fear the spear,
That dread of death, of death that ever lasts,
Threateth of right, and draweth near and near.
Much more my soul is troubled by the blasts
Of these assaults, that come as thick as hail,
Of worldly vanity, that temptation casts
Against the weak bulwark of the flesh frail,
Wherein the soul in great perplexity
Feeleth the senses with them that assail
Conspire, corrupt by use and vanity;
Whereby the wretch doth to the shadow resort
Of hope in Thee, in this extremity.
But thou, O Lord! how long after this sort
Forbearest thou to see my misery?
Suffer me yet in hope of some comfort,
Fear and not feel that thou forgettest me.
Return, O Lord! O Lord! I thee beseech,
Unto thy old, wonted benignity.
Reduce, revive my soul; be thou the leche,
And reconcile the great hatred and strife
That it hath ta'en against the flesh, the wretch
That stirred hath thy wrath by filthy life.
See! how my soul doth freat it to the bones
Inward remorse, so sharp'th it like a knife,

That, but Thou help the caitiff that bemoans
His great offence, it turns anon to dust.
Here hath thy mercy matter for the nones.
For if thy righteous hand, that is so just,
Suffer no sin, or strike with dampnation,
Thy infinite mercy want nedes it must
Subject matter for his operation:
For that in death there is no memory;
Among the dampned nor yet no mention
Of thy great name, ground of all glory.
Then if I die, and go where-as I fear
To think thereon, how shall thy great mercy
Sound in my mouth unto the worldès ear?
For there is none that can Thee laud, and love,
For that thou wilt no love among them there.
Suffer my cries thy mercy for to move,
That wonted is, a hundred years' offence
In moment of repentance to remove.
How oft have I call'd up with diligence
This slothful flesh long afore the day,
For to confess his fault and negligence
That to the den, for aught that I could say,
Hath still return'd to shrowd himself from cold:
Whereby it suffers now for such delay
By nightly plaints, instead of pleasures old.
I wash my bed with tears continual,
To dull my sight, that it be never bold
To stir my heart again, to such a fall.
Thus dry I up among my foes in woe,
That with my fall do rise and grow withal,

And me beset even now where I am, so
With secret traps to trouble my penance.
Some do present to my weeping eyes, lo!
The chere, the manner, beauty or countenance
Of her, whose look, alas! did make me blind.
Some other offer to my remembrance
Those pleasant words, now bitter to my mind:
And some shew me the power of my armour,
Triumph and conquest, and to my head assign'd
Double diadem; some shew the favour
Of people frail, palace, pomp, and riches.
To these Mermaids, and their baits of errour
I stop my ears, with help of thy goodness;
And (for I feel it cometh alone of Thee
That to my heart these foes have none access)
I dare them bid avoid, wretches! and flee.
The Lord hath heard the voice of my complaint!
Your engines take no more effect in me.
The Lord hath heard, I say, and seen me faint
Under your hand, and pitieth my distress,
He shall do make my senses by constraint
Obey the rule that reason shall express;
Where the deceit of your glosing bait
Made them usurp a power in all excess.
Shamed be they all that so lie in wait
To compass me, by missing of their prey;
Shame and rebuke redound to such deceit.
Sudden confusion, as stroke without delay,
Shall so deface their crafty suggestion,
That they to hurt my health no more assay;
Since I, O Lord, remain in thy protection.

THE AUTHOR.

Whoso hath seen the sick in his fever,
After truce taken with the heat or cold,
And that the fit is past of his fervour,
Draw fainting sighs; let him I say behold
Sorrowful David, after his langour.
That with the tears that from his eyes down roll'd,
Paused his plaint, and laïd adown his harp,
Faithful record of all his sorrows sharp.

It seemed now that of his fault the horrour
Did make a-fear'd no more his hope of grace;
The threat whereof, in horrible terrour
Did hold his heart as in despair a space,
Till he had will'd to seek for his succour,
Himself accusing, be-knowing his case,
Thinking so best his Lord for to appease:
Eas'd, not yet heal'd, he feeleth his disease.

Now seemeth horrible no more the dark cave,
That erst did make his fault for to tremble;
A place devout, or refuge for to save
The succourless it rather doth resemble.
For who had seen so kneel, within the grave
The chief pastor of the Hebrews' assemble,

Would judge it made by tears of penitence
A sacred place, worthy of reverence.

With vapour'd eyes he looketh here and there;
And when he hath a-while himself bethought,
Gathering his spirtes that were dismay'd for fear,
His harp again unto his hand he raught,
Tuning accord by judgment of his ear;
His heart's bottom for a sigh he sought,
And there-withal, upon the hollow tree
With strained voice, again thus orieth he.

PSALM XXXII.

Oh! happy are they that have forgiveness got
Of their offence, not by their penitence
As by merit, which recompenceth not,
(Although that yet pardon hath none offence
Without the same) but by the goodness
Of Him that hath perfect intelligence
Of heart contrite, and cover'th the greatness
Of sin, within a merciful discharge.
And happy are they that have the wilfulness
Of lust restrain'd afore it went at large,
Provoked by the dread of God's furour;
Whereby they have not on their backs the charge
Of other's fault to suffer the dolour,
For that their fault was never execute
In open sight, example of errour.
And happy is he, to whom God doth impute
No more his fault, by knowledging his sin,
But cleansed now the Lord doth him repute,
As adder fresh new stripped from his skin;
Nor in his sprite is aught undiscover'd,
I, for because I hid it still within,
Thinking by state in fault to be preferr'd,
Do find by hiding of my fault my harm:
As he that feels his health to be hinder'd

By secret wound, concealed from the charm
Of leche's cure, that else had had redress;
And feel my bones consume and wax unfirm
By daily rage, roaring in excess.
Thy heavy hand on me was so increas'd
Both day and night, and held my heart in press
With pricking thoughts, by reaving me my rest,
That withered is my lustiness away,
As summer heats that hath the green oppress'd..
Wherefore I did another way assay,
And sought forthwith to open in thy sight
My fault, my fear, my filthiness, I say,
And not to hide from Thee my great unright.
" I shall, "quoth I," against myself confess
" Unto the Lord, all my sinful plight."
And Thou forth-with did'st wash the wickedness,
Of mine offence; of truth right thus it is.
Wherefore they that have tasted thy goodness,
At me shall take example as of this,
And pray, and seek in time for time of grace.
Then shall the storms and floods of harm him miss
And him to reach shall never have the space.
Thou art my refuge, and only safeguard
From the troubles that compass me the place.
Such joy as he, that scapes his en'mies ward
With loosed bands, hath in his liberty,
Such joy my joy Thou hast to me prepar'd.
That as the seaman in his jeopardy
By sudden light perceived hath the port;
So by thy great merciful property,

Within thy book thus read I my comfort.
" I shall thee teach and give understanding,
" And point to Thee, what way thou shalt resort
" For thy address, to keep thee from wand'ring;
" Mine eye shall take the charge to be thy guide.
" I ask thereto of thee alone this thing;
" Be not like horse or mule that man doth ride,
" That not alone doth not his master know,
" But for the good thou dost him must be tied,
" And bridled lest his guide he bite, or throw."
Oh! diverse are the chastisings of sin!
In meat, in drink, in breath that man doth blow;
In sleep, in watch, in fretting still within
That never suffer rest unto the mind
Fill'd with offence, that new and new begin
With thousand fears the heart to strain and bind.
But for all this he that in God doth trust,
With mercy shall himself defended find.
Joy! and rejoice! I say ye that be just,
In HIM that mak'th and holdeth you so still:
In HIM your glory always set you must,
All ye that be of upright heart and will.

THE AUTHOR.

This song ended, David did stint his voice;
And in that while about he with his eye
Did seek the cave, with which withouten noise
His silence seemed to argue, and reply.
Upon this peace, this peace that did rejoice
The soul with mercy, that mercy so did cry;
And found mercy at plentiful Mercy's hand,
Never denied, but where it was withstand.

As the servant in his masters' face
Finding pardon of his passed offence,
Considering his great goodness, and his grace
Glad tears distills, as gladsome recompence;
Right so David, that seemed in that place
A marble image, of singular reverence
Carv'd in the rock, with eyes and hand on high
Made as by craft to plain, to sobb, to sigh.

This while a beam THAT BRIGHT SUN forth sends,
THAT SUN the which was never cloud could hide,
Pierceth the cave, and on the harp descends;
Whose glancing light the chords did over-glide,
And such lustre upon the harp extends,
As light of lamp upon the gold clean tried;
The turn whereof into his eyes did start,
Surpris'd with joy by penance of the heart.

He, then inflam'd with far more hot affect
Of God, than he was erst of Barsabè,
His left foot did on the earth erect,
And just thereby remain'th the t'other knee;
To the left side his weight he doth direct.
Sure hope of health and harp again tak'th he:
His hand his tune, his mind sought his lay,
Which to the Lord with sober voice did say.

PSALM XXXVIII.

O Lord! as I have thee both pray'd and pray,
(Although in Thee be no alteration,
But that we men like as ourselves we say,
Measuring thy justice by our mutation)
Chastise me not, O Lord! in thy furour,
Nor me correct in wrathful castigation.
For that thy arrows of fear, of terrour,
Of sword, of sickness, of famine, and of fire,
Stickes deep in me, I, lo! from mine errour
Am plunged up, as horse out of the mire
With stroke of spur. Such is thy hand on me
That in my flesh, for terrour of thy ire
Is not one point of firm stability;
Nor in my bones there is no stedfastness:
Such is my dread of mutability;
For that I know my frailful wickedness.
For why? my sins above my head are bound,
Like heavy weight that doth my force oppress,
Under the which I stoop and bow to ground
As willow plant, haled by violence;
And of my flesh each not well cured wound

That fester'd is by folly and negligence,
By secret lust hath rankled under skin,
Not duly cured by my penitence.
Perceiving thus the tyranny of sin,
That with his weight hath humbled and depress'd
My pride; by grudging of the worm within
That never dieth, I live withouten rest.
So are mine entrails infect with fervent sore,
Feeding the harm that hath my wealth oppress'd,
That in my flesh is left no health therefore;
So wonderous great hath been my vexation,
That it hath forc'd my heart to cry and roar.
O Lord! thou know'st the inward contemplation
Of my desire; thou know'st my sighs and plaints;
Thou know'st the tears of my lamentation
Cannot express my heart's inward restraints.
My heart panteth; my force I feel it quail;
My sight, mine eyes, my look decays and faints.
And when mine enemies did me most assail,
My friends most sure wherein I set most trust,
Mine own virtues soonest then did fail,
And stand apart; reason and wit unjust,
As kin unkind, were farthest gone at need;
So had they place their venom out to thrust
That sought my death, by naughty word and deed.
Their tongues reproach, their wit did fraud apply,
And I like deaf and dumb, forth my way yede,
Like one that hears not, nor hath to reply
One word again, knowing that from thy hand,
These things proceed, and thou, Lord, shalt supply

My trust in thee, wherein I stick and stand.
Yet have I had great cause to dread and fear,
That thou would'st give my foes the over hand;
For in my fall they shew'd such pleasant chere.
And therewithal, I alway in the lash
Abide the stroke, and with me every where
I bear my fault, that greatly doth abash
My doleful chere; for I my fault confess,
And my desert doth all my comfort dash.
In the mean while mine en'mies safe increase,
And my provokers hereby do augment,
That without cause to hurt me do not cease.
In evil for good against me they be bent,
And hinder shall my good pursuit of grace.
Lo! now my God, that seest my whole intent,
My Lord, I am thou know'st well in what case.
Forsake me not! be not far from me gone!
Haste to my help! haste Lord, and haste apace!
O Lord! the Lord of all my health alone!

THE AUTHOR.

LIKE as the pilgrim that in a long way
Fainting for heat, provoked by some wind
In some fresh shade lieth down at mid of day;
So doth of David the wearied voice and mind
Take breath of sighs, when he had sung this lay
Under such shade as sorrow hath assign'd;
And as the t' one still minds his voyage' end,
So doth the t'other to mercy still pretend.

On sonour chords his fingers he extends,
Without hearing or judgment of the sound;
Down from his eyes a storm of tears descends,
Without feeling that trickle on the ground.
As he that bleeds in bain right so intends
Th' alter'd senses to that that they are bound.
But sigh and weep he can none other thing,
And look up still unto the heaven's King.

But who had been without the cavês mouth
And heard the tears and sighs that he did strain;
He would have sworn there had out of the south
A luke-warm wind brought forth a smoky rain.

But that so close the cave was and unkouth
That none but God was record of his pain,
Else had the wind blown in all Israel's ears
The woeful plaint, and of their King the tears.

Of which some part when he up supped had,
Like as he whom his own thoughts affrays,
He turns his look: him seemeth that the shade
Of his offence again his force assays
By violence despair on him to lade.
Starting like him whom sudden fear dismays,
His voice he strains, and from his heart out brings
This song, that I not whether he cries or sings.

PSALM LI.

RUE on me, Lord! for thy goodness and grace,
That of thy nature art so bountiful;
For that goodness, that in the world doth brace
Repugnant natures in quiet wonderful;
And for thy mercies, number without end
In heaven and earth perceiv'd so plentiful,
That over all they do themselves extend:
For those mercies, much more than man can sin,
Do away my sins, that so thy grace offend.
Oh! again wash me; but wash me well within,
And from my sin that thus maketh me afraid,
Make thou me clean, as aye thy wont hath been.
For unto Thee no number can be laid
For to prescribe remissions of offence
In hearts returned, as thou thyself hast said.
And I beknow my fault, my negligence,
And in my sight my sin is fixed fast,
Thereof to have more perfect penitence.
To Thee alone, to Thee have I trespass'd;
For none can measure my fault but Thou alone.
For in thy sight, I have not been agast

For to offend: judging thy sight as none,
So that my fault were hid from sight of man:
Thy majesty so from my mind was gone.
This know I, and repent: pardon Thou then:
Whereby Thou shalt keep still thy word stable,
Thy justice, pure and clean; because that when
I pardon'd am, then forthwith justly able
Just I am judg'd by justice of thy grace.
For I myself, lo! thing most unstable,
Formed in offence, conceived in like case,
Am nought but sin from my nativity.
Be not this said for mine excuse, alas!
But of thy help to shew necessity.
For lo! Thou lovest the truth of inward heart,
Which yet doth live in my fidelity,
Though I have fallen by failty overthwart;
For wilful malice led me not the way,
So much as hath the flesh drawn me apart.
Wherefore, O Lord! as thou hast done alway,
Teach me the hidden wisdom of thy lore,
Since that my faith doth not yet decay.
And, as the Jews do heal the leper sore,
With hissop cleanse, cleanse me and I am clean.
Thou shalt me wash, and more than snow therefore
I shall be white, how foul my fault hath been.
Thou of my health, shalt gladsome tidings bring,
When from above remission shall be seen
Desend on earth; then shall for joy up spring
The bones, that were afore consum'd to dust.
Look not, O Lord! upon mine offending,

But do away my deeds that are unjust.
Make a clean heart in the midst of my breast,
With sprite upright, voided from filthy lust.
From thine eyes cure cast me not in unrest,
Nor take from me thy Spirit of Holiness.
Render to me joy of thy help and rest;
My will confirm with the Spirit of Stedfastness;
And by this shall these godly things ensue:
Sinners I shall into thy ways address;
They shall return to Thee and thy grace sue.
My tongue shall praise thy justification;
My mouth shall spread thy glorious praises true.
But of thyself, O God! this operation
It must proceed, by purging me from blood,
Among the just that I may have relation.
And of thy lauds for to let out the flood,
Thou must O Lord! my lips first unloose.
For if thou hadd'st esteemed pleasant good
The outward deeds, that outward men disclose,
I would have offer'd unto Thee sacrifice.
But Thou delightest not in no such glose
Of outward deed, as men dream and devise.
The sacrifice that the Lord liketh most,
Is spirit contrite; low heart in humble wise
Thou dost accept, O God, for pleasant host.
Make Sion, Lord, according to thy will!
Inward Sion, the Sion of the ghost,
Of heart's Jerusalem strength the walls still.
Then shalt Thou take for good these outward deeds
As sacrifice, thy pleasure to fulfil:
Of Thee alone thus all our good proceeds.

THE AUTHOR.

Of deep secrets that David here did sing,
Of Mercy, of Faith, of Frailty, of Grace,
Of God's goodness, and of Justifying,
The greatness did so astonny himself a space,
As who might say; "Who hath express'd this thing?
"I sinner! I! what have I said? alas!
"That God's goodness would within my song entreat?
"Let me again consider and repeat."

And so he doth; but not express'd by word,
But in his heart he turneth and praiseth
Each word that erst his lips might forth afford.
He points, he pauseth, he wonders, he poizeth
The Mercy that hides of Justice the sword;
The Justice that so his promise complisheth
For his word's sake to worthiless desert,
That gratis his graces to men doth depart.

Here hath he comfort when he doth measure
Measureless mercies, to measureless fault.
To prodigal sinners infinite treasure;
Treasure termless that never shall default.

Yea! when that sin shall fail, and may not dure,
Mercy shall reign; 'gain whom shall not assault
Of hell prevail; by whom, lo! at this day
Of Heaven gates Remission is the kay.

And when David had pondered well and tried,
And seeth himself not utterly deprived
From light of Grace, that dark of sin did hide;
He finds his hope so much therewith revived,
He dare importune the Lord, on every side.
For he know'th well to Mercy is ascribed
Respectless labour, importune cry, and call;
And thus beginneth his song therewithal.

PSALM CII.

LORD! hear my prayer, and let my cry pass
Unto thee, Lord, without impediment.
Do not from me turn thy merciful face,
Unto myself leaving my government.
In time of trouble and adversity
Incline to me thine ear, and thine intent;
And when I call help mine necessity;
Readily grant th' effect of my desire.
These bold demands do please thy Majesty;
And eke my case such haste doth well require.
For like as smoke my days been past away,
My bones dried up, as furnace with the fire.
My heart, my mind, is wither'd up like hay,
Because I have forgot to take my bread,
My bread of life, the word of Truth, I say.
And for my plaintful sighs, and my dread,
My bones, my strength, my very force of mind
Cleaves to the flesh, and from the sprite were fled,
As desperate thy mercy for to find.
So made I me the solaine pelican;
And like the owl that flieth by proper kind
Light of the day, and hath herself beta'en
To pining life, out of all company.
With waker care, that with this woe began,

Like the sparrow I was solitary,
That sits alone, under the houses eaves.
This while my foes conspir'd continually,
And did provoke the harm of my disease.
Wherefore like ashes my bread did me savour,
Of thy just word the taste might not me please.
Wherefore my drink I temper'd with liquor
Of weeping tears, that from mine eyes do rain,
Because I knew the wrath of thy furour
Provok'd by right, had of my pride disdain.
For thou did'st lift me up to throw me down,
To teach me how to know myself again;
Whereby I knew that helpless I should drown.
My days like shadow decline, and I do dry,
And Thee, for ever eternity doth crown;
World without end doth last thy memory.
For this frailty that yoketh all mankind
Thou shalt awake, and rue this misery.
Rue on Sion! Sion, that as I find
Is the people that live under thy law.
For now is time, the time at hand assign'd,
The time so long that doth thy servants draw
In great desire, to see that pleasant day;
Day of redeeming Sion from sin's awe.
For they have ruth to see in such decay,
In dust, and stones, this wretched Sion lower.
Then the Gentiles shall dread thy name alway;
All earthly kings thy glory shall honour.
Then, when that grace thy Sion thus redeem'th,
When thus Thou hast declar'd thy mighty power,

The Lord his servants wishes so esteem'th
That He him turn'th unto the poor's request.
To our descent this to be written seem'th,
Of all comforts as consolation best:
And they that then shall be regenerate,
Shall praise the Lord therefore, both most and least.
For He hath look'd from the height of his estate;
The Lord from heaven in earth hath look'd on us,
To hear the moan of them that are algate
In foul bondage; to loose, and to discuss
The sons of death out from their deadly bond,
To give thereby occasion gracious
In this Sion his holy name to stond;
And in Jerusalem his lauds, lasting aye,
When in one Church, the people of the lond,
And realms, been gather'd to serve, to laud, to pray
The Lord alone, so just and merciful.
But to this sample, running in the way,
My strength faileth to reach it at the full.
He hath abridged my days, they may not dure
To see that term, that term so wonderful,
Although I have with hearty will, and cure
Pray'd to the Lord, take me not Lord! away
In the midst of my years; though thine ever sure
Remain eterne, whom time cannot decay.
Thou wrought'st the earth, thy hands th' heavens did make:
They shall perish, and Thou shalt last alway;
And all things age shall wear and overtake
Like cloth, and Thou shalt change them like apparel,
Turn and translate, and they in worth it take.

But Thou thyself the self remainest, well
That Thou was erst, and shalt thy years extend.
Then since to this there may nothing rebel,
The greatest comfort that I can pretend,
Is, that the children of thy servants dear
That in thy word are got, shall without end
Before thy face be stablish'd all in fear.

THE AUTHOR.

When David had perceived in his breast
The Spirit of God return, that was exil'd;
Because he knew he hath alone express'd
These great things, that greater Spirit compil'd;
As shawm, or pipe lets out the sound impress'd
By music's art forged tofore, and fil'd;
I say, when David had perceived this,
The spirit of comfort in him revived is.

For thereupon he maketh argument
Of reconciling, unto the Lord's grace;
Although sometime to prophecy have lent
Both brute beasts, and wicked hearts a place.
But our David judgeth in his intent
Himself by penance clean out of this case;
Whereby he hath remission of offence,
And ginneth to allow his pain and penitence.

But when he weight'h the fault and recompense,
He damneth his deed; and findeth plain
Atween them two no whit equivalence,
Whereby he takes all outward deed in vain,
To bear the name of rightful penitence,
Which is alone the heart returned again;
And sore contrite, that doth his fault bemoan,
And outward deed the sign or fruit alone.

With this he doth defend the sly assault
Of vain allowance of his void desert;
And all the glory of his forgiven fault,
To God alone he doth it whole convert.
His own merit he findeth in default;
And whilst he ponder'd these things in his heart,
His knee his arm, his hand sustained his chin,
When he his song again thus did begin.

PSALM CXXX.

From depth of sin, and from a deep despair,
From depth of death, from depth of heart's sorrow,
From this deep cave of darkness deep repair,
Thee have I called, O Lord! to be my borrow.
Thou in my voice, O Lord! perceive and hear
My heart, my hope, my plaint, my overthrow,
My will to rise; and let, by grant, appear
That to my voice thine ears do well entend.
No place so far that to Thee is not near,
No depth so deep that thou ne may'st extend
Thine ear thereto; hear then my woeful plaint,
For, Lord, if thou do observe what men offend,
And put thy native mercy in restraint;
If just exaction demand recompence,
Who may endure, O Lord! who shall not faint
At such accompt? dread, and not reverence
Should so reign large: but thou seeks rather love;
For in thy hand is Mercy's residence,
By hope whereof Thou dost our hearts move.
I in the Lord have set my confidence;
My soul such trust doth evermore approve.
Thy holy word of eterne excellence,
Thy mercy's promise that is alway just,
Have been my stay, my pillar, and pretence.

My soul in God hath more desirous trust,
Than hath the watchman looking for the day,
By the relief to quench of sleep the thrust.
Let Israel trust unto the Lord alway;
For grace and favour are his property.
Plenteous ransom shall come with him I say,
And shall redeem all our iniquity.

THE AUTHOR.

THIS word, " Redeem," that in his mouth did sound,
Did put David, it seemeth unto me,
As in a trance to stare upon the ground,
And with his thought the height of heav'n to see;
Where he beholds the WORD that should confound
The word of death, by humble ear to be
In mortal maid, in mortal habit made:
Eternal life in mortal vail to shade.

He seeth that WORD, when full ripe time should come
Do way that vail, by fervent affection,
Torn of with death (for Death should have her doom)
And leapeth lighter from such corruption.
The glint of light that in the air doth lome
Man redeemeth; death hath her destruction;
That mortal vail hath immortality;
David, assurance of his iniquity:

Whereby he frames this reason in his heart.
" That goodness, which doth not forbear his Son
" From death for me, and can thereby convert
" My death to life, my sin to salvation,

" Both can, and will a smaller grace depart
" To him that sueth, by humble supplication:
" And since I have this larger grace assay'd,
" To ask this thing why am I then afraid?"

" He granteth most to them, that most do crave;
" And He delights in suit without respect.
" Alas! my son pursues me to the grave,
" Suffered by God, my sin for to correct.
" But of my sin since I may pardon have,
" My son's pursuit shall shortly be reject;
" Then will I crave with sured confidence."
And thus begins the suit of his pretence.

PSALM CXLIII.

HEAR my prayer, O Lord! hear my request!
Complish my boon! answer to my desire!
Not by desert, but for thine own behest
In whose firm truth Thou promis'd mine empire
To stand stable; and after thy justice
Perform, O Lord! the thing that I require.
But not of law after the form and guise
To enter judgment, with the thrall bond slave
To plead his right, for in such manner wise,
Before thy sight no man his right shall save.
For of myself, lo! this my rightwiseness
By scourge and whip, and pricking spurs I have
Scant risen up, such is my beastliness.
For that, mine enemy hath pursu'd my life,
And in the dust hath soil'd my lustiness;
For that, to flee his rage so rife
He hath me forc'd as dead to hide my head.
And for because within myself at strife

My heart, and sprite, with all my force were fled,
I had recourse to times that have been past,
And did remember thy deeds in all my dread,
And did peruse thy works that ever last;
Whereby I know above those wonders all
Thy mercies were. Then lift I up in haste
My hands to Thee; my soul to Thee did call,
Like barren soil, for moisture of thy grace.
Haste to my help, O Lord! afore I fall,
For sure I feel my sprite doth faint apace.
Turn not thy face from me, that I be laid
In compt of them, that headling down do pass
Into the pit; shew me by-times thine aid,
For on thy grace I wholly do depend:
And in thy hand since all my health is staid,
Do me to know what way thou wilt I bend;
For unto thee, I have rais'd up my mind.
Rid me O Lord! from them that do entend
My foes to be; for I have me assigned
Alway within thy secret protection.
Teach me thy will, that I by that may find
The way to work the same in affection.
For Thou, my God! thy blessed Spirit upright,
In land of truth shall be my direction
Thou for thy name, Lord, shalt revive my sprite
Within the right that I receive by Thee,
Whereby my life of danger shall be quite.

Thou hast fordone the great iniquity
That vex'd my soul; Thou shalt also confound
My foes, O Lord! for thy benignity;
For thine am I, thy servant aye most bound.

FINIS.

¶ Cum privilegio ad imprimendum
Solum.
M. D. XL. IX.
The last day of December.

The Lord his servants wishes so esteemeth
That He him turneth unto their poor request.

SONNETS, RONDEAUX,

AND

ODES.

SONNETS.

The Lover despairing to attain unto his Lady's grace relinquisheth the pursuit.

Whoso list to hunt? I know where is an hind!
But as for me, helas! I may no more,
The vain travail hath wearied me so sore;
I am of them that furthest come behind.
Yet may I by no means my wearied mind
Draw from the deer; but as she fleeth afore
Fainting I follow; I leave off therefore,
Since in a net I seek to hold the wind.
Who list her hunt, I put him out of doubt
As well as I, may spend his time in vain!
And graven with diamonds in letters plain,
There is written her fair neck round about;
" Noli me tangere; for Cæsar's I am,
" And wild for to hold, though I seem tame."

The deserted Lover consoleth himself with remembrance that all women are by nature fickle.

Divers doth use, as I have heard and know,
When that to change their Ladies do begin
To mourn, and wail, and never for to lynn;
Hoping thereby to pease their painful woe.

And some there be that when it chanceth so
That women change, and hate where love hath been,
They call them false, and think with words to win
The hearts of them which otherwhere doth grow.
But as for me, though that by chance indeed
Change hath outworn the favour that I had,
I will not wail, lament, nor yet be sad,
Nor call her false that falsely did me feed;
But let it pass, and think it is of Kind
That often change doth please a woman's mind.

That Hope unsatisfied is to the Lover's heart as a prolonged death.

I abide, and abide; and better abide,
After the old proverb the happy day.
And ever my Lady to me doth say,
"Let me alone, and I will provide."
I abide, and abide, and tarry the tide,
And with abiding speed well ye may.
Thus do I abide I wot alway,
N' other obtaining, nor yet denied.
Aye me! this long abiding
Seemeth to me, as who sayèth
A prolonging of a dying death,
Or a refusing of a desired thing.
Much were it better for to be plain,
Then to say, "Abide," and yet not obtain.

He prayeth his Lady to be true; for no one can restrain a willing mind.

THOUGH I myself be bridled of my mind,
Returning me backward by force express;
If thou seek honour, to keep thy promess
Who may thee hold, but thou thyself unbind?
Sigh then no more, since no way man may find
Thy virtue to let, though that frowardness
Of Fortune me holdeth; and yet as I may guess
Though other be present thou art not all behind.
Suffice it then that thou be ready there
At all hours; still under the defence
Of Time, Truth, and Love to save thee from offence.
Crying I burn in a lovely desire,
With my dear Mistress that may not follow;
Whereby mine absence turneth me to sorrow.

The deserted Lover wisheth that his rival might experience the same fortune he himself had tasted.

To rail or jest, ye know I use it not;
Though that such cause sometime in folks I find.
And though to change ye list to set your mind,
Love it who list, in faith I like it not.

And if ye were to me, as ye are not,
I would be loth to see you so unkind:
But since your fault must needs be so by kind;
Though I hate it I pray you love it not.
Things of great weight I never thought to crave,
This is but small; of right deny it not:
Your feigning ways, as yet forget them not.
But like reward let other Lovers have;
That is to say, for service true and fast,
Too long delays, and changing at the last.

RONDEAUX.

The Lover seeking for his lost Heart prayeth that it may be kindly entreated by whomsoever found.

HELP me to seek! for I lost it there;
And if that ye have found it, ye that be here,
And seek to convey it secretly,
Handle it soft, and treat it tenderly,
Or else it will plain, and then appair.

But pray restore it mannerly,
Since that I do ask it thus honestly,
For to lese it, it sitteth me near;
Help me to seek!

Alas! and is there no remedy:
But have I thus lost it wilfully.
I wis it was a thing all too dear
To be bestowed, and wist not where.
It was mine heart! I pray you heartily
Help me to seek.

He determineth to cease to love.

For to love her for her looks lovely,
My heart was set in thought right firmly,
Trusting by truth to have had redress;
But she hath made another promess,
And hath given me leave full honestly.

Yet do I not rejoice it greatly;
For on my faith I loved too surely,
But reason will that I do cesse,
For to love her.

Since (that in love the pains been deadly,)
Methink it best that readily
I do return to my first address;
For at this time too great is the press,
And perils appear too abundantly,
For to love her.

Of the folly of loving when the season of love is past.

Ye old mule! that think yourself so fair,
Leave off with craft your beauty to repair,
For it is time without any fable;
No man setteth now by riding in your saddle!
Too much travail so do your train appair
Ye old mule!

With false favour though you deceive th'ayes,
Who so taste you shall well perceive your layes
Savoureth somewhat of a keeper's stable;
Ye old mule!

Ye must now serve to market, and to fair,
All for the burthen, for panniers a pair;
For since grey hairs ben powder'd in your sable,
The thing ye seek for, you must yourself enable
To purchase it by payment and by prayer;
Ye old mule!

The abused Lover resolveth to forget his unkind Mistress.

What no, perdie! ye may be sure!
Think not to make me to your lure,
With words and chere so contrarying,
Sweet and sower countre-weighing,
Too much it were still to endure.

Truth is tried, where craft is in ure,
But though ye have had my heartes cure,
Trow ye! I doat without ending?
What no, perdie!

Though that with pain I do procure
For to forget that once was pure;

Within my heart shall still that thing
Unstable, unsure, and wanvering,
Be in my mind without recure?
What no, perdie!

The absent Lover persuadeth himself that his Mistress will not have the power to forsake him.

If it be so that I forsake thee,
As banished from thy company;
Yet my heart, my mind and my affection,
Shall still remain in thy perfection,
And right as thou list so order me.

But some would say in their opinion,
Revolted is thy good intention.
Then may I well blame thy cruelty,
If it be so.

But myself I say on this fashion;
"I have her heart in my possession,
"And of itself cannot, perdie!
"By no means love, an heartless body!"
And on my faith good is the reason,
If it be so.

The recured Lover renounceth his fickle Mistress for her new-fangleness.

Thou hast no faith of him that hath none,
But thou must love him needs by reason;
For as saith a proverb notable,
Each thing seeketh his semblable,
And thou hast thine of thy condition.

Yet is it not the thing I pass on,
Nor hot nor cold is mine affection!
For since thine heart is so mutable,
Thou hast no faith.

I thought thee true without exception,
But I perceive I lacked discretion;
To fashion faith to words mutable,
Thy thought is too light and variable
To change so oft without occasion.
Thou hast no faith!

ODES.

The faithful Lover giveth to his Mistress his heart as his best and only treasure.

To seek each where where man doth live,
The sea, the land, the rock, the clive,
France, Spain, and Inde, and every where;
Is none a greater gift to give,
Less set by oft, and is so leif and dear,
Dare I well say, than that I give to year.

I cannot give broaches nor rings,
These goldsmith work, and goodly things,
Pierrie, nor pearl, orient and clear;
But for all that can no man bring,
Lieffer jewel unto his lady dear,
Dare I well say, than that I give to year.

Nor I seek not to fetch it far;
Worse is it not tho' it be narr,
And as it is, it doth appear
Uncounterfeit mistrust to bar.
It is both whole, and pure, withouten peer,
Dare I will say, the gift I give to year.

To thee therefore the same retain;
The like of thee to have again
France would I give, if mine it were.
Is none alive in whom doth reign
Lesser disdain; freely therefore lo! here
Dare I well give, I say, my heart to year.

A description of the sorrow of True Lover's parting.

THERE was never nothing more me pain'd,
Nor more my pity mov'd,
As when my sweet-heart her complain'd,
That ever she me lov'd.
Alas! the while!

With piteous look she said, and sight,
"Alas! what aileth me?
"To love, and set my wealth so light,
"On him that loveth not me;
"Alas! the while!

"Was I not well void of all pain,
"When that nothing me griev'd?
"And now with sorrows I must complain,
"And cannot be reliev'd,
"Alas! the while!

"My restful nights, and joyful days,
"Since I began to love
"Be take from me; all thing decays,
"Yet can I not remove,
"Alas! the while!

She wept and wrung her hands with all,
The tears fell in my neck:
She turned her face, and let it fall;
And scarce therewith could speak:
Alas! the while!

Her pains tormented me so sore
That comfort had I none,
But cursed my fortune more and more
To see her sob and groan,
Alas! the while!

The neglected Lover calleth on his stony hearted Mistress to hear him complain ere that he die.

Heaven, and earth, and all that hear me plain
Do well perceive what care doth make me cry;
Save you alone, to whom I cry in vain;
Mercy, Madam, alas! I die, I die!

If that you sleep, I humbly you require
Forbear a while, and let your rigour slake,
Since that by you I burn thus in this fire;
To hear my plaint, dear heart, awake! awake!

Since that so oft ye have made me to wake
In plaint, and tears, and in right piteous case;
Displease you not if force do now me make
To break your sleep, crying alas! alas!

It is the last trouble that ye shall have
Of me, Madam, to hear my last complaint;
Pity at least your poor unhappy slave,
For in despair, alas! I faint, I faint.

It is not now, but long and long ago
I have you served, as to my power and might
As faithfully as any man might do;
Claiming of you nothing of right, of right.

Save of your grace only to stay my life
That fleeth as fast as cloud before the wind;
For since that first I entered in this strife,
An inward death hath fret my mind, my mind.

If I had suffered this to you unware
Mine were the fault, and you nothing to blame;
But since you know my woe and all my care,
Why do I die, alas! for shame! for shame!

I know right well my face, my look, my tears,
Mine eyes, my words, and eke my dreary chere
Have cried my death full oft unto your ears;
Hard of belief it doth appear, appear.

A better proof I see that ye would have;
How I am dead, therefore, when ye hear tell
Believe it not, although ye see my grave;
Cruel! unkind! I say farewell! farewell!

He rejoiceth the obtaining the favour of the Mistress of his heart.

After great storms the calm returns,
And pleasanter it is thereby;
Fortune likewise that often turns,
Hath made me now the most happy.

Th' Heaven that pitied my distress,
My just desire, and my cry;
Hath made my languor to cease,
And me also the most happy.

Whereto despaired ye my friends?
My trust alway in her did lie
That knoweth what my thought intends;
Whereby I live the most happy.

Lo! what can take hope from that heart,
That is assured steadfastly;
Hope therefore ye that live in smart,
Whereby I am the most happy.

And I that have felt of your pain
Shall pray to God continually,
To make your hope, your health retain,
And me also the most happy.

The Lover prayeth Venus to conduct him to the desired haven.

Though this the port, and I thy servant true,
And thou thyself dost cast thy beams from high
From thy chief house, promising to renew
Both joy and eke delight, behold yet how that I
Banished from my bliss, carefully do cry.
Help now Citheræa! my Lady dear.
My fearful trust, "En vogant la Galere."

Alas! the doubt that dreadful absence giveth!
Without thine aid assurance is there none;
The firm faith that in the water fleteth,
Succour thou therefore, in thee it is alone.
Stay that with faith, that faithfully doth moan,
Thou also givest me both hope and fear,
Remember me then, "En vogant Galere."

By seas, and hills elonged from thy sight,
Thy wonted grace reducing to my mind,
Instead of sleep thus I occupy the night;
A thousand thoughts, and many doubts I find,
And still I trust thou can'st not be unkind,
Or else despair my comfort and my chere
Would she forthwith, "En vogant la Galere."

Yet, on my faith! full little doth remain
Of any hope whereby I may myself uphold;
For since that only words do me retain,
I may well think the affection is but cold.
But since my will is nothing as I would,
And in thy hands it resteth whole and clear,
Forget me not, "En vogant la Galere."

The Lover praiseth the beauty of his Lady's hand.

O goodly hand!
Wherein doth stand
My heart distract in pain;
Fair hand, alas!
In little space
My life that do'st restrain.

O! fingers slight,
Departed right,
So long, so small, so round;
Goodly by gone,
And yet alone
Most cruel in my wound.

With lilies white
And roses bright
Doth strive thy colour fair;
Nature did lend
Each finger's end
A pearl for to repair.

Consent at last
Since that thou hast
My heart in thy demain
For service true
On me to rew
And reach me love again.

And if not so,
Then with more-woe
Enforce thyself to strain
This simple heart,
That suffereth smart,
And rid it out of pain.

That the eye bewrayeth alway the secret affections of the heart.

And if an eye may save or slay,
And strike more deep than weapon long;
And if an eye by subtle play,
May move one more than any tongue;
How can ye say that I do wrong,
Thus to suspect without desert?
"For the eye is traitor to the heart."

To frame all well, I am content
That it were done unweetingly;
But yet I say, (who will assent,)
To do but well, do nothing why
That men should deem the contrary;
For it is said by men expert;
"That th' eye is traitor of the heart."

But yet alas! that look, all soul,
That I do claim of right to have,
Should not, methink——go seek the school,
To please all folk, for who can crave
Friendlier thing then heart witsave
By look to give in friendly part;
"For the eye is traitor of the heart."

And my suspect is without blame;
For as ye say, not only I
But other mo have deem'd the same;
Then is it not jealousy,
But subtle look of reckless eye
Did range too far, to make me smart;
"For the eye is traitor of the heart."

But I your Friend shall take it thus,
Since you will so, as stroke of chance;
And leave further for to discuss,
Whether the stroke did stick or glance;
But scuse who can let him advance
Dissembled looks, but for my part,
"My eye must still betray my heart."

And of this grief ye shall be quit,
In helping Truth steadfast to go.
The time is long that Truth doth sit
Feeble and weak, and suffreth woe;
Cherish him well, continue so;
Let him not fro' your heart astart;
"Then fears not the eye to shew the heart."

The Lover complaineth that Faith may not avail without the favour of Fantasy.

If Fancy would favour,
As my deserving shall;
My Love, my Paramour,
Should love me best of all.

But if I cannot attain
The grace that I desire:
Then may I well complain
My service, and my hire.

Fancy doth know how
To further my true heart;
If Fancy might avow
With Faith to take part.

But Fancy is so frail
And flitting still so fast,
That Faith may not prevail
To help me, first nor last.

For Fancy at his lust,
Doth rule all but by guess;
Whereto should I then trust
In truth or steadfastness.

Yet gladly would I please
The fancy of her heart,
That may me only ease
And cure my careful smart.

Therefore, my Lady dear,
Set once your Fantasy
To make some hope appear,
Of steadfast remedy.

For if he be my friend
And undertake my woe
My grief is at an end
If he continue so.

Else Fancy doth not right;
As I deserve and shall,
To have you day and night,
To love me best of all.

That too much confidence sometimes disappointeth hope.

My hope, alas! hath me abused,
And vain rejoicing hath me fed:
Lust and joy have me refused,
And careful plaint is in their stead;
Too much advancing slack'd my speed,
Mirth hath caused my heaviness,
And I remain all comfortles.

Whereto did I assure my thought
Without displeasure steadfastly;
In Fortune's forge my joy was wrought,
And is revolted readily.
I am mistaken wonderly;
For I thought nought but faithfulness;
Yet I remain all comfortless.

In gladsome chere I did delight,
Till that delight did cause my smart,
And all was wrong when I thought right;
For right it was, that my true heart
Should not from Truth be set apart,
Since Truth did cause my hardiness;
Yet I remain all comfortless.

Sometime delight did tune my song,
And led my heart full pleasantly;
And to myself I said among;
"My hap is coming hastily."
But it hath happed contrary.
Assurance causeth my distress,
And I remain all comfortless.

Then if my note now do vary,
And leave his wonted pleasantness;
The heavy burthen that I carry
Hath alter'd all my joyfulness.
No pleasure hath still stedfastness,
But haste hath hurt my happiness;
And I remain allcomfortless.

The Lover bemoaneth his unhappiness that he cannot obtain grace, yet cannot cease loving.

All heavy minds
Do seek to ease their charge;
And that that most them binds
To let at large.

Then why should I
Hold pain within my heart,
And may my tune apply,
To ease my smart.

My faithful Lute
Alone shall hear me plain,
For else all other suit
Is clean in vain.

For where I sue
Redress of all my grief;
Lo! they do most eschew
My heart's relief.

Alas! my dear!
Have I deserved so?
That no help may appear
Of all my woe!

Whom speak I to?
Unkind, and deaf of ear!
Alas! lo! I go,
And wot not where.

Where is my thought?
Where wanders my desire?
Where may the thing be sought
That I require?

Light in the wind
Doth flee all my delight;
Where truth and faithful mind
Are put to flight.

Who shall me give
Feather'd wings for to flee?
The thing that doth me grieve
That I may see!

Who would go seek
The cause whereby to pain?
Who could his foe beseek
For ease of pain!

My chance doth so
My woeful case procure,
To offer to my foe
My heart to cure.

What hope I then
To have any redress!
Of whom, or where, or when?
Who can express!

No! since despair
Hath set me in this case,
In vain is't in the air
To say, Alas!

I seek nothing
But thus for to discharge
My heart of sore sighing,
To plain at large.

And with my lute
Sometime to ease my pain;
For else all other suit
Is clean in vain.

The mournful Lover to his heart with complaint that it will not break.

Comfort thyself, my woeful heart,
Or shortly on thyself thee wreak;
For length redoubleth deadly smart;
Why sigh'st thou, heart! and wilt not break?

To waste in sighs were piteous death;
Alas! I find thee faint and weak.
Enforce thyself to lose thy breath;
Why sigh'st thou, heart! and wilt not break?

Thou knowest right well that no redress
Is thus to pine; and for to speak,
Perdie! it is remediless;
Why sigh'st thou then, and wilt not break?

It is too late for to refuse
The yoke, when it is on thy neck!
To shake it off, vaileth not to muse;
Why sigh'st thou then, and wilt not break?

To sob, and sigh it were but vain,
Since there is none that doth it reck;
Alas! thou dost prolong thy pain;
Why sighs'st thou then, and wilt not break?

Then in her sight to move her heart
Seek on thyself, thyself to wreak,
That she may know thou suffered'st smart;
Sigh there thy last, and therewith break.

The Lover renounces his cruel Love for ever.

Alas! the grief, and deadly woeful smart,
The careful chance, shapen afore my shert,
The sorrowful tears, the sighs hot as fire,
That cruel love hath long soked from my heart!
And for reward of over great desire
Disdainful doubleness have I, for my hire.

O! lost service! O pain ill rewarded!
O! pitiful heart! with pain enlarged!
O! faithful mind! too suddenly assented!
Return, alas! sithens thou art not regarded.
Too great a proof of true faith presented,
Causeth by right such faith to be repented.

O cruel causer of undeserved change,
By great desire unconstantly to range,
Is this your way for proof of steadfastness?
Perdie! you know, the thing was not so strange,
By former proof too much my faithfulness;
What needeth then such coloured doubleness?

I have wailed thus, weeping in nightly pain,
In sobs, and sighs, alas! and all in vain,
In inward plaint, and hearts woeful torment.
And yet, alas! lo! cruelty and disdain
Have set at nought, à faithful true intent,
And price hath privilege truth to prevent.

v.

But though I sterve, and to my death still mourn,
And piece meal in pieces though I be torn;
And though I die, yielding my wearied ghost,
Shall never thing again make me return.
I wite thou . . . . of that that I have lost
To whom so ever lust for to prove most.

A complaint of his Lady's cruelty.

Since ye delight to know,
That my torment and woe
Should still increase
Without release,
I shall enforce me so,
That life and all shall go
For to content your cruelness.

And so this grievous train,
That I too long sustain,
Shall sometime cesse,
And have redress,
And you also remain,
Full pleased with my pain,
For to content your cruelness.

Unless that be too light,
And that ye would ye might,
See the distress,
And heaviness,
Of one slain out right,
Therewith to please your sight,
And to content your cruelness,

Then in your cruel mood
Would God! forthwith ye would
With force express,
My heart oppress,
To do your heart such good,
To see me bathe in blood,
For to content your cruelness.

Then could ye ask no more;
Then should ye ease my sore,
And the excess,
Of my distress;
And you should evermore,
Defamed be therefore,
For to repent your cruelness.

Of the contrary affections of the Lover.

Such hap as I am happed in,
Had never man of truth I ween;
At me Fortune list to begin,
To shew that never hath been seen,
A new kind of unhappiness;
Nor I cannot the thing I mean
Myself express.

Myself express my deadly pain,
That can I well, if that might serve;
But when I have not help again,
That know I not, unless I sterve,
For hunger still amiddes my food
[Lacking the thing] that I deserve
To do me good.

To do me good what may prevail,
For I deserve, and not desire,
And still of cold I me bewail,
And raked am in burning fire;
For though I have, such is my lot,
In hand to help that I require,
It helpeth not.

It helpeth not but to increase
That, that by proof can be no more;
That is, the heat that cannot cease;
And that I have, to crave so sore.
What wonder is this greedy lust!
To ask and have, and yet therefore
Refrain I must.

Refrain I must; what is the cause?
Sure as they say, "So hawks be taught."
But in my case layeth no such clause;
For with such craft I am not caught;
Wherefore I say, and good cause why,
With hapless hand no man hath raught
Such hap as I.

That Right cannot govern Fancy.

I HAVE sought long with steadfastness
To have had some ease of my great smart;
But nought availeth faithfulness
To grave within your stony heart.

But hap, and hit, or else hit not,
As uncertain as is the wind;
Right so it fareth by the shot
Of Love, alas! that is so blind.

Therefore I play'd the fool in vain,
With pity when I first began
Your cruel heart for to constrain,
Since love regardeth no doubtful man.

But of your goodness, all your mind
Is that I should complain in vain;
This is the favour that I find;
Ye list to hear how I can plain!

But tho' I plain to please your heart,
Trust me I trust to temper it so,
Not for to care which do revert;
All shall be one, or wealth, or woe.

For Fancy ruleth, though Right say nay,
Even as the good man kist his cow:
None other reason can ye lay,
But as who sayeth; "I reck not how."

That true Love availeth not when Fortune list to frown.

To wish, and want, and not obtain;
To seek and sue ease of my pain,
Since all that ever I do is vain,
What may it avail me!

Although I strive both day and hour
Against the stream, with all my power,
If Fortune list yet for to lower,
What may it avail me!

If willingly I suffer woe;
If from the fire me list not go;
If then I burn to plain me so,
What may it avail me!

And if the harm that I suffer,
Be run too far out of measure,
To seek for help any further,
What may it avail me!

What tho' each heart that heareth me plain,
Pitieth and plaineth for my pain;
If I no less in grief remain,
What may it avail me!

Yea! though the want of my relief,
Displease the causer of my grief;
Since I remain still in mischief,
What may it avail me!

Such cruel chance doth so me threat
Continually inward to freat,
Then of release for to treat;
What may it avail me!

Fortune is deaf unto my call;
My torment moveth her not at all,
And though she turn as doth a ball,
What may it avail me!

For in despair there is no rede;
To want of ear, speech is no speed;
To linger still alive as dead,
What may it avail me!

The deceived Lover sueth only for liberty.

If chance assign'd,
Were to my mind,
By very kind
Of destiny;
Yet would I crave
Nought else to have,
But life and liberty.

Then were I sure,
I might endure,
The displeasure
Of cruelty;
Where now I plain,
Alas! in vain,
Lacking my life, for liberty.

For without th' one,
Th' other is gone,
And there can none
It remedy;
If th' one be past,
Th' other doth waste,
And all for lack of liberty.

And so I drive,
As yet alive,
Although I strive
With misery;
Drawing my breath,
Looking for death,
And loss of life for liberty.

But thou that still,
Mayst at thy will,
Turn all this ill
Adversity;
For the repair,
Of my welfare,
Grant me but life and liberty.

And if not so,
Then let all go,
To wretched woe,
And let me die;

For th' one or th' other,
There is none other;
My death, or life with liberty.

The Lover calleth on his Lute to help him bemoan his hapless fate.

At most mischief
I suffer grief;
For of relief
Since I have none,
My Lute and I
Continually
Shall us apply
To sigh and moan.

Nought may prevail
To weep or wail;
Pity doeth fail
In you, alas!
Mourning or moan,
Complaint or none,
It is all one,
As in this case.

For cruelty,
That most can be,
Hath sovereignty
Within your heart;
Which maketh bare,
All my welfare:
Nought do ye care
How sore I smart.

No tiger's heart
Is so pervert,
Without desert
To wreak his ire;
And you me kill
For my good will:
Lo! how I spill
For my desire!

There is no love
That can ye move,
And I can prove
None other way;
Therefore I must
Restrain my lust,
Banish my trust,
And wealth away.

Thus in mischief
I suffer grief,
For of relief
Since I have none;

My lute and I,
Continually
Shall us apply
To sigh and moan.

That the power of Love is such he worketh impossibilities.

To cause accord, or to agree
Two contraries in one degree,
And in one point, as seemeth me
To all man's wit it cannot be;
It is impossible!

Of heat and cold when I complain
And say that heat doth cause my pain,
When cold doth shake me every vein,
And both at once! I say again,
It is impossible!

That man that hath his heart away,
If life liveth there, as men do say,
That he heartless should last one day
Alive, and not to turn to clay,
It is impossible!

'Twixt life and death, say what who saith,
There liveth no life that draweth breath;

They join so near, and eke I'faith,
To seek for life by wish of death,
It is impossible!

Yet Love, that all thing doth subdue,
Whose power there may no life eschew,
Hath wrought in me that I may rue
These miracles to be so true,
That are impossible.

That the life of the unregarded Lover is worse than death.

What death is worse than this!
When my delight,
My weal, my joy, my bliss,
Is from my sight
Both day and night,
My life, alas! I miss.

For though I seem alive,
My heart is hence;
Thus bootless for to strive
Out of presence
Of my defence
Toward my death I drive.

Heartless, alas! what man
May long endure!
Alas! how live I then;
Since no recure
May me assure
My life I may well ban.

Thus doth my torment grow
In deadly dread
Alas! who might live so;
Alive, as dead;
Alive, to lead
A deadly life in woe.

The Lover who cannot prevail must needs have Patience.

Patience for my device;
Impatience for your part!
Of contraries the guise
Must needs be overthwart.
Patience! for I am true;
The contrary for you.

Patience! a good cause why!
You have no cause at all;
Trust me, that stands awry
Perchance may sometime fall.
Patience then say, and sup
A taste of Patience cup.

Patience! no force for that
Yet brush your gown again.
Patience! spurn not there at;
Lest folk perceive your pain.
Patience at my pleasure,
When yours hath no measure.

The t'other was for me,
This Patience is for you,
Change when ye list let see,
For I have ta'en a new.
Patience with a good will,
Is easy to fulfil.

When Fortune smiles not, only Patience comforteth.

PATIENCE! though I have not
The thing that I require;
I must, of force, God wot,
Forbear my most desire,
For no ways can I find
To sail against the wind.

Patience! do what they will
To work me woe or spite;
I shall content me still
To think both day and night;
To think, and hold my peace,
Since there is no redress.

Patience! withouten blame,
For I offended nought;
I know they know the same,
Though they have changed their thought.
Was ever thought so moved,
To hate that it hath loved?

Patience of all my harm,
For Fortune is my foe;
Patience must be the charm
To heal me of my woe.
Patience without offence,
Is a painful Patience.

That Patience alone can heal the wound inflicted by Adversity.

Patience of all my smart!
For Fortune is turned awry:
Patience must ease my heart,
That mourns continually.
Patience to suffer wrong
Is a Patience too long.

Patience to have a nay,
Of that I most desire;
Patience to have alway
And ever burn like fire.
Patience without desart,
Is grounder of my smart.

Who can with merry heart
Set forth some pleasant song,
That always feels but smart
And never hath but wrong?
Yet patience evermore
Must heal the wound and sore.

Patience! to be content,
With froward Fortune's train!
Patience, to the intent
Somewhat to slake my pain:
I see no remedy,
But suffer patiently.

To plain where is none ear
My chance is chanced so;
For it doth well appear
My Friend is turn'd my foe:
But since there is no defence,
I must take patience.

The Lover hopeless of greater happiness, contenteth himself with only Pity.

Tho' I cannot your cruelty constrain,
For my good will to favour me again;
Though my true and faithful love
Have no power your heart to move,
Yet rew upon my pain!

Tho' I your thrall must evermore remain,
And for your sake my liberty restrain;
The greatest grace that I do crave
Is that ye would vouchsave
To rew upon my pain!

Though I have not deserved to obtain
So high reward, but thus to serve in vain,
Though I shall have no redress,
Yet of right ye can no less,
But rew upon my pain!

But I see well, that your high disdain
Will no wise grant that I shall more attain;
Yet ye must grant at the last
This my poor, and small request;
Rejoice not at my pain!

That time, humbleness, and prayer, can soften every thing save his Lady's heart.

Process of time worketh such wonder,
That water which is of kind so soft,
Doth pierce the marble stone asunder,
By little drops falling from aloft.

And yet an heart that seems so tender,
Receiveth no drop of the stilling tears
That alway still cause me to render,
The vain plaint that sounds not in her ears.

So cruel, alas! is nought alive,
So fierce, so froward, so out of frame,
But some way, some time may so contrive
By means the wild to temper and tame.

And I that always have sought, and seek
Each place, each time for some lucky day,
This fierce tyger, less I find her meek,
And more denied the longer I pray.

The lion in his raging furour
Forbears that sueth, meekness for his [boot];
And thou, alas! in extreme dolour,
The heart so low thou treads under thy foot.

Each fierce thing, lo! how thou dost exceed,
And hides it under so humble a face!
And yet the humble to help at need
Nought helpeth time, humbleness, nor place.

That unkindness hath slain his poor true heart.

If in the world there be more woe
Than I have in my heart;
Whereso it is, it doth come fro',
And in my breast there doth it grow,
For to increase my smart.

Alas! I am receipt of every care;
And of my life each sorrow claims his part.
Who list to live in quietness
By me let him beware.
For I by high disdain
Am made without redress;
And unkindness, alas! hath slain
My poor true heart, all comfortless.

The dying Lover complaineth that his Mistress regardeth not his sufferings.

LIKE as the swan *towards her death*,
Doth strain her *voice with doleful note*;
Right so sing I *with waste of breath*,
I die! I die! and you *regard it not*.

I shall enforce my *fainting breath*,
That all that he*ars this deadly note*,
Shall know th*at you dost cause my death*,
I die! I die! and y*ou regard it not*.

Your unkindness h*ath sworn my death*,
And changed h*ath my pleasant note*
To painful *sighs that stops my breath*.
I die! I die! an*d you regard it not*.

Consumeth my *life*, *faileth my breath*,
Your fault *is forger of this note*;
Melting in *tears a cruel death*.
I die! I die! *and you regard it not*.

My faith *with me after my death*
Buried sh*all be*; *and to this note*
I do beque*ath my weary breath*;
To cry, I *die! and you regard it not*.

The careful Lover complaineth, and thehappy Lover counselleth.

Ah! Robin!
Joly Robin!
Tell me how thy Leman doth?
And thou shalt know of mine.
"My Lady is unkind, perdie!"
Alack, why is she so!
"She loveth an other better than me,
And yet she will say, no."

Response.

I find no such doubleness;
I find women true.
My Lady loveth me doubtless,
And will change for no new.

LE PLAINTIF.

Thou art happy while that doth last,
But I say as I find;
Tha t woman's love is but a blast,
And turneth like the wind.

RESPONSE.

But if thou wilt avoid thy harm,
Learn this lesson of me;
At others fires thyself to warm,
And let them warm with thee.

LE PLAINTIF.

Such folks shall take no harm by love,
That can abide their turn;
But I, alas, can no way prove
In love, but lack, and mourn.

The Lover having broken his bondage voweth never more to be enthralled.

IN æternum I was once *determed*,
For to have loved and my *mind affirmed*,
That with my heart it *should be confirmed*,
In æternum.

Forthwith I found the thing *that I might like*,
And sought with love to *warm her heart alike*,
For as me thought I should *not see the like*,
In æternum.

To trace this dance I put *myself in press*,
Vain Hope did lead, and bade *I should not cesse*,
To serve to suffer, and still to *hold my peace*
In æternum.

With this first rule I further*d me a pace*,
That as me thought my truth *had taken place*,
With full assurance to stand *in her grace*,
In æternum.

It was not long ere I by proof *had found*
That feeble building is on feeble *ground*,
For in her heart this word did *never sound*
In æternum.

In æternum then from my heart I ce*st*
That, I had first determined for the *best*
Now in the place another thought *doth rest*.
In æternum.

The abused Lover admonishes the unwary to beware of Love.

Lo! what it is to love!
Learn ye that list to prove
At me, I say;
No ways that may
The grounded grief remove,
My life alway
That doth decay;
Lo! what it is to love.

Flee alway from the snare:
Learn by me to beware
Of such a train
Which doubles pain,
And endless woe, and care
That doth retain;
Which to refrain
Flee alway from the snare.

To love, and to be wise,
To rage with good advice;
Now thus, now than,
Now off, now an,
Uncertain as the dice;
There is no man
At once that can
To love and to be wise.

Such are the divers throes,
Such that no man knows
That hath not prov'd
And once have lov'd;
Such are the raging woes
Sooner reprov'd
Than well remov'd,
Such are the divers throes.

Love is a fervent fire
Kindled by hot desire;
For a short pleasure
Long displeasure,
Repentance is the hire;
A poor treasure,
Without measure;
Love is a fervent fire.
Lo! what it is to love!

A reproof to such as slander Love.

Leave thus to slander love!
Though evil with such it prove,
Which often use
Love to misuse,
And loving to reprove;
Such cannot choose
For their refuse
But thus to slander Love.

Flee not so much the snare!
Love seldom causeth care.
But by deserts
And crafty parts
Somelese their own welfare.
Be true of heart;
And for no smart,
Flee not so much the snare.

To love, and not to be wise,
Is but a mad device;
Such love doth last
As sure and fast,
As chance on the dice,
A bitter taste
Comes at the last,
To love, and not to be wise,

Such be the pleasant days,
Such be the honest ways,
There is no man
That fully can
Know it, but he that says
Loving to ban
Were folly then;
Such be the pleasant days.

Love is a pleasant fire
Kindled by true desire;
And though the pain
Cause men to plain,
Speed well is oft the hire.
Then though some feign
And lese the gain,
Love is a pleasant fire.

Who most doeth slander love,
The deed must alway prove.
Truth shall excuse
That you accuse
For slander, and reprove.
Not by refuse,
But by abuse,
You most do slander love!

Ye grant it is a snare,
And would us not beware.
Lest that your train
Should be too plain
Ye colour all the care;
Lo! how you feign
Pleasure for pain,
And grant it is a snare.

To love, and to be wise,
It were a strange device:

But from that taste
Ye vow the fast,
On cinques though run your dice,
Ambsace may haste
Your pain to waste.
To love, and to be wise.

Of all such pleasant days,
Of all such pleasant plays,
Without desart,
You have your part,
And all the world so says;
Save that poor heart
That for more smart,
Feeleth not such pleasant days.

Such fire, and such heat,
Did never make ye sweat;
For without pain
You best obtain
Too good speed, and too great.
Whoso doeth plain
You best do feign,
Such fire, and such heat.
Who now doth slander Love?

Despair counselleth the deserted Lover to end his woes by death, but Reason bringeth comfort.

Most wretched heart! most miserable,
Since thy comfort is from thee fled;
Since all thy truth is turned to fable
Most wretched heart! why art thou not dead?

" No! no! I live, and must do still;
" Whereof I thank God, and no mo;
" For I myself have at my will,
" And he is wretched that weens him so."

But yet thou hast both had and lost
The hope, so long that hath thee fed,
And all thy travail, and thy cost;
Most wretched heart! why art thou not dead?

" Some other hope must feed me new:
" If I have lost, I say what tho!
" Despair shall not therewith ensew;
" For he is wretched, that weens him so."

The sun, the moon doth frown on thee;
Thou hast darkness in day-light stead:
As good in grave, as so to be;
Most wretched heart! why art thou not dead?

" Some pleasant star may shew me light;
" But though the heaven would work me woe,
" Who hath himself shall stand upright;
" And he is wretched that weens him so."

Hath he himself that is not sure?
His trust is like as he hath sped.
Against the stream thou mayst not dure;
Most wretched heart! why art thou not dead!

" The last is worst: who fears not that
" He hath himself where so he go:
" And he that knoweth what is what,
" Sai'th he is wretched that weens him so."

Seest thou not how they whet their teeth,
Which to touch thee sometime did dread?
They find comfort, for thy mischief,
Most wretched heart! why art thou not dead?

" What tho' that curs do fall by kind
" On him that hath the overthrow;
" All that cannot oppress my mind;
" For he is wretched that weens him so."

Yet can it not be then denied,
It is as certain as thy creed,
Thy great unhap thou canst not hide;
Unhappy then! why art thou not dead?

" Unhappy; but no wretch therefore!
" For hap, doth come again, and go,
" For which I keep myself in store;
" Since unhap cannot kill me so.

PSALM XXXVII.

Noli emulari in maligna.

Altho' thou see th' outrageous climb aloft,
Envy not thou his blind prosperity.
The wealth of wretches, tho' it seemeth soft
Move not thy heart by their felicity.
They shall be found like grass, turn'd into hay,
And as the herbs that wither suddenly.
Stablish thy trust in God; seek right alway,
And on the earth thou shalt inhabit long.
Feed, and increase such hope from day to day;
And if with God thou time thy hearty song,
He shall thee give, what so thy heart can lust.
Cast upon God thy will, that rights thy wrong;
Give him the charge, for He upright and just
Hath cure of thee, and eke, of thy cares all;
And He shall make thy truth to be discust.

Bright as the sun, and thy rightwiseness shall
(The cursed wealth, though now do it deface)
Shine like the daylight that we the noon call.
Patiently abide the Lord's assured grace:
Bear with even mind the trouble that he sends;
Dismay thee not, though thou see the purchace
Increase of some; for such like luck God sends
To wicked folk.
Restrain thy mind from wrath that aye offends.
Do way all rage, and see thou do eschew
By their like deed such deeds for to commit;
For wicked folk their overthrow shall rew.
Who patiently abides, and do not flit
They shall possede the world from heir to heir;
The wicked shall of all his wealth be quit
So suddenly, and that without repair,
That all his pomp, and all his strange array
Shall from thine eye depart, as blast of air.
The sober then the world shall wield I say,
And live in wealth and peace so plentiful.
Him to destroy the wick'd shall assay
And gnash his teeth eke with groaning ireful;
The Lord shall scorn the threatnings of the wretch,
For he doth know the tide is nigh at full
When he shall sink, and no hand shall him seech.
They have unsheathed eke their bloody bronds,
And bent their bow to prove if they might reach
To overthrow the * * * * * *
Bare of relief the harmless to devour.
The sword shall pierce the heart of such that fonds:

Their bow shall break in their most endeavour.
A little living gotten rightfully
Passeth the riches, and eke the high power
Of that, that wretches have gather'd wickedly.
Perish shall the wicked's posterity,
And God shall 'stablish the just assuredly.
The just man's days the Lord doth know, and see!
Their heritage shall last for evermore,
And of their hope beguil'd they shall not be,
When dismold days shall wrap the t'other sore.
They shall be full when other faint for food,
Therewhilst shall fail these wicked men therefore.
To God's enemies such end shall be allow'd,
As hath lamb's grease wasting in the fire,
That is consum'd into a smoaky cloud.
Borroweth th' unjust without will or desire
To yield again; the just freely doth give,
Where he se'eth need: as mercy doth require.
Who will 'th him well for right therefore shall leve;
Who banish him shall be rooted away.
His steps shall God direct still and relieve,
And please him shall what life him lust essay;
And though he fall under foot, lie shall not he,
Catching his hand for God shall straight him stay:
* * * * * * *
Nor yet his seed foodless seen for to be.
The just to all men merciful hath been;
Busy to do well, therefore his seed, I say,
Shall have abundance alway fresh and green.

Flee ill; do good; that thou may'st last alway,
For God doth love for evermore the upright.
Never his chosen doth he cast away;
For ever he them mindeth day and night;
And wicked seed alway shall waste to nought,
The just shall wield the world as their own right,
And long thereon shall dwell, as they have wrought.
With wisdom shall the wise man's mouth him able;
His tongue shall speak alway even as it ought,
With God's learning he hath his heart stable,
His foot therefore from sliding shall be sure!
The wicked watcheth the just for to disable,
And for to slay him doth his busy cure.
But God will not suffer him for to quail;
By tyranny, nor yet by fault unpure,
To be condemn'd in judgment without fail.
Await therefore the coming of the Lord!
Live with his laws in patience to prevail,
And He shall raise thee of thine own accord
Above the earth, in surety to behold
The wicked's death, that thou may it record,
I have well seen the wicked sheen like gold:
Lusty and green as laurel lasting aye,
But even anon and scant his seat was cold
When I have pass'd again the self same way;
Where he did reign, he was not to be found:
Vanish'd he was for all his fresh array.
Let uprightness be still thy steadfast ground.
Follow the right; such one shall alway find
Himself in peace and plenty to abound.

All wicked folk reversed shall untwind,
And wretchedness shall be the wicked's end.
Health to the just from God shall be assign'd,
He shall them strength whom trouble should offend.
The Lord shall help I say, and them deliver
From cursed hands, and health unto them send,
For that in Him they set their trust for ever.

ODES.

ODES.

The Lover's Lute cannot be blamed though it sing of his Lady's unkindness.

BLAME not my Lute! for he must sound
Of this or that as liketh me;
For lack of wit the Lute is bound
To give such tunes as pleaseth me;
Though my songs be somewhat strange
And speak such words as touch thy change,
Blame not my Lute!

My Lute! alas! doth not offend,
Though that perforce he must agree
To sound such tunes as I intend,
To sing to them that heareth me;
Then though my songs be somewhat plain,
And toucheth some that use to feign,
Blame not my Lute!

My Lute and strings may not deny,
But as I strike they must obey;
Break not them then so wrongfully,
But wreak thyself some other way;

And though the songs which I indite,
Do quit thy change with rightful spite,
Blame not my Lute!

Spite asketh spite, and changing change,
And falsed faith must needs be known;
The faults so great, the case so strange;
Of right it must abroad be blown:
Then since that by thine own desert
My songs do tell how true thou art,
Blame not my Lute!

Blame but thyself that hast misdone,
And well deserved to have blame;
Change thou thy way, so evil begone,
And then my Lute shall sound that same;
But if 'till then my fingers play,
By thy desert their wonted way;
Blame not my Lute!

Farewell! unknown; for though thou break
My strings in spite with great disdain,
Yet have I found out for thy sake,
Strings for to string my Lute again:
And if perchance this sely rhyme,
Do make thee blush, at any time,
Blame not my Lute!

The neglected Lover calleth on his pen to record the ungentle behaviour of his unkind Mistress.

My pen! take pain a little space
To follow that which doth me chase,
And hath in hold my heart so sore;
But when thou hast this brought to pass,
My pen! I pri'thee, write no more.

Remember oft thou hast me eased,
And all my pains full well appeased,
But now I know, unknown before,
For where I trust, I am deceived;
And yet, my pen! thou can'st no more.

A time thou haddest as other have
To write which way my hope to crave;
That time is past, withdraw therefore:
Since we do lose that others have,
As good leave off and write no more.

In worth to use another way;
Not as we would, but as we may,
For once my loss is past restore,
And my desire is my decay;
My pen! yet write a little more.

To love in vain, who ever shall
Of worldy pain it passeth all,

As in like case I find; wherefore
To hold so fast, and yet to fall!
Alas! my pen, now write no more.

Since thou hast taken pain this space
To follow that which doth me chace,
And hath in hold my heart so sore,
Now hast thou brought my mind to pass,
My pen! I prithee write no more.

That caution should be used in love.

TAKE heed by time, lest ye be spied:
Your loving eyes can it not hide,
At last the truth will sure be tried;
Therefore, take heed!

For some there be of crafty kind,
Though you show no part of your mind,
Surely their eyes can ye not blind;
Therefore, take heed!

For in like case theirselves hath been,
And thought right sure none had them seen,
But it was not as they did ween,
Therefore, take heed!

Although they be of divers schools,
And well can use all crafty tools,
At length they prove themselves but fools.
Therefore, take heed!

If they might take you in that trap,
They would soon leave it in your lap;
To love unspied is but a hap;
Therefore, take heed!

An earnest request to his cruel Mistress either to pity him, or let him die.

At last withdraw your cruelty,
Or let me die at once;
It is too much extremity,
Devised for the nonce,
To hold me thus alive,
In pain still for to drive:
What may I more sustain,
Alas! that die would fain?
And cannot die for pain.

For to the flame wherewith ye burn,
My thought and my desire,
When into ashes it should turn
My heart, by fervent fire,
Ye send a stormy rain
That doth it quench again,
And make mine eyes express,
The tears that do redress
My life, in wretchedness.

Then when these should have drown'd,
And overwhelm'd my heart,
The heart doth them confound,
Renewing all my smart;
Then doth flame increase,
My torment cannot cease;
My woe doth then revive,
And I remain alive,
With death still for to strive.

But if that ye would have my death,
And that ye would none other,
Shortly then for to spend my breath,
Withdraw the t'one, or t'other;
For thus your cruelness,
Doth let itself doubtless;
And it is reason why!
No man alive, nor I,
Of double death can die.

The abused Lover reproacheth his false Mistress of dissimulation.

To wet your eye withouten tear,
And in good health to feign disease
That you thereby mine eyen might blear,
Therewith your other friends to please;

And though ye think ye need not fear,
Yet so ye can not me appease;
But as ye list fawn, flatter, or glose,
Ye shall not win, if I do lose.

Prate, and paint, and spare not,
Ye know I can me wreak;
And if so be ye can so not,
Be sure I do not reck;
And though ye swear it were not,
I can both swear and speak
By God, and by this cross,
If I have the mock, ye shall have the loss.

He bewails his hard fate that though beloved of his Mistress he still lives in pain.

I LOVE, loved; and so doth she,
And yet in love we suffer still;
The cause is strange as seemeth me,
To love so well, and want our will.

O! deadly yea! O! grievous smart!
Worse than refuse, unhappy gain!
In love who ever play'd this part,
To love so well, and live in pain.

Were ever hearts so well agreed,
Since love was love as I do trow;
That in their love so evil did speed,
To love so well, and live in woe.

Thus mourn we both, and hath done long,
With woful plaint and careful voice;
Alas! it is a grievous wrong,
To love so well, and not rejoice.

Send here an end of all our moan,
With sighing oft my breath is scant;
Since of mishap our's is alone,
To love so well, and yet to want.

But they that causers be of this,
Of all our cares God send them part;
That they may know what grief it is,
To love so well, and live in smart.

A complaint of the falseness of Love.

It is a grievous smart,
To suffer pain and sorrow;
But most grieveth my heart,
He laid his faith to borrow;
And falsehood hath his faith and troth,
And he foresworn by many an oath.

All ye lovers, perdie!
Hath cause to blame his deed,
Which shall example be,
To let you of your speed;
Let never woman again,
Trust to such words as man can feign.

For I unto my cost,
Am warning to you all;
That they whom you trust most
Soonest deceive you shall;
But complaint cannot redress,
Of my great grief the great excess.

Farewell! all my welfare!
My shoe is trod awry.
Now may I cark and care,
To sing lullaby! lullaby!
Alas! what shall I do thereto?
There is no shift to help me now.

Who made it such offence,
To love for love again;
God wot! that my pretence!
Was but to ease his pain;
For I had ruth to see his woe:
Alas! more fool! why did I so!

For he from me is gone,
And makes thereat a game;
And hath left me alone,
To suffer sorrow and shame;
Alas! he is unkind, doubtless,
To leave me thus all comfortless.

The Lover sueth that his service may be accepted.

The heart and service to you proffer'd
With right good will full honestly,
Refuse it not since it is offer'd,
But take it to you gentlely.

And though it be a small present,
Yet good, consider graciously,
The thought, the mind, and the intent
Of him that loves you faithfully.

It were a thing of small effect
To work my woe thus cruelly;
For my good will to be object,
Therefore accept it lovingly.

Pain, or travail; to run, or ride,
I undertake it pleasantly;
Bid ye me go and straight I glide,
At your commandment humbly.

Pain or pleasure now may you plant,
Even which it please you steadfastly;
Do which you list, I shall not want
To be your servant secretly.

And since so much I do desire,
To be your own assuredly;
For all my service, and my hire
Reward your servant liberally.

Of the pains and sorrows caused by Love.

WHAT meaneth this! when I lie alone
I toss, I turn, I sigh, I groan;
My bed me seems as hard as stone;
What means this!

I sigh, I plain continually;
The cloths that on my bed do lie,
Always me think they lie awry;
What means this?

In slumbers oft for fear I quake;
For heat and cold I burn and shake;
For lack of sleep my head doth ake;
What means this?

A mornings then when I do rise,
I turn unto my wonted guise,
All day after muse and devise;
What means this?

And if perchance by me there pass,
She, unto whom I sue for grace,
The cold blood forsaketh my face;
What meaneth this?

But if I sit near her by,
With loud voice my heart doth cry,
And yet my mouth is dumb and dry;
What means this?

To ask for help no heart I have;
My tongue doth fail what I should crave;
Yet inwardly I rage and rave;
What means this?

Thus have I passed many a year,
And many a day, though nought appear,
But most of that that most I fear;
What means this?

The Lover recounteth the variable fancy of his fickle Mistress.

Is it possible?
That so high debate,
So sharp, so sore, and of such rate,
Should end so soon and was begun so late.
Is it possible?

Is it possible?
So cruel intent,
So hasty heat, and so soon spent,
From love to hate, and thence for to relent,
Is it possible?

Is it possible?
That any may find,
Within one heart so diverse mind,
To change or turn as weather and wind,
Is it possible?

Is it possible?
To spy it in an eye,
That turns as oft as chance or die,
The truth whereof can any try;
Is it possible?

It is possible,
For to turn so oft;
To bring that low'st that was most aloft;
And to fall highest, yet to light soft;
It is possible?

All is possible!
Whoso list believe,
Trust therefore first and after preve;
As men wed ladies by license and leave;
All is possible!

The abused Lover bewails the time that ever his eye beheld her to whom he had given his faithful heart.

Alas! poor man what hap have I,
That must forbear that I love best!
I trow, it be my destiny,
Never to live in quiet rest.

No wonder is though I complain;
Not without cause ye may be sure;
I seek for that I cannot attain,
Which is my mortal displeasure.

Alas! poor heart, as in this case
With pensive plaint thou art opprest;
Unwise thou were to desire place
Whereas another is possest.

Do what I can to ease thy smart
Thou wilt not let to love her still;
Her's, and not mine I see thou art;
Let her do by thee as she will.

A careful carcase full of pain
Now hast thou left to mourn for thee,
The heart once gone, the body is slain,
That ever I saw her woe is me;

Mine eye alas! was cause of this
Which her to see had never his fill;
To me that sight full bitter is,
In recompense of my good will.

She that I serve all other above
Hath paid my hire, as ye may see;
I was unhappy, and that I prove,
To love above my poor degree.

An earnest suit to his unkind Mistress not to forsake him.

And wilt thou leave me thus?
Say nay! say nay! for shame!
To save thee from the blame
Of all my grief and grame.
And wilt thou leave me thus!
Say nay! say nay!

And wilt thou leave me thus?
That hath lov'd thee so long?
In wealth and woe among:
And is thy heart so strong
As for to leave me thus,
Say nay! say nay!

And wilt thou leave me thus?
That hath given thee my heart
Never for to depart;
Nother for pain nor smart:
And wilt thou leave me thus!
Say nay! say nay!

And wilt thou leave me thus
And have no more pity,
Of him that loveth thee?
Helas! thy cruelty!
And wilt thou leave me thus?
Say nay! say nay!

He remembereth the promise his Lady once gave him of affection, and comforteth himself with hope.

THAT time that mirth did steer myship,
Which now is fraught with heaviness;
And Fortune beat not then the lip,
But was defence of my distress,
Then in my book wrote my mistress;
"I am yours, you may well be sure;
"And shall be while my life doth dure."

But she herself which then wrote that
Is now mine extreme enemy;
Above all men she doth me hate,
Rejoicing of my misery.
But though that for her sake I die
I shall be her's, she may be sure,
As long as my life doth endure.

It is not time that can wear out
With me, that once is firmly set;
While Nature keeps her course about
My love from her no man can let.
Though never so sore they me threat,
Yet am I her's, she may be sure;
And shall be while that life doth dure.

And once I trust to see that day,
Renewer of my joy and wealth,
That she to me these words shall say;
"In faith! welcome to me myself!"
"Welcome my joy! welcome my health,
For I am thine, thou mayst be sure,
And shall be while that life doth dure."

Aye me! alas! what words were these!
Incontinent I might find them so!
I reck not what smart or disease
I suffered, so that I might know
[After my passed pain and woe]
That she were mine; and might be sure
She should [be] while that life doth dure.

That all his joy dependeth on his Lady's favour.

As power and wit will me assist,
My will shall will even as ye list.

For as ye list my will is bent
In every thing to be content
To serve in love 'till life be spent;
So you reward my love thus meant,
Even as ye list.

To feign, or fable is not my mind,
Nor to refuse such as I find;
But as a lamb of humble kind,
Or bird in cage to be assign'd,
Even as ye list.

When all the flock is come and gone
Mine eye and heart agree'th in one,
Hath chosen you, only alone
To be my joy, or else my moan,
Even as ye list.

Joy, if pity appear in place;
Moan, if disdain do shew his face,
Yet crave I not as in this case
But as ye lead to follow the trace,
Even as ye list.

Some in words much love can feign?
And some for words give words again:
Thus words for words in words remain,
And yet at last words do obtain
Even as ye list.

To crave in words I will eschew,
And love in deed I will ensue;
It is my mind both whole and true,
And for my truth I pray you rue
Even as ye list.

Dear heart! I bid your heart farewell,
With better heart than tongue can tell;
Yet take this tale, as true as gospel,
Ye may my life save or expel
Even as ye list.

He promiseth to remain faithful whatever fortune betide.

Sometime I sigh, sometime I sing;
Sometime I laugh, sometime mourning
As one in doubt this is my saying;
Have I displeas'd you in any thing?

Alack! what aileth you to be griev'd!
Right sorry am I that ye be meved.
I am your own, if truth be prev'd;
And by your displeasure as one mischiev'd.

When ye be merry then am I glad;
When ye be sorry then am I sad;
Such grace or fortune I would I had
You for to please howe'er I were bestad.

When ye be merry why should I care?
Ye are my joy, and my welfare,
I will you love, I will not spare
Into your presence, as far as I dare.

All my poor heart, and my love true,
While life doth last I give it you;
And you to serve with service due,
And never to change you for no new.

The faithful Lover wisheth all evil may befall him if he forsake his Lady.

THE knot, which first my heart did strain,
When that your servant I became,
Doth bind me still for to remain,
Always your own as now I am;
And if you find that I do feign,
With just judgment myself I dam,
To have disdain.

If other thought in me do grow
But still to love you steadfastly;
If that the proof do not well shew
That I am yours assuredly;
Let ev'ry wealth turn me to woe,
And you to be continually,
My chiefest foe.

If other love, or new request,
Do seize my heart, but only this;
Or if within my wearied breast,
Be hid one thought that means amiss,
I do desire that mine unrest
May still increase, and I to miss
That I love best.

If in my love there be one spot
Of false deceit or doubleness;
Or if I mind to slip this knot
By want of faith or stedfastness;
Let all my service be forgot,
And when I would have chief redress,
Esteem me not.

But if that I consume in pain
Of burning sighs and fervent love;
And daily seek none other gain,
But with my deed these words to prove;
Me think of right I should obtain
That ye would mind for to remove
Your great disdain.

And for the end of this my song,
Unto your hands I do submit
My deadly grief, and pains so strong
Which in my heart be firmly shytt,
And when ye list, redress my wrong;
Since well ye know this painful fit
Hath last too long.

Of Fortune, Love, and Fantasy.

It was my choice; it was no chance
That brought my heart in other's hold;
Whereby it hath had sufferance
Longer, pardiè, than reason would.
Since I it bound where it was free
Methinks, y-wis, of right it should
Accepted be.

Accepted be without refuse;
Unless that Fortune have the power
All right of love for to abuse.
For as they say one happy hour
May more prevail than right or might;
If Fortune then list for to lower,
What 'vaileth right?

What 'vaileth right if this be true!
Then trust to chance, and go by guess;
Then who so loveth may well go sue
Uncertain hope for his redress.
Yet some would say assuredly
Thou mayst appeal for thy release
To Fantasy?

To Fantasy pertains to choose!
All this I know: for Fantasy
First unto love did me induce;
But yet I know as steadfastly,
That if love have no faster knot,
So nice a choice slips suddenly;
It lasteth not.

It lasteth not, that stands by change;
Fancy doth change; Fortune is frail;
Both these to please the way is strange.
Therefore methinks best to prevail
There is no way that is so just
As truth to lead; the 'tother fail,
And thereto trust.

Deserted by his Mistress, he renounceth all joy for ever.

Heart oppress'd with desperate thought,
Is forced ever to lament;
Which now in me so far hath wrought,
That needs to it I must consent:
Wherefore all joy I do refuse,
And cruel will thereof accuse.

If cruel will had not been guide,
Despair in me had [found] no place;
For my true meaning she well espied;
Yet for all that would give no grace;
Wherefore all joy I do refuse,
And cruel will thereof accuse.

She might well see, and yet would not;
And may daily, if that she will;
How painful is my hapless lot;
Joined with despair me for to spill;
Wherefore all joy I do refuse,
And cruel will thereof accuse.

That no words may express the crafty trains of Love.

Full well it may be seen
To such as understand,
How some there be that ween
They have their wealth at hand:
Through love's abused band
But little do they see
The abuse wherein they be.

Of love there is a kind
Which kindleth by abuse;
As in a feeble mind
Whom fancy may induce

By love's deceitful use,
To follow the fond lust
And proof of a vain trust.

As I myself may say,
By trial of the same;
No wight can well bewray
That falsehoood love can frame;
I say, 'twixt grief and game,
There is no living man
That knows the craft love can.

For love so well can feign
To favour for the while;
That such as seeks the gain
Are served with the guile;
And some can this concyle
To give the simple leave
Themselves for to deceive.

What thing may more declare
Of love the crafty kind,
Then see the wise so ware,
In love to be so blind:
If so it be assign'd;
Let them enjoy the gain,
That thinks it worth the pain.

That the power of Love excuseth the folly of loving.

SINCE Love is such that as ye wot
Cannot always be wisely used;
I say therefore then blame me not,
Though I therein have been abused.
For as with cause I am accused,
Guilty I grant such was my lot;
And though it cannot be excused,
Yet let such folly be forgot.

For in my years of reckless youth
Methought the power of Love so great;
That to his laws I bound my truth,
And to my will there was no let.
Me list no more so far to fet;
Such fruit! lo! as of Love ensu'th;
The gain was small that was to get,
And of the loss, the less the ruth.

And few there is but first or last,
A time in love once shall they have;
And glad I am my time is past,
Henceforth my freedom to withsave.
Now in my heart there shall I grave
The granted grace that now I taste;
Thanked be fortune that me gave
So fair a gift, so sure and fast.

Now such as have me seen ere this,
When youth in me set forth his kind;
And folly framed my thought amiss,
The fault whereof now well I find;
Lo! since that so it is assign'd,
That unto each a time there is,
Then blame the lot that led my mind,
Some time to live in lovè's bliss.

But from henceforth I do protest,
By proof of that that I have past,
Shall never cease within my breast
The power of Love so late outcast:
The knot thereof is knit full fast,
And I thereto so sure profess'd
For evermore with me to last
The power wherein I am possess'd.

The doubtful Lover resolveth to be assured whether he is to live in joy or woe.

Lo! how I seek and sue to have
That no man hath, and may be had;
There is [no] more but sink or save,
And bring this doubt to good or bad.
To live in sorrows always sad,
I like not so to linger forth;
Hap evil or good I shall be glad
To take that comes, as well in worth.

Should I sustain this great distress,
Still wandering forth thus to and fro,
In dreadful hope to hold my peace
And feed myself with secret woe?
Nay! nay! certain, I will not so!
But sure I shall myself apply
To put in proof this doubt to know,
And rid this danger readily.

I shall assay by secret suit
To shew the mind of mine intent;
And my deserts shall give such fruit
As with my heart my words be meant;
So by the proof of this consent
Soon out of doubt I shall be sure,
For to rejoice, or to repent,
In joy, or pain for to endure.

Of the extreme torment endured by the unhappy Lover.

My love is like unto th' eternal fire,
And I, as those which therein do remain;
Whose grievous pains is but their great desire
To see the sight which they may not attain:
So in hell's heat myself I feel to be,
That am restrain'd by great extremity,
The sight of her which is so dear to me.

O! puissant Love! and power of great avail!
By whom hell may be felt ere death assail.

He biddeth farewell to his unkind Mistress.

SINCE so ye please to hear me plain,
And that ye do rejoice my smart;
Me list no longer to remain
To such as be so overthwart:

But cursed be that cruel heart
Which hath procur'd a careless mind,
For me and mine unfeigned smart;
And forceth me such faults to find.

More than too much I am assured
Of thine intent, whereto to trust;
A speedless proof I have endured;
And now I leave it to them that lust.

He repenteth that he had ever loved.

Now must I learn to live at rest
And wean me of my will;
For I repent where I was prest
My fancy to fulfil.

I may no longer more endure
My wonted life to lead;
But I must learn to put in ure
The change of womanhed.

I may not see my service long
Rewarded in such wise;
Nor I may not sustain such wrong
That ye my love despise.

I may not sigh in sorrow deep
Nor wail the want of love;
Nor I may neither crouch nor creep
Where it doth not behove.

But I of force must needs forsake
My faith so fondly set;
And from henceforth must undertake
Such folly to forget.

Now must I seek some other ways
Myself for to withsave;
And as I trust by mine essays
Some remedy to have.

I ask none other remedy
To recompence my wrong;
But once to have the liberty,
That I have lack'd so long.

The Lover beseecheth his Mistress not to forget his steadfast faith and true intent.

Forget not yet the tried intent
Of such a truth as I have meant;
My great travail so gladly spent,
Forget not yet!

Forget not yet when first began
The weary life ye know, since whan
The suit, the service none tell can;
Forget not yet!

Forget not yet the great assays,
The cruel wrong, the scornful ways,
The painful patience in delays,
Forget not yet!

Forget not! oh! forget not this,
How long ago hath been, and is
The mind that never meant amiss
Forget not yet!

Forget not then thine own approv'd,
The which so long hath thee so lov'd,
Whose steadfast faith yet never mov'd:
Forget not this!

He bewails the pain he endures when banished from the Mistress of his heart.

O! MISERABLE sorrow, withouten cure!
If it please thee, lo! to have me thus suffer,
At least yet let her know what I endure,
And this my last voice carry thou thither,
Where lived my hope, now dead for ever;
For as ill grievous is my banishment,
As was my pleasure when she was present.

He compares his sufferings to those of Tantalus.

THE fruit of all the service that I serve
Despair doth reap; such hapless hap have I.
But though he have no power to make me swerve,
Yet by the fire for cold I feel I die.
In paradise for hunger still I sterve,
And in the flood for thirst to death I dry;
So Tantalus am I, and in worse pain,
Amids my help that helpless doth remain.

That nothing may assuage his pain save only his Lady's favour.

If with complaint the pain might be express'd
That inwardly doth cause me sigh and groan;
Your hard heart, and your cruel breast
Should sigh and plain for my unrest;
And though it were of stone
Yet should remorse cause it relent and moan.

But since it is so far out of measure,
That with my words I can it not contain,
My only trust! my heart's treasure!
Alas! why do I still endure
This restless smart and pain?
Since if ye list ye may my woe restrain.

The Lover prayeth that his long sufferings may at length find recompense.

Ye know my heart, my Lady dear!
That since the time I was your thrall
I have been yours both whole and clear,
Though my reward hath been but small;
So am I yet, and more than all.
And ye know well how I have serv'd,
As if ye prove it shall appear,

How well, how long,
How faithfully!
And suffered wrong,
How patiently!
Then since that I have never swerv'd
Let not my pains be undeserv'd.

Ye know also, though ye say nay,
That you alone are my desire;
And you alone it is that may
Assuage my fervent flaming fire.
Succour me then I you require!
Ye know it were a just request,
Since ye do cause my heat, I say,
If that I burn
It will ye warm
And not to turn
All to my harm
Sending such flame from frozen breast
Against nature for my unrest.

And I know well how scornfully
Ye have mista'en my true intent;
And hitherto how wrongfully,
I have found cause for to repent.
But if your heart doth not relent,
Since I do know that this ye know,
Ye shall slay me all wilfully.
For me, and mine,
And all I have

Ye may assign
To spill or save.
Why are ye then so cruel foe
Unto your own, that loves you so?

He describeth the ceaseless torments of Love.

Since you will needs that I shall sing,
Take it in worth such as I have;
Plenty of plaint, moan, and mourning,
In deep despair and deadly pain.
Bootless for boot, crying to crave;
To crave in vain.

Such hammers work within my head
That sound nought else unto my ears,
But fast at board, and wake a-bed:
Such tune the temper to my song
To wail my wrong, that I want tears
To wail my wrong.

Death and despair afore my face,
My days decay, my grief doth grow;
The cause thereof is in this place,
Whom cruelty doth still constrain
For to rejoice, though I be woe,
To hear me plain.

A broken lute, untuned strings,
With such a song may well bear part,
That neither pleaseth him that sings,
Nor them that hear, but her alone
That with her heart would strain my heart
To hear it groan.

If it grieve you to hear this same,
That you do feel but in my voice,
Consider then what pleasant game
I do sustain in every part,
To cause me sing or to rejoice
Within my heart.

That the season of enjoyment is short, and should not pass by neglected.

Me list no more to sing
Of love, nor of such thing,
How sore that it me wring;
For what I sung or spake,
Men did my songs mistake.

My songs were too diffuse;
They made folk to muse;
Therefore me to excuse,
They shall be sung more plain,
Neither of joy nor pain.

What vaileth then to skip
At fruit over the lip
* * * * *
For fruit withouten taste
Doth nought but rot and waste.

What vaileth under kay
To keep treasure alway,
That never shall see day.
If it be not used,
It is but abused.

What vaileth the flower
To stand still and wither;
If no man it savour
It serves only for sight,
And fadeth towards night.

Therefore fear not to assay
To gather, ye that may,
The flower that this day
Is fresher than the next:
Mark well I say this text.

Let not the fruit be lost
That is desired most;
Delight shall quite the cost.
If it be ta'en in time
Small labour is to climb.

And as for such treasure
That maketh thee the richer,
And no deal the poorer
When it is given or lent,
Me thinks it were well spent.

If this be under mist,
And not well plainly wist,
Understand me who list
For I reek not a bean;
I wot what I do mean.

That the pain he endured should not make him cease from loving.

The joy so short, alas! the pain so near,
The way so long, the departure so smart;
The first sight, alas! I bought too dear,
That so suddenly now from hence must part.
The body gone yet remain shall the heart
With her, the which for me salt tears doth rain;
And shall not change 'till that we meet again.

The time doth pass, yet shall not my love;
Though I be far, always my heart is near.
Though other change yet will not I remove;
Though other care not, yet love I will and fear;
Though other hate yet will I love my dear;

Though other will of lightness say " Adieu,"
Yet will I be found steadfast and true.

When other laugh, alas! then do I weep;
When other sing then do I wail and cry;
When other run perforced I am to creep;
When other dance, in sorrow I do lie;
When other joy, for pain well near I die;
Thus brought from wealth, alas! to endless pain,
That undeserved, causeless to remain.

The complaint of a deserted Lover.

" How should I,
" Be so pleasant,
" In my semblant,
" As my fellows be?"

Not long ago,
It chanced so,
As I did walk alone;
I heard a man,
That now and than,
Himself did thus bemoan.

" Alas!" he said,
" I am betray'd,
" And utterly undone;
" Whom I did trust,
" And think so just,
" Another man hath won.

" My service due,
" And heart so true,
" On her I did bestow;
" I never meant,
" For to repent,
" In wealth, nor yet in woe.

" Each western wind,
" Hath turned her mind,
" And blown it clean away;
" Thereby my wealth,
" My mirth and health,
" Are driven to great decay.

" Fortune did smile,
" A right short while,
" And never said me, nay;
" With pleasant plays,
" And joyful days,
" My time to pass away.

" Alas! alas!
" The time so was,
" So never shall it be,
" Since she is gone,
" And I alone,
" Am left as you may see.

" Where is the oath?
" Where is the troth?
" That she to me did give?
" Such feigned words,
" With sely bourds,
" Let no wise man believe.

" For even as I,
" Thus woefully,
" Unto myself complain:
" If ye then trust,
" Needs learn ye must,
" To sing my song in vain.

" How should I,
" Be so pleasant,
" In my semblant,
" As my fellows be?

That Faith is dead, and True Love disregarded.

WHAT should I say!
Since Faith is dead,
And Truth away
From you is fled?
Should I be led
With doubleness?
Nay! nay! Mistress.

I promis'd you,
And you promis'd me,
To be as true,
As I would be.
But since I see
Your double heart
Farewell my part!

Thought for to take,
It is not my mind;
But to forsake
[One so unkind;]
And as I find,
So will I trust;
Farewel, unjust!

Can ye say nay,
But that you said
That I alway
Should be obey'd?
And thus betray'd,
Or that I wist!
Farewell, unkist!

The Lover complaineth that his faithful heart and true meaning had never met with just reward.

GIVE place! all ye that doth rejoice,
And love's pangs hath clean forgot.
Let them draw near and hear my voice
Whom Love doth force in pains to fret;
For all of plaint my song is set,
Which long hath served and nought can get.

A faithful heart so truly meant,
Rewarded is full slenderly;
A steadfast faith with good intent
Is recompensed craftily;
Such hap doth hap unhappily
To them that mean but honestly.

With humble suit I have essayed
To turn her cruel hearted mind;
But for reward I am delay'd,
And to my wealth her ears be blind.
Lo! thus by chance I am assign'd
With steadfast love to serve the unkind.

What vaileth truth, or steadfastness,
Or still to serve without repreef!
What vaileth faith or gentleness,
Where cruelty doth reign as chief!
Alas! there is no greater grief
Than for to love, and lack relief.

Care doth constrain me to complain
Of Love, and her uncertainty,
Which granteth nought but great disdain,
For loss of all my liberty.
Alas! this is extremity,
For love to find such cruelty.

For love to find such cruelty
Alas! it is a careful lot;
And for to void such mockery
There is no way but slip the knot!
The gain so cold, the pain so hot!
Praise it who list, I like it not.

When thou were well thou could not hold.
To turn again, that were too bold;
Thus to renew my sorrows old,
Ah! my heart what aileth thee?

Thou know'st full well that but of late,
I was turned out of Love's gate:
And now to guide me to this mate!
Ah! my heart, what aileth thee?

I hop'd full well all had been done;
But now my hope is ta'en and won;
To my torment to yield so soon,
Ah! my heart! what aileth thee?

He professeth indifference.

HATE whom ye list for I care not;
Love whom ye list and spare not;
Do what ye list and dread not;
Think what ye list I fear not;
For as for me I am not;
But even as one that recks not,

Whether ye hate or hate not,
For in your love I doat not;
Wherefore I pray you forget not;
But love whom ye list for I care not.

He rejoiceth that he had broken the snares of Love.

TANGLED I was in Love's snare,
Oppressed with pain, torment with care;
Of grief right sure, of joy full bare,
Clean in despair by cruelty;
But ha! ha! ha! full well is me,
For I am now at liberty.

The woeful days so full of pain,
The weary night all spent in vain,
The labour lost for so small gain,
To write them all it will not be;
But ha! ha! ha! full well is me,
For I am now at liberty.

Every thing that fair doth shew,
When proof is made it proveth not o;
But turneth mirth to bitter woe,
Which in this case full well I see;
But ha! ha! ha! full well is me,
For I am now at liberty.

The forsaken Lover consoleth himself with remembrance of passed happiness.

Spite hath no power to make me sad,
Nor scornfulness to make me plain.
It doth suffice that once I had,
And so to leave it is no pain.

Let them frown on that least doth gain,
Who did rejoice must needs be glad;
And though with words thou wee'nst to reign,
It doth suffice that once I had.

Since that in checks thus overthwart,
And coyly looks thou dost delight;
It doth suffice that mine thou wer't,
Though change hath put thy faith to flight.

Alas! it is a peevish spite,
To yield thyself and then to part;
But since thou force thy faith so light,
It doth suffice that mine thou wer't.

And since thy love doth thus decline,
And in thy heart such hate doth grow;
It doth suffice that thou wer't mine,
And with good will I quite it so.

Sometime my friend, farewell my foe,
Since thou change I am not thine;
But for relief of all my woe,
It doth suffice that thou wer't mine.

Praying you all that hear this song,
To judge no wight, nor none to blame;
It doth suffice she doth me wrong,
And that herself doth know the same.

And though she change it is no shame,
Their kind it is, and hath been long:
Yet I protest she hath no name;
It doth suffice she doth me wrong.

He complaineth to his heart that having once recovered his freedom he had again become thrall to Love.

Ah! my heart, what aileth thee!
To set so light my liberty!
Making me bond when I was free:
Ah! my heart, what aileth thee?

When thou were rid from all distress,
Void of all pain and pensiveness,
To chuse again a new Mistress;
Ah! my heart, what aileth thee?

For with the wind
My fired mind,
Doth still inflame;
And she unkind
That did me bind,
Doth turn it all to game.

Yet can no pain,
Make me refrain,
Nor here and there to range;
I shall retain
Hope to obtain
Her heart that is so strange.

But I require,
The painful fire,
That oft doth make me sweat;
For all my ire,
With like desire,
To give her heart a heat.

Then she shall prove,
How I her love,
And what I have offer'd;
Which should her move,
For to remove,
The pains that I have suffer'd.

And better fee
Than she gave me,
She shall of me attain;
For whereas she
Shewed cruelty,
She shall my heart obtain.

The disdainful Lady refusing to hear her Lover's suit, he resolveth to forsake her.

Now all of change,
Must be my song,
And from my bond now must I break;
Since she so strange,
Unto my wrong,
Doth stop her ears, to hear me speak.

Yet none doth know
So well as she,
My grief which can have no restraint;
That fain would follow,
Now needs must flee,
For fault of ear unto my plaint.

I am not he
By false assays,
Nor feigned faith can bear in hand;

Too great Desire was my guide,
And wanton Will went by my side,
Hope ruled still and made me bide,
Of Love's craft the extremity.
But ha! ha! ha! full well is me,
For I am now at liberty.

With feigned words, which were but wind,
To long delays I was assign'd;
Her wily looks my wits did blind;
Thus as she would I did agree.
But ha! ha! ha! full well is me,
For I am now at liberty.

Was never bird tangled in lime
That brake away in better time,
Than I, that rotten boughs did climb,
And had no hurt but scaped free.
Now ha! ha! ha! full well is me,
For I am now at liberty.

The Lover prayeth that his Lady's heart might be enflamed with equal affection.

Love doth again,
Put me to pain,
And yet all is but lost.
I serve in vain,
And am certain,
Of all misliked most.

Both heat and cold,
Doth so me hold,
And comber so my mind;
That whom I should
Speak and behold,
It driveth me still behind.

My wits be past,
My life doth waste,
My comfort is exiled;
And I in haste,
Am like to taste,
How love hath me beguiled.

Unless that right,
May in her sight,
Obtain pity and grace;
Why should a wight,
Have beauty bright,
If mercy have no place.

Yet I alas!
Am in such case;
That back I cannot go;
But still forth trace
A patient pace,
And suffer secret woe.

Though most I see
That such always
Are best for to be understand.

But I that truth
Hath always meant,
Doth still proceed to serve in vain:
Desire pursu'th
My time mispent,
And doth not pass upon my pain.

Of Fortune's might
That each compels,
And me the most, it doth suffice;
Now for my right
To ask nought else
But to withdraw this enterprise.

And for the gain
Of that good hour,
Which of my woe shall be relief;
I shall refrain
By painful power,
The thing that most hath been my grief.

I shall not miss
To exercise
The help thereof which doth me teach,
That after this
In any wise
To keep right within my reach.

And she unjust
Which feareth not
In this her fame to be defiled,
Yet once I trust
Shall be my lot
To quite the craft that me beguiled.

The absent Lover findeth all his pains redoubled.

Absence, absenting causeth me to complain,
My sorrowful complaints abiding in distress;
And departing most privy increaseth my pain,
Thus live I uncomforted wrapped all in heaviness.

In heaviness I am wrapped, devoid of all solace,
Neither pastime nor pleasure can revive my dull wit,
My spirits be all taken, and death doth me menace,
With his fatal knife the thread for to kitt.

For to kitt the thread of this wretched life,
And shortly bring me out of this case;
I see it availeth not, yet must I be pensive,
Since fortune from me hath turned her face.

Her face she hath turned with countenance contrarious,
And clean from her presence she hath exiled me,
In sorrow remaining as a man most dolorous,
Exempt from all pleasure and worldly felicity.

All worldly felicity now am I private,
And left in desart most solitarily,
Wandering all about as one without mate;
My death approacheth; what remedy!

What remedy alas! to rejoice my woeful heart,
With sighs suspiring most rufully;
Now welcome! I am ready to depart;
Farewell all pleasure! welcome pain and smart!

He seeketh comfort in Patience.

PATIENCE! for I have wrong
And dare not shew wherein;
Patience shall be my song;
Since Truth can nothing win.
Patience then for this fit;
Hereafter comes not yet.

Of the power of Love over the yielden Lover.

WILL ye see what wonders Love hath wrought?
Then come and look at me.
There need no where else to be sought,
In me ye may them see.

For unto that, that men may see
Most monstrous thing of kind,
Myself may best compared be;
Love hath me so assign'd.

There is a rock in the salt flood,
A rock of such nature,
That draweth the iron from the wood
And leaveth the ship unsure.

She is the rock, the ship am I;
That rock my deadly foe,
That draweth me there where I must die
And robbeth my heart me fro.

A bird there fleeth, and that but one,
Of her this thing enseweth;
That when her days be spent and gone,
With fire she reneweth.

And I with her may well compare
My love, that is alone;
The flame whereof doth aye repair
My life when it is gone.

He lamenteth that he had ever cause to doubt his Lady's faith.

Deem as ye list upon good cause,
I may or think of this, or that;
But what, or why myself best knows
Whereby I think and fear not.
But thereunto I may well think
The doubtful sentence of this clause;
"I would it were not as I think;
"I would I thought it were not."

For if I thought it were not so,
Though it were so, it griev'd me not;
Unto my thought it were as tho'
I hearkened though I hear not.
At that I see I cannot wink,
Nor from my thought so let it go;
"I would it were not as I think;
"I would I thought it were not."

Lo! how my thought might make me free,
Of that perchance it needs not.
Perchance none doubt the dread I see;
I shrink at that I bear not.

But in my heart this word shall sink,
Until the proof may better be;
"I would it were not as I think;
"I would I thought it were not."

If it be not, shew no cause why
I should so think, then care I not;
For I shall so myself apply
To be that I appear not.
That is, as one that shall not shrink
To be your own until I die;
"And if that be not as I think,
"Likewise to think it is not."

The re-cured Lover exulteth in his Freedom, and voweth to remain free until death.

I AM as I am, and so will I be;
But how that I am, none knoweth truly.
Be it evil, be it well, be I bond, be I free,
I am as I am, and so will I be.

I lead my life indifferently;
I mean nothing but honesty;
And though folks judge full diversely,
I am as I am, and so will I die.

I do not rejoice, nor yet complain,
Both mirth and sadness I do refrain,

And use the means since folks will feign;
Yet I am as I am, be it pleasure or pain.

Divers do judge as they do trow;
Some of pleasure and some of woe,
Yet for all that nothing they know;
But I am as I am, wheresoever I go.

But since judgers do thus decay,
Let every man his judgment say;
I will it take in sport and play,
For I am as I am, whosoever say nay.

Who judgeth well, well God him send;
Who judgeth evil, God them amend;
To judge the best therefore intend,
For I am as I am, and so will I end.

Yet some there be that take delight
To judge folks thought for envy and spite;
But whether they judge me wrong or right,
I am as I am, and so do I write.

Praying you all that this do read,
To trust it as you do your creed;
And not to think I change my weed,
For I am as I am, however I speed.

But how that is I leave to you;
Judge as ye list, false or true,

Ye know no more than afore ye knew,
Yet I am as I am, whatever ensue.

And from this mind I will not flee,
But to you all that misjudge me,
I do protest as ye may see
That I am as I am, and so will be.

SIR THOMAS WYATT'S LETTERS

TO

HIS SON.

LETTERS.

SIR THOMAS WYATT FROM OUT OF SPAIN, TO HIS SON WHEN FIFTEEN YEARS OLD.

LETTER I.

In as much as now ye are come to some years of understanding, and that you should gather within yourself some frame of honesty; I thought that I should not lese my labour wholly if now I did something advertise you to take the sure foundations, and stablished opinions that leadeth to Honesty.

And here, I call not Honesty that, men commonly call Honesty, as reputation for riches, for authority, or some like thing; but that Honesty, that I dare well say your Grandfather, (whose soul God pardon) had rather left to me than all the lands he did leave me; that was, Wisdom, Gentleness, Soberness, desire to do good, Friendliness to get the love of many, and Truth above all the rest.

A great part to have all these things, is to desire to have them. And although glory and honest name are not the very ends wherefore these things are to be followed, yet surely they must needs follow them as light followeth fire, though it were kindled for warmth.

Out of these things the chiefest and infallible ground is the dread

and reverence of God, whereupon shall ensue the eschewing of the contraries of these said virtues; that is to say, ignorance, unkindness, rashness, desire of harm, unquiet enmity, hatred, many and crafty falsehood, the very root of all shame and dishonesty. I say, the only dread and reverence of God that seeth all things, is the defence of the creeping in of all these mischiefs into you. And for my part, although I do well say there is no man that would his son better than I, yet on my faith I had rather have you lifeless, than subject to these vices.

Think and imagine always that you are in presence of some honest man that you know; as Sir John Russel, your Father in law, your Uncle Parson, or some other such, and ye shall, if at any time you find a pleasure in naughty touches, remember what shame it were afore these men to do naughtily. And sure this imagination shall cause you remember, that the pleasure of a naughty deed is soon past, and the rebuke, shame, and the note thereof shall remain ever.

Then, if these things ye take for vain imaginations, yet remember that it is certain, and no imagination, that ye are alway in the presence, and sight of God: and though you see him not, so much is the reverence the more to be had for that He seeth, and is not seen.

Men punish with shame as greatest punishment on earth, yea! greater than death. But His punishment is; first, the withdrawing of his favour, and grace, and in leaving his hand to rule the stern to let the ship run without guide to its own destruction; and suffereth so the man that he forsaketh to run headlong as subject to all mishaps, and at last with shameful end to everlasting shame and death.

Ye may see continual examples both of the one sort, and of the other; and the better, if ye mark them well that yourself are come of; and consider well your good Grandfather, what things there were in him, and his end. And they that knew him noted him thus. First, and chiefly to have a great reverence of God and good opinion of godly

things. Next that, there was no man more pitiful; no man more true of his word; no man faster to his friend; no man diligenter nor more circumspect, which thing, both the Kings his masters noted in him greatly. And if these things, and specially the grace of God that the fear of God alway kept with him, had not been, the chances of this troublesome world that he was in had long ago overwhelmed him. This preserved him in prison from the hands of the tyrant that could find in his heart to see him racked; from two years and more prisonment in Scotland in irons and stocks; from the danger of sudden changes and commotions divers, till that well beloved of many, hated of none, in his fair age, and good reputation, godly and christianly he went to Him that loved him, for that he always had Him in reverence.

And of myself, I may be a near example unto you of my folly and unthriftness, that hath, as I well deserved, brought me into a thousand dangers and hazards, enmities, hatreds, prisonments, despites, and indignations; but that God hath of his goodness chastised me, and not cast me clean out of his favour; which thing I can impute to nothing but to the goodness of my good Father, that, I dare well say purchased with continual request of God his Grace towards me more than I regarded, or considered myself; and a little part to the small fear that I had of God in the most of my rage, and the little delight that I had in mischief. You therefore if ye be sure, and have God in your sleeve to call you to his Grace at last, venture hardily by mine example upon naughty unthriftiness, in trust of his goodness; and besides the shame, I dare lay ten to one ye shall perish in the adventure; for trust me, that my wish or desire of God for you shall not stand you in as much effect, as I think my Fathers did for me: we are not all accepted of Him.

Begin therefore betimes. Make God and goodness your found-

dations. Make your examples of wise and honest men: shoot at that mark: be no mocker: mocks follow them that delight therein. He shall be sure of shame that feeleth no grief in other mens shames. Have your friends in a reverence; and think unkindness to be the greatest offence, and least punished amongst men; but so much the more to be dread; for God is justiser upon that alone.

Love well, and agree with your Wife; for where is noise and debate in the house there is unquiet dwelling; and much more, where it is in one bed. Frame well yourself to love and rule well and honestly your Wife as your fellow, and she shall love and reverence you as her head. Such as you are unto her, such shall she be unto you. Obey and reverence your Father-in-law, as you would me; and remember that long life followeth them that reverence their Fathers and elders; and the blessing of God, for good agreement between the wife and husband, is fruit of many children.

Read oft this my letter, and it shall be as though I had often written to you; and think that I have herein printed a fatherly affection to you. If I may see that I have not lost my pain, mine shall be the contentation, and yours the profit. And, upon condition that you follow my advertisement, I send you God's blessing and mine, and as well to come to honesty, as to increase of years.

AGAIN UNTO HIS SON OUT OF SPAIN ABOUT THE SAME TIME.

LETTER II.

I DOUBT not but long ere this time my letters are come to you. I remember I wrote to you in them, that if you read them often it shall be as though I had written often to you. For all that, I cannot so content me but still to call upon you with my letters. I would not for all that, that if any thing be well warned in the other that you should leave to remember it because of this new. For it is not like with advertisements as it is with apparel that with long wearing a man casteth away, when he hath new. Honest teachings never wear; unless they wear out of his remembrance that should keep and follow them, to the shame and hurt of himself. Think not also that I have any new or change of advertisements to send you; but still it is one that I would. I have nothing to cry and call upon you for but Honesty, Honesty. It may be diversely named, but alway it tendeth to one end. And as I wrote to you last, I mean not that Honesty that the common sort calleth an honest man. Trust me, that honest man is as common a name as the name of a good fellow; that is to say, a drunkard, a tavern haunter, a rioter, a gamer, a waster. So are among the common sort all men honest men that are not known for manifest naughty knaves.

Seek not I pray thee, my Son, that Honesty which appeareth, and is not indeed. Be well assured it is no common thing, nor no common man's judgment to judge well of Honesty; nor it is no common thing to come by; but so much it is the more goodly, for that it is so rare and strange.

Follow not therefore the common reputation of Honesty. If you will seem honest, be honest; or else seem as you are. Seek not the name without the thing; nor let not the name be the only mark you shoot at. That will follow though you regard it not; yea! and the more you regard it, the less. I mean not by regard it not, esteem it not; for well I wot honest name is goodly. But he that hunteth only for that, is like him that had rather seem warm than be warm, and edgeth a single coat about with a fur. Honest name is to be kept, preserved, and defended, and not to employ all a man's wit about the study of it; for that smelleth of a glorious and ambitious fool. I say, as I wrote unto you in my last letters, get the thing, and the other must of necessity follow; as the shadow followeth the thing that it is of. And even so much is the very Honesty better than the name, as the thing is better than the shadow.

The coming to this point that I would so fain have you have, is to consider a man's own self what he is, and wherefore he is. And herein let him think verily that so goodly a work as man is, for whom all other things were wrought, was not wrought but for goodly things.

After a man hath gotten a will and desire to them, is first to avoid evil, and learn that point alone: "Never to do that, that within yourself you find a certain grudging against." No doubt in any thing you do, if you ask yourself, or examine the thing in yourself afore you do it, you shall find, if it be evil, a repining against it. My Son! for our Lord's love keep well that repining; suffer it not to be darked and corrupted by naughty example, as tho' any thing were to you excuseable because other men do the same. That same repining, if it did punish as he doth judge, there were no such justicer. And of truth, so doth it punish; but not so apparently. Here however it is no small grief, of a conscience that condemneth itself; but be well assured, after this life it is a continual gnawing.

When there is a custom gotten of avoiding to do evil, then cometh a gentle courage. Be content to be idle, and to rest without doing any thing. Then too had ye need to gather an heap of good opinions and to get them perfectly, as it were on your fingers ends. Rest not greatly upon the approving of them; take them as already approved, because they were of honest men's leavings. Of them of God, there is no question. And it is no small help to them, the good opinion of moral philosophers: among whom I would Seneca [in] your study; and Epictetus, because it is little, to be ever in bosom.

These things shall lead you to know goodly [things]; which when a man knoweth and taketh pleasure in them, he is a beast that followeth not them: no, nor he cannot but follow them.

But take this for conclusion and sum of all; that if God and his Grace be not the foundation, neither can ye avoid evil, nor judge well, nor do any goodly thing. Let Him be foundation of all. Will these things; desire them earnestly, and seek them at his hands, and knowledge them to come of Him, and questionless He will both give you the use and pleasure in using them, and also reward you for them that come of Him; so liberal and good is He.

I would fain see that my letters might work to frame you honest. And think that without that, I esteem nothing of you: no! not that you are my Son. For I reckon it no small dishonesty to myself to have an unhonest taught child: but the fault shall not be in me. I shall do the part of a father: and if you answer not to that I look for at your hands, I shall as well study with that that I shall leave, to make such [some] honest man, as you.

FINIS.

SIR THOMAS WYATT'S ORATION,

&c.

The constant object of Henry the Eighth's policy was to keep the Emperor Charles the Fifth and Francis the First in a state of perpetual warfare, that he might strengthen himself by acting the part of mediator. Pope Paul the Third, to put an end to the general calamities which this discord occasioned, proposed an interview between those two great rivals at Nice, in June 1538, *hoping to effect a lasting reconciliation. Henry, dreading the consequences of that meeting, ordered Sir Thomas Wyatt, then Ambassador in Spain, to attend the interview, joining Bonner in the Commission, and Dr. Haynes, a person of less note than Bonner, but frequently employed in the Negociations of those times. The English Commissioners were not able to prevent a Truce which was concluded at Nice between the Emperor and the French King for ten years; nor an interview which ultimately took place at Aigues-Mortes. Wyatt returned to Spain. Bonner, from motives of private resentment, accused Wyatt of High Treason for wilful neglect of the King's interests at Nice and Aigues-Mortes. Three years after, Wyatt was committed to the Tower, and tried on that charge before the Privy Council. The following Declaration and Oration form his Defence upon the occasion. It was probably spoken in* 1541. *I have therefore ventured to affix that date; though there is none preserved in the M.S*

THE DECLARATION.

A Declaration made by Sir Thomas Wyatt, Knight, of his innocence, being in the Tower, upon the false accusation of Doctor Bonner, Bishop of London, made unto the Council, the Year of Our Lord 1541.

PLEASE IT YOUR GOOD LORDSHIPS TO UNDERSTAND;

I HAVE knowledge by Mr. Lieutenant that the King's pleasure is, and your commandment, that I should write and declare such things as have passed me whilst I was in the Emperor's court, by word, writing, communing, or receiving, with or from any man, whereby I know myself to have offended, or whereby I might run in suspect of offence; namely, in the time of that Court being at Nice, and Villa Franca.

FIRST; like as I take God to record in whom I trust to be saved, and whose redemption I forsake if wittingly I lie; so do I humbly in his name beseech you all, that in those things that be not fresh in my memory no captious advantage be taken of me: professing always that if my self can by any means, or your Lordships, or any other, reduce any other thing than I shall touch to my remembrance, sincerely and uncolourably from time to time to declare the truth in prison, or out. And for my part I declare affirmingly at all proofs whereby a Christian man may be tried, that in my life in crime towards the Majesty of the King my master, or any his issue in deed, word, writing, or wish, I never offended. I never committed malice or offence, or (as I have presently said before you) done a thing wherein my thought could accuse my conscience as touching

words with any the King's enemy, or traitor, in my life. I remember not that ever I spake with any, knowing him at that time to be a traitor, or enemy, but to Brauncetour at his apprehension in Paris, and to Froginton at St. Daves, that would have brought me a present of wine from Pole: which processes, I doubt not but it is well in your Lordships' remembrance.

I had forgot in this place a light fellow, a gunner, that was an Englishman, and came out of Ireland with an Irish traitor, called James; I have forgot his other name and doubt in that also. He could scarce speak English, and drunken he was; and on a day I rebuked him out of my house; and he sought to advertise me of that James' coming again; but the thing was of no value, and I neglected them.

And there was also a fool, an Irishman, that was lame, maimed in the Emperor's wars; and there took him by the name of Rosaroffa, because he ware a red rose in his breast: but there was no substance of those things. But if they require any further, I am ready to say to it; though it be to none effect. Writing I never received none of any there, being known a traitor, or being suspect of treason: or none afterwards proved a traitor, other than followeth.

Of the Earl of Essex (being then as the King's chief Councellor, and after declared a traitor of Pagett) a letter, being inclosed within a letter of the Earl of Essex, directing another letter with the same to Brauncetour. Pate's letters I sent to the Earl of Essex, Brauncetour not yet known for a traitor. Of Leze, a letter or two, he being in Italy. Whereunto I answered him in substance, exhorting him to come and see Spain, and return into England with me: he then not being suspected of any offence, to my knowledge.

Of Brauncetour two or three letters (he being at Tour de Himmes in Castille, and I at Barcelona) concerning my money of the bank.

This was twelve months before he was discovered for a traitor. Other letters or writings, such as above, I never remember that any came to my hands, or through my hands unopened, but of the Priest that was my lord Lyster's chaplain; which I opened, and after brought them the King.

Communing with any declared or known then to me a traitor or rebel, with sending of message, recommendations, advertisements, favourable tokens, or writings, or any such matter, let it be proved and impute it to me for treason. Nor I say not that, for that I have done it so secretly that it cannot be proved, but, as God judge me, I am clear of thought. Receiving, I am as clear as sending. God knoweth what restless torment it hath been to me since my hither coming, to examine myself, perusing all my deeds to my remembrance, whereby a malicious enemy might take advantage by evil interpretation. But, as I complained before to your Lordships, it had grieved me the suspect I have been in, being in Spain, that it was noised that I was run away to the Bishop of Rome, had not the King's Majesty had so good opinion of me that, as I know, at my coming home they were punished that had sown that noise on me.

And further, by examination of Mason; the which thing, with that you name the towns Nice and Villa Franca, reneweth the suspect thereof. Whereof the substance and truth of that I passed there, to my remembrance I shall declare sincerely.

At the Emperor's arrival at Villa Franca, (which is about one mile from Nice, and where is a boat for gallies) to my galley came a servant from the Bishop of London that now is, and Dr. Haynes, advertising me of their being at Nice. I went with my boat without delay to them; and, to be short, I gat them [lodging] at Villa Franca, right over against my own, as good as the time and place would suffer. For though they were better lodged at Nice, yet me-thought that

Court being full of the Court of Rome, it was scant sure nor convenient, nor so meet for our communication. The execution thereof needs not here to be comprehended: it was then advertised of. And besides, I suppose it be not the intent of this declaration. I, as God judge me like as I was continually imagining, and compassing what way I might do best service; so, rested I not day nor night to hunt out for knowledge of those things. I trotted continually up and down that hell through heat and stink, from counsellor to ambassador, from one friend to another; but the things then were either so secretly handled, or yet not in coverture, that I with all mine acquaintance, and much less they my colleagues for any policy or industry that I saw them use, could not get any knowledge. Me thought (an Emperor, a French King, and Bishop of Rome being so assembled, pretending an union of all the world, to be treated by the hands of my Master's mortal enemy, I being present, neither having knowledge of any thing, nor thilk advertisement from hence) that I should leave no stone unmoved to get some intelligence: although, peradventure my colleagues thought that little to be their charge, but only to convert the Emperor by their learning.

Upon this it chanced that upon a day there was no person at dinner with us but we three, and Mason; and, the servants being from the board, (whether they were gone for meat, or whether I bade them go down, I remember not) I rehearsed the [case], care I had for lack of knowledge, and the necessity, and demanded their opinion, "What "if Mason should insinuate himself dissembling with Pole, to suck some- "thing worthy of knowledge in these great matters." They both thought it good, and Mason was content to essay it when he should see time and occasion. The certain time how long I tarried after, or how long I was there in all, on my truth I remember not; but I think I was not there twelve days in all afore any thing done in this matter. To

my knowledge, my overture for my coming to the King was made unto me; wherein I had not so much respect to the offers that were made, as to the promise and the assurance that both the Emperor, Grandvela, and Cavas made me, that nothing neither with Bishop or King should be treated and concluded till I came again, if I came in fifteen or sixteen days, or that the King did send resolution upon these affairs. This, me-thought, was so gladsome unto me to win to the King, he being unbound and at liberty so many days (with my posting only and pain in so high matters) that all my policy of knowledge, and intelligence was clean forgotten with me. Me-thought I had enough. The resolution upon these affairs your Lordships knoweth; and the success after sheweth what was meant then. The day passed; and [before] my return (although I solicited earnestly my dispatch) the appointment [was] concluded, and these Princes departed.

Touching this device of Mason with Pole, this is all that soundeth in any case to my fact. And let it be proved that ever by Mason, or any other, I sent him word, advertisement, or put word or order in his mouth what he should say or do, other than I have declared, and let it be imputed treason unto me.

The like unto this I used after at Toledo, where I used Mr. Foleman's brother and another merchant that had been spoiled to seek means to enter into Pole's lodging, and to spy who resorted thither, and what they could learn; whereby I discovered Brauncetour's treason, not only resorting to Pole, but plainly exhorting them to forsake the King and follow Pole, whereof I advertised: and by that also I knew of Grandvela's being there secretly with him; upon which I got of Grandvela farther knowledge of Pole's suits and demands. This I did without consultation, for I had no colleague with me. But at Paris about the apprehension of Brauncetour, I used Weldon and Sworder, and that with participation of both of

Mr. Tate and the Bishop of London, to be spies over Brauncetour, and to put themselves into company, whereby I ever knew where he became, till the hour came that he was apprehended, Weldon being in the chamber with him. Our Lord defend these men, that the thing that was both meant and done in the King's service, should be prejudiced by suspect in this behalf.

But to return to the matter of Mason. I met with the Emperor upon the sea afore Marseilles, coming in a boat from Aquas-Mortes, both in hazard of the Moors and naughty weather, because I would prevent the Emperor and the French King's meeting, which should be at Aquas-Mortes. — But I came too late to break any thing. Now had the Emperor been at Genes, and there had Mason gotten occasion to enter with Pole; and he told me that he could suck nothing out of him, for that he seemed to suspect him. At Venice was I never. Whilst this was done was I yet in England; and Mason told me that he had written to me and the Earl of Essex what he had done, which letters never came to my hands, nor almost a year after to the Earl of Essex' hands, as the same Earl told me at my coming home: and further told me how honestly Mason had declared himself, and how well the King took it, and how good lord he was to him. And farther declared unto me the chance, that though the letters that Mason wrote to him came not yet then to his hands, that in searching Mason's papers, the minute thereof was found; and after how the letter self came to his hands, adding thereunto these words, "They meant at Mason, but they shot at the Wyatt." And I remember well the answer I made was, "They "strake at me, but they hurt me not; therefore, I pray God forgive "them, but i-beshrew their hearts for their meaning." Mason of this all the while never wrote unto me into Spain, but that he was detained with a quartan; but I knew by Grandvela that he was detained by examination, wherein I was suspect; and further particular I could

nothing of him. And after, as it may appear by my letters, I solicited my coming home for my declaration. If these be the matters that may bring me into suspect, me seemeth, if I be not blinded by mine cause, that the credit that an Ambassador hath, or ought to have, might well discharge as great stretches as these. If in these matters I have presumed to be trusty more than I was trusted, surely the zeal of the King's service drove me to it. And I have been always of opinion, that the King's Majesty either should send for Ambassadors such as he trusteth, or trust such as he sendeth. But all ye, my good Lords, and masters of the Council, that hath, and shall in like case serve the King, for Christ's charity weigh in this mine innocence, as you would be deemed in your first days, when you have [had] charge without experience. For if it be not by practice and means that an Ambassador should have and come to secrets, a Prince were as good send naked letters, and to receive naked letters, as to be at charge for residencers. And if a man should be driven to be so scrupulous to do nothing without warrant, many occasions of good service should scape him.

Touching the Bishop of London and Haynes' calumning in this matter, when it shall please your Lordships to examine me, I shall sincerely declare unto you the malice that hath moved them; and if I might be examiner in my own cause, I know they cannot avoid their untruth in denial of their consent in this cause of Mason.

I beseech you humbly be my good Lords, and let not my life wear away here, that might peradventure be better spent in some days deed for the King's service. Our Lord put in your hearts to do with me as I have deserved toward the King's Majesty.

The King's true, faithful subject
and servant, and humble orator
T. WYATT.

This without correcting, sending, or overseeing.

SIR THOMAS WYATT'S ORATION

TO

THE JUDGES

AFTER

THE INDICTMENT AND THE EVIDENCE.

MY LORDS,

If it were here the law as hath been in some Commonwealths, that in all accusations the defendant should have double the time to say and defend, that the accusers have in making their accusements; and that the defendant might detain unto him counsel as in France or where the Civil Law is used, then might I well spare some of my leisure to move your Lordships' hearts to be favourable unto me; then might I by counsel help my truth, which by mine own wit I am not able against such a prepared thing. But, in as much as that time, that your Lordships will favourably give me without interruption I must spend to instruct without help of counsel their consciences that must pronounce upon me, I beseech you only at the reverence of God, whose place in judgment you occupy under the King's Majesty, and whom you ought to have where you are before your eyes, that you be not both my judge and my accusers; that is to say, that you aggravate not my cause

unto the quest, but that alone unto their requests, or unto mine, which I suppose to be both ignorant in the law, yé interpret law sincerely. For although it be these men that must pronounce upon me, yet I know right well what a small word may, of any of your mouths that sit in your place, to these men that seeketh light at your hands. This done I shall, with your Lordships' leaves, convert my tale unto those men.

I say unto you, my good masters and christian brethren, that if I might have had such help as I spake of to my Lords before, counsel and time, I doubt not but I should fully have satisfied your conscience, and have persuaded you. I mean not such time as hath been had for the inventing, for the setting forth, for the indictment, for devisement of the dilating of the matters by my masters here of the King's Majesty's learned counsel (for it is three years that this matter is first begun) but I would have wished only so much time that I might have read that, they have penned; and penned so that, that you might read: but that may not be. Therefore I must answer directly to the accusation, which will be hard for me to remember.

The accusation comprehendeth the indictment, and all these worshipful men's tales annexed thereunto. The length whereof, the cunning whereof, made by learned men, weaved in and out to persuade you and trouble me here and there to seek to answer that is in t'one afore, and in the other behind, may both deceive you, and amaze me, if God put not in your heads honest wisdom to weigh these things as much as it ought to be. To avoid the danger of your forgetting, and my trouble in the declaration, it is necessary to gather the whole process into the chief points, and unto them to answer directly: whereby ye shall perceive what be the principals, and what be the effects which these men craftily and wittingly have weaved together, that a simple man might hardly try the t'one from the other. Surely, but that I understand mine own matter, I should be too much to seek and accumbered in it.

But, masters, this is more of law than of equity, of leasing, than of uprightness, with such intricate appearances to blind men's conscience; specially in case of men's life where alway the naked truth is the goodliest persuasion. But to purpose.

Of the points that I am accused of, to my perceiving, these be the two marks whereunto mine accusers direct all their shot of eloquence. A deed, and a saying. After this sort, in effect, is the deed alleged with so long words. "Wyatt, in so great trust with the King's "Majesty that he made him his ambassador, and for whom his Majesty "hath done so much, being ambassador hath had intelligence with the "King's rebel and traitor, Pole." Touching the saying, it amounteth to this much. "That same Wyatt being also ambassador maliciously, "falsely and traiterously said; "That he feared that the King should "be cast out of a cart's tail, and that by God's blood if he were so, "he were well served; and he would he were so." The whole apparel of the rest of all this process pertaineth to the proofs of t'one or other of these two points. But if these two points appear unto you to be more than false, maliciously invented, craftily disguised, and worse set forth, I doubt not, but the rest of their proofs will be but reproofs, in every honest man's judgment. But let us come to the matter.

And here I beseech you, if any of you have brought with you already my judgment, by reason of such tales as ye have heard of me abroad, that ye will leave all such determination aside, and only weigh the matter as it shall be here apparent unto you. And beside that, think I beseech you that if it be sufficient for the condemnation of any man to be accused only, that then there is no man guiltless. But if for condemnation is requisite proof and declaration, then take me as yet not condemned till thoroughly, advisedly and substantially ye have heard and marked my tale.

First, you must understand that my masters here, Serjeants, and other of the King's Counsel that allege here against me, were never beyond the sea with me, that I remember. They never heard me say any such [words,] they never saw me have any intelligence with Pole, nor my indicters neither. Wherein you must mark, that neither these men which talk here unsworn, nor the indictment at large is to be regarded as an evidence. For the indicters have found that I have done it. If that be true, what need your trial? for if quests fetch their lights at indictments at large, then is a man condemned unheard: then had my Lord Dacres been found guilty; for he was indicted at large by four or five quests: like was his matter avowed, affirmed, and aggravated by an help of learned men. But on all this the honourable and wise Nobility did not once look at. They looked at the evidence; in which they weighed, I suppose, the malice of his accusers, the unlikelihood of the things hanging together, and chiefly of all, the substance of the matter, and the proofs.

Who then accused me that ever he heard me, or saw me, or knew me to have intelligence with Pole by word, writing, or message to or fro? No man. Why so? For there is no such things. Why art thou brought hither then? It is but a bare condemnation to say; "If I had not offended I had not been brought hither." That was their saying against Christ, that had nothing to say against him else.

But there is other matter, for proof hereof against me. There is the Right Reverend Father in God the Bishop of London, and Mr. Dr. Haynes, the King's Chaplain, that depose against me. What sayest thou to this Wyatt? These men were beyond the sea [with] thee where thou sayest that neither the indicters nor we were there: these, men of learning, of gravity, yea! and Ambassadors with thee too.

To this I say, this word, "Intelligence," concludeth a familiarity or conferring of devices together; which may be by word, message, or writing, which the law forbiddeth to be had with any the King's traitors, or rebels, pain of the like. Rehearse the law. Declare, my Lords, I beseech you, the meaning thereof. Am I a traitor because I spake with the King's traitor? No! not for that, for I may bid him "Avaunt traitor:" or, "Defy him traitor." No man will take this for treason. But where he is holpen, counselled, advertised by my word, there lieth the treason; there lieth the treason. In writing it is like, in message it is like: for I may send him both letter and message of challenge, or defiance. But in any of these the suspect is dangerous; therefore whosoever would do any of these things, I would advise him that it appear well. And yet neither God's law, nor man's law, nor no equity condemneth a man for suspect; but, for such a suspect, such a word, or writing, [as] may be so apparent by conjectures or success of things afterward, by vehement likelihoods, by conferring of things, and such like, that it may be a grievous matter.

But whereto do I declare this point? it is far out of my case. For if I ever spake word to him beyond the sea, and yet to my remembrance but once on this side; or if ever I wrote to him; or if I ever sent him word or message I confess the action; let it be imputed to me for treason. I say not of word, message, or writing that should be abetting, aiding, comforting, or advertisement, but, any at all. But only by his servant Froginton, at S. Daves, in France; which was in refusal of a present that he would have sent me of wine, and other gear; of which thing I advertised. And it appeareth by my letters the matter how it went: and there was present Chambers, Knowles, Mancell, Blage, and Mason, that heard what pleasant words I cherished him withal.

"Here were a great matter to blear your eyes withal," say my accusers, "if you would believe Wyatt that is not ashamed to lye so "manifestly in judgment. Didst thou not send Mason unto him at "Nice? Hast thou not confessed it thyself? Hath not Mason con- "fessed it? Hath not the Bishop of London, and Haynes accused "thee thereof?" Forsooth! never a whit. Neither sent I Mason, nor have confessed that, nor Mason so confesseth, nor, I suppose neither of my accusers do so allege. Call forth Bonner and Haynes! Their spirituality letteth not them from judgment out of the King's Court. Let them be sworn. Their saying is; that Mason spake with Pole at Genes. Here do they not accuse me: they accuse Mason. Call forth Mason! swear him. He is defendant; his oath cannot be taken. What saith he at the least? He saith that Bonner, Haynes, and Wyatt, being all three the King's Ambassadors at Villa Franca, beside Nice, that same Wyatt, being in great care for intelligence, how the matters went then in great closeness (being an Emperor, a French King, a Bishop of Rome so nigh together, that all these lay within four miles treating upon a conclusion of peace by the hands and means of the Bishop of Rome, the King's mortal enemy, Pole also his traitor being there practising against the King) the said Wyatt at a dinner devised, and asked; "What if Mason did undermine Pole, to look if he could suck out any thing of him that were worth the King's knowledge:" which they all there thought good, and he accepted it when he should see his time.

Doth Mason here accuse me? or confesseth that I sent him on a a message? What word gave I unto thee, Mason? What message? I defy all familiarity and friendship betwixt us! say thy worst. My accusers themselves are accused in this tale, as well as I, if this be treason: yea! and more. For whereas I confess frankly knowing

both my conscience and the thing clear of treason; they, belike, mistrusting themselves, deny this. What they mean by denying of this, minister interrogatories. Let them have such thirty-eight as were ministered unto me; and their familiar friends examined in hold, and apart, as well as I, and let us see what milk these men would yield! Why not? they are accused as well as I. Shall they be privileged because they by subtle craft complained first, where I, knowing no hurt in the thing, did not complain likewise? But they are two! We are also two. As in spiritual courts men are wont to purge their fames, let us try our fames for our honesties; and we will give them odds. And if the thing be earnestly marked theirs is negative, ours is affirmative. Our oaths ought to be received; theirs, in this point can not.

I say further; they are not the first openers of this matter, whereby they ought to be received. For what will they say? Bonner wrote this out of France long after he was gone from me, out of Spain. Haynes came home; whereas he remained Ambassador in France. But Mason wrote this to the late Earl of Essex from Genes where he had spoken with Pole, forthwith upon the speaking with him; I being here in England. For afore was I come from Villa Franca sent from the Emperor to the King's Majesty, in haste: for what purpose, or what service I did, I know the King's Majesty hath esteemed more than I will ascribe unto myself; and it should but occupy the time and instruct you little the better in the matter.

I say then, Mason, wrote of this unto the Earl of Essex, and unto me also; which letters never came to my hands, nor unto the Earl of Essex's hands neither, all a year after. And when Mason was examined here upon the same afore the Earl of Essex, the Duke of Suffolk, and as I remember, the Bishop of Durham, (I being in Spain) his papers

and his things were sought and visited. And when Mason alleged these letters sent to the Earl of Essex, he sware he never received them; and in that search was found the minute of that same letter. And I think Mason no such fool, but in that letter he rehearsed that upon our consent he went to Pole; and so after what he did. Upon this, so apparent, was Mason dismissed: and long after came the letters to the Earl of Essex's hands. And this did the Earl of Essex tell me after my coming home out of Spain. And, as far as I remember, I learned that of Mr. Bartlett, which was the Earl's servant that brought the minute with Mason's papers. This I say, for that peradventure the letters cannot now be found; yet let him say what he knoweth. So it is not to be believed that Mason then, not being in doubt of any accusation, would have said in his letter that he went by the Ambassador's consent, unless it had been so indeed. Therefore, I say, if our consent in this be treason, then are these in this as far in as I; and their negative requireth proof, and neither oath nor denial; and our oaths are to be taken in the affirmative, and not theirs in the negative. Nor they are not to be received as the first openers: for Mason wrote it long before them, and they, belike, condemning themselves in taking it to be treason, would falsely lay it unto us that frankly confess it without thought of treason. But you may see how their falsehood hangeth together. These men thinketh it enough to accuse; and, as all these slanderers use for a general rule, "Whom "thou lovest not, accuse: for though he heal the wound, yet the "scar shall remain."

But you will say unto me what is it to thy declaration whether they have offended, or no. Thou confessest that thou consentest to his going to the King's traitor! how avoidest thou that? What didst thou mean by that, or what authority haddest thou so to do?

This is it I would ye should know, good masters, as well as God knoweth; and it shall be clear enough anon, without suspect, unto you.

But first, that suspect should have been well and lawfully grounded before it had come as far as accusation; it should have been proved between Pole and me kin, acquaintance, familiarity, or else accord of opinions, whereby it might appear that my consent to Mason's going to him should be for naughty purpose; or else there should have been brought forth some success since; some letters, at none of mine at the least some of others; some confession of some of his adherents that have been examined or suffered. But what? There is none! Why so? Thou shalt as soon find out oil out of a flint stone, as find any such thing in me. What I meant by it, is declared unto you. It was little for my avail: it was to undermine him; it was to be a spy over him; it was to learn an enemies counsel. If it might have been had; it been out of purpose trow you? I answer now as though it had been done on my own head, without the counsel of two of the King's counsellors; and myself also the third; there is also mine authority. I have received often thanks from the King's Majesty, and his Council, for things that I have gotten by such practices; as I have in twenty letters; "use now all your policy; use now all "your friends; use now all your dexterity to come to knowledge, "and intelligence." This, and such like, were my policy; and by such means afterwards, setting two to be spies over that same Pole in Toledo when he came in post to the Emperor, I discovered the treason of Brauncetour and the practices of Pole in the Emperor's court; and I dare say the King's Majesty was served by the same deed; and how, my Lords of the Council know both my letters and declaration since I have been prisoner.

But this I shall beseech you to note in this matter that now I speak of, for that I spake before; "that successes declare suspect." Afore Pole came out of Rome to go in post to the Emperor, I had so good intelligence that I knew of it, and advertised that he should come wherein I desired to know what I should do. I heard nothing.

I wrote again; "He is on the sea or else, as far as Genes by land hitherward." I heard no word again. This was either because it was not believed, or else they thought it was not like that I should get the knowledge being in Spain. I wrote again "He is in Spain;" and what I had done: for I had laboured before his coming importunately that he should have been ordered according to the treaties. I heard yet no word of. In conclusion, on my own head I did so much that he was neither sent against, being the Bishop of Rome's legate; neither received, nor did nothing that he came for, nor rewarded, which Princes use, nor accompanied out again. And besides that, I knew and advertised all his doings, and sent a copy of his own chief matters. And thus was he by my industry dispatched out of Spain, smally to his reputation or contenting; and the answer which the King [got] afore the letters came to me by Francis the courier how I should order myself in the business. This I say hath been one of the fruits of mine intelligence with Pole, that, as God judge me, this seven year I suppose came no gladder news unto him than this of my trouble; and on my troth it is no small trouble unto me that he should rejoice in it.

But to set spies over traitors, it is I think no new practice with ambassadors. He of France, that is now here, had he not, trow ye, them that knit company with Chappuis afore he was delivered here? I myself the last year at Paris appointed Weldon, and Swerder, two scholars there, to entertain Brauncetour, that by them I might know where he became always; for his sudden apprehension. The Bishop was made privy unto it; so was Mr. Totle. And I would have had Mason done this; but presently afore the Bishop he refused it, alledging that he had once swerved from him in such a like matter. I had no warrant for all this gear, no more had the Bishop in this that I know of, other than of the authority and trust that an ambassador hath and ought to have.

Beside this, ye bring in now that I should have this intelligence with Pole, because of our opinions that are like, and that I am papish. I think I should have more ado with a great sort in England to purge myself of suspect of a Lutheran, than of a Papist. What men judge of me abroad this may be a great token, that the King's Majesty and his Council know what hazard I was in Spain with the Inquisition, only by speaking against the Bishop of Rome, where peradventure Bonner would not have bidd such a brunt. The Emperor had much ado to save me, and yet that made me not hold my peace when I might defend the King's deed against him, and improve his naughtiness. But in this case, good Masters, ye shall [have] fair evidence. The King and his Council thought in this matter, when they demised Mason at his first examination, and for the small weight that was either against him or me. And what thing hath there happened since, that was not then opened? Inquire, and ye shall find none.

But now to the other part of my accusation; touching my saying, For the Love of our Lord weigh it substantially; and yet withal, remember the naughty handling of my accusers in the tother point, and in this you shall see no less maliciousness, and a great deal more falsehood.

And first, let us handle the matter as though I had so said; except only that same, "falsely, maliciously, and traiterously" with all. Were it so I had said the words; yet that remaineth unproved; but take it not that I grant them, for I mean not so, but only that I had so said. Rehearse here the law of words! declare, my Lords, I beseech you, the meaning thereof. This includeth that words maliciously spoken, or traitorously, against the King's person should be taken for treason. It is not meant, masters, of words which despise the King lightly, or which are not all the most reverently spoken of him; as a man should judge a

chace against him at the tennis, wherewith he were not all the best contented; but such words as bear an open malice, or such words as persuade commotions, or seditions, or such things. And what say my accusers in these words? Do they swear I spake them traitorously, or maliciously? I dare say they be shameless enough, yet have they not so deposed against me. Read their depositions! They say not so. Confer their depositions, if they agree word for word! That is hard if they were examined apart: unless they had conspired more than became faithful accusers. If they misagree in words, and not in substance, let us hear the words they vary in. For in some little thing may appear the truth; which, I dare say, you seek for your conscience sake. And besides that it is a small thing in altering of one syllable either with pen or word that may make in the conceiving of the truth much matter of error. For in this thing, "I fear," or "I trust," seemeth but one small syllable changed, and yet it maketh a great difference, and may be of an hearer wrong conceived and worse reported; and, yet worst of all, altered by an examiner. Again; "fall out," "cast out," or "left out," maketh difference; yea, and the setting of the words one in another's place may make great difference; though the words were all one. As, "a mill horse," and, a "horse mill." I beseech you therefore examine the matter under this sort. Confer their several sayings together, confer the examinations upon the same matter, and I dare warrant ye shall find misreporting and misunderstanding.

But first, for my own part, let this saying be interpreted in the highest kind of naughtiness and maliciousness: yea, and alter them most that can be, that they may be found to that purpose. This is, (which God forbid should be thought of any man) that by throwing out of a cart's tail, I should mean that vile death that is ordained for wretched thieves. Besides this, put that I were the naughtiest rank

traitor that ever the ground bare, doth any man think that I were so foolish, so void of wit that I would have told Bonner and Haynes, which had already lowered at my fashions, that I would so shameful a thing to the King's Highness? Though I were, I say, so naughty a knave, and not all of the wisest, yet am I not so very a fool, though I thought so abominably, to make them privy of it with whom I had no great acquaintance, and much less trust.

But it is far from that point. Men may not be interpreted by as much as may be well wrested and worse conjectured: there must be reason and an appearance in every thing: but that way there is none. But ye know, masters, it is a common proverb, "I am left out of the cart's tail:" and it is taken upon packing gear together for carriage; that, that is evil taken heed to, or negligently, slips out of the cart and is lost. So upon this blessed peace that was handled, as partly is touched before, where seemed to be an union of most part of Christendom, I saw that we hung yet in suspence between the two Princes that were at war, and neither of them would conclude with us directly against the Bishop of Rome; and that we also would not conclude else with none of them; whereby it may appear what I meant by the proverb, whereby I doubted they would conclude among themselves and leave us out. And in communicating with some, peradventure, casting this peril I might say; "I fear for all these men's fair promises the King shall be left out of the cart's tail;" and lament that many good occasions had been let slip of concluding with one of these Princes. And I think that I have used the same proverb with some in talking; but that I used with Bonner or Haynes, I never remember; and if I ever did, I am sure never as they couch the tale; and if I have used it with any other, I think it hath been with Blage, or with Mason. Let their declarations be rehearsed, if they have been in that examined; whereby it may appear what I meant by the proverb.

But, consider the place and time where my accusers sayeth that I should speak it, and thereby ye shall easily perceive that there they lie and misreport the tale, or else that I can [not] speak English.

At Barcelona, say they, after we were come from Nice, and Villa Franca, and Aquas-Mortes; that was after the truce concluded after the meeting of the Princes; yea, and afore that, the King's Majesty was left out of the packing indeed; whereof at Aquas-Mortes I sent him the copy of the conclusions; and chapters of the peace, wherein he was not mentioned, contrary to the Emperor's promise, and to the French king's letters. Since we knew all three the same, is it now like that after this I would use the future tense in that was past? and shall? "ye *shall* see." And then, "if he be so, by God's blood he *shall be* well served;" and then "I would he *were*." So it is more like I should say, if it were spoken at Barcelona; that "*he is* left out of the cart's tail; "and by God's blood *he is* well served; and *I am* glad of it." By this you may perceive that either they lie in the time, or the place, or else they lie in the reporting the thing.

But because I am wont sometime to rap out an oath in an earnest talk, look how craftily they have put in an oath to the matter, to make the matter seem mine; and because they have guarded a naughty garment of theirs with one of my naughty guards, they will swear, and face me down that that was my garment. But bring me my garment as it was. If I said any like thing rehearse my tale as I said it. No man can believe you that I meant it as you construe it, or that I speak it as you alledge it, or that I understand English so evil to speak so out of purpose; therefore the time, the place, and other mens saying upon the same matter bewray your craft and your falsehood. It well appeareth that you have a toward will to lie, but that you lacked in the matter, practice or wit. For, they say, "He that

" will lie well, must have a good remembrance, that he agree in all " points with himself, lest he be spied."

To you, my good masters, in this purpose, I doubt not but you see already that in this saying, if I had so said, I meant not that naughty interpretation, that no devil would have imagined upon me. Nother is proved unto you, nor one appearance thereof alledged. Besides, how unlike it is that I should say as it is alledged; and, finally, as I do grant I might say, and as I think I did say, that is no treason, for that I should wish or will that the King should be left out of that comprehension. The King himself and all the Council that were at that time understandeth in the King's affairs now, what labour and what pains I took to have his matter comprehended; and I report me unto him and them. And some man would have thought it much to have said so much to his fellow, as I said after to the Emperor and his counsellors, charging them with that they had broken promise with the King. This was an evident sign of my will, that I would nothing less than the misgoing of the King's affairs, namely, of these that I had the handling of. If they would have proved that, they should have brought in my negligence, my slothfulness, my false handling of myself, whereby the King's matters had quailed. But I say this much, if they have quailed for lack of wit, I am excusable: let the King blame his choice and not me. But if they have been hindered of one minute of the advancement that they might have had by my untruth, my slackness, my negligence, my pleasures, mine eases, my meat, my health; let any of these be proved and let it be treason unto me.

But now cometh to places, the conjectures and likelihoods that maketh proofs of mine intelligence with Pole, and of malicious speaking of that same so distinguished saying. But how can any thing make proof or conjecture of nothing? Ye see the principles are wiped away; what matter can the appearances make? But yet let me answer unto them. You shall see them make for my purpose.

One, and of the greatest, is this. "Wyatt grudged at his first putting "in the Tower; ergo, say they, he bare malice in his heart: and it is like, "that he sought intelligence with Pole; and also he wished the King's "affairs to miscarry, because he would t'one way or t'other be revenged." Peradventure my accusers frame not their argument so much apparent against me. But let us examine every point thereof. "Wyatt "grudged at his first putting into the Tower." If they take grudging for being sorry, or grieving, I will not stick with them. I grant it, and so I think it would do to any here. But if they use that word, "grudging" including a desire to revenge, I say they lie, I never so grudged; nor they nor any other man can either prove that, or make a likelihood of a proof thereof. Mason saith, he hath heard me complain hereof. What then? Doth Mason say that thereby he reckoned I meant revenging, bearing malice in my heart? I know him so well that he will not so interpret complaining or moaning to revenging.

But here come my other two honest men, and they say that I should say; "God's blood, the King set me in the Tower, and afterward sent "me for his ambassador. Was not this I pray you a pretty way to get "me credit?" as though I should say I think, nay. Put it that I had spoken so like an ideot as they seem to make me by this tale, what grudging or revenging findeth any for my putting into the Tower, in this saying? Is here any threatening? is here any grudging? Yea, and that it is far from my nature to study to revenge it may appear by the many great despites and displeasures that I have had done unto me, which yet at this day is no man alive that can say that ever I did hurt him for revenging; and in this case yet much less. For it is so far from my desire to revenge that I never imputed to the King's Highness my imprisonment; and hereof can Mr. Lieutenant here present testify to whom I did ever impute it. Yea and further; my Lord of Suffolk himself can tell that I imputed it to him, and not only at the begin-

ning but even the very night before my apprehension now last; what time I remember my saying unto him for his favour to remit his old undeserved evil will; and to remember "like as he was a mortal man so "to bear no immortal hate in his breast." Although I had received the injury at his hands, let him say whether this be true.

But what is there here in this article of my fashion? Mark it, I pray you, that here again they have guarded my tale with an oath because it should seem mine, But let them be examined that have heard me talk of that matter, whereof they seem to tear a piece or two and pack them together as if a man should take one of my doublet sleeves and one of my coats and sew them together after a disguised fashion, and then say; "Look I "pray you, what apparel Wyatt weareth?" I say, let other men be examined, and ye shall find that after I came out of the Tower in the commotion time, that I was appointed to go against the King's rebels, and did (until I was countermanded) as speedily and as well furnished as I was well able: that after, I was made Sheriff of Kent for a special confidence in such a busy time: that after that again, I was sent the King's Ambassador. I have divers times boasted thereof and taken it for a great declaration of my truth (for all my putting in the Tower) the confidence and the credit the King had in me after. And of this, peradventure, they have maliciously perverted some piece of my tale; if they perchance were there present, or heard of it; and that may easily appear. For their own saying is that I should say; "Was not this I pray you a pretty way to get me credit." How think ye, masters? I suppose it was a way to get me credit. Trow ye that any man could think, that I should think it was not a way to get me credit? It gat me so much credit that I am in debt, yet in debt for it. Mark I beseech you how this gear hangeth together? This is one of their proofs that I grudged at my last putting in the Tower, which, if by grudging they mean revenging, you see how substantially that is proved. And if by grudging

they mean moaning they need not prove it; I grant it. Will any man then that hath honesty, wit, or discretion gather that because I bemoaned my imprisonment, that therefore I have malice and would revenge? Will any man that hath christian charity and any conscience upon such a malicious gathering, frame an accusation upon a man's life? Doth any man that hath any perceiving, see not the malice of these men? If there be any of you that doth not, I bind myself, ere my tale be done, to let you see in great letters.

But unto this they add withal that I should wish the King had sent me to Newgate when he sent me ambassador.

I confess frankly I never begged the office; and but for the obedience to my master, I would have utterly refused it; and how I excused the taking of it, my Lords of the Council can bear me record: as well for that I knew my own inability whereby I should be wonderously accumbered, for that I was given to a more pleasant kind of life. My cumbrance I found often when I had great matters in hand; meddling with wise men, having no counsel but my own foolish head, a great zeal that the King might be well served by me, a great fear lest any thing should quail through my fault. This solicitude, this care troubled me. Mason, Blage, Mr. Hobby, Mr. Dudley, and other that were with me can testify, yea! and my letters oft-times hither, that I wished a meeter man than myself in the room; yea! and that I had been at the plough on that condition: but I never remember, in good faith, that I should name in that matter Newgate. But if I had so said (although it had been foolish spoken) what proveth this malice, to revenging for my being in the Tower? Would he, trow ye, that would revenge wish himself in Newgate? is it not like this matter? A man would think rather, he being an ambassador might do more despite towards the King. There he might play the false knave, and discover; make mis-relation and such parts.

But what thing is that, that these men would not wrest for their

purpose, that wrest such things. They found fault that I did not them the honour that belonged to the King's ambassadors. I lent not them my horse when they went out of Barcelona; nor I did not accompany them on the way.

First I report me to my servants, whereof some of them are gentlemen, right honest men; to their own servants; yea! and let them answer themselves. Did ye not sit always at the upper end of the table? Went we abroad at any time together but either t'one or t'other was on my right hand? Came any man to visit me, whom I made not do ye reverence, and visit ye too? Had ye not in the galley the most and best commodious places? Had any man a worse than I? Where ye were charged with a groat, was not I charged with five? Was not I for all this first in the commission? Was not I ambassador resident? A better man than either of ye both should have gone without that honour that I did you, if he had looked for it. I know no man that did you dishonour, but your unmannerly behaviour, that made ye a laughing stock to all men that came in your company; and me sometime to sweat for shame to see you: yet let other judge how I hid and covered your faults. But I have not to do to charge you; I will not spend the time about it.

But mark! I pray you! I lent not them my horses. They never desired to go into the town, to walk or stir out of their lodging but they had mule, or horse, or both ready for them, foot cloth, and harnessed with velvet of the best that I had for mule or hackney. Marry! it was thought indeed amongst us, that Bonner could have been content to have been upon a genet with gilt harness. These men came in post, and went again in post. At their parting my servants had gotten their post horses ready, would they have had without necessity my horse to have ridden post? I brought them to their horse; would they I should have companied them riding in post?

Children would not have played the fool so notably. Was not this a pretty article toward treason to be alledged against me by Bonner? Some man might think that hereby a man might perceive the malice that hath moved my trouble. But yet it shall be more manifest.

Another occasion there is, that I should say; "They were more "meet to be parish priests than ambassadors." By my truth, I never liked them indeed for ambassadors; and no more did the most part of them that saw them, and namely they that had to do with them: but that did I not, on my faith, with no stranger. But if I said they were meeter to be parish priests, on my faith, I never remember it: and it is not like I should so say, for as far as I could see, neither of them both had greatly any fancy to Mass; and that ye know were requisite for parish priests; for this can all that were there report, that not one of them all while they were there said mass, or offered to hear mass, though it was but a superstition. I say both Mason and I, because of the name that Englishmen then had to be all Lutherans, were fain to entreat them that we might sometimes shew ourselves in the Church together, that men conceived not an evil opinion of us. Let Mason be asked of this. It was not like then, that the Bishop of London should sue to have the Scripture in english taken out of the Church.

But [this] I have not to do withal. I must here answer to interrogatories that upon this occasion belike were ministered against me whether I thought he could be a good subject that misliketh or repugneth his Prince's proceeding. I say here as I said unto it; as far as misliking or repugning includeth violent disobedience, or seditious persuasion, I think he is no good subject: but to mislike a building, a choice of an ambassador, or the making of a law, obeying yet nevertheless, or such things proceeding, altho' peradventure it may be done out of time and place, yet I think it may be without hurt of allegiance, unless there be a law

made to the contrary, which I know not. What say I then to the law of words which Mason should say that me thought very hard; and that the first devisers were well served in falling into it, which he thinketh I meant by the Lord Rocheford, or the Lord of Essex. This, and if it were offence, it is uncertain, by his own saying. And yet I never remember I said so unto him. But what is it to treason? Do I maintain against the law? do I persuade any violence against the law? it rather includeth allowance of the law, if they were well served that they suffered for offending in that.

Again; saith Mason, that I should say unto him, "That it was "a goodly Act, the Act of Supreme Head, speciously the King's Ma- "jesty being so virtuous, so wise, so learned, and so good a Prince: "but if it should fall into an evil Prince, that it were a sore rod." I suppose I have not mis-said in that! For all powers, namely absolute, are sore rods when they fall into evil men's hands: and yet I say they are to be obeyed by express law of good; for that there is no evil prince but for desert of the people: and no hand over an evil prince but the hand of God. This upon examining of as many men as have been familiar with me, among whom some words might have escaped me, and sucked out both of them and of me with such interrogatories, yet is nothing found of me of treason. Yea! and when there is any toward my master within this heart, a sharp sword go thither withal.

But because I bound myself to make this malice of my accusers to appear manifest unto you, let me come to another point of their accusing, which was, by Bonner's letters to the Earl of Essex, that I lived viciously amongst the Nuns of Barcelona.

To the end ye be fully persuaded and informed of the matter, there be many Nuns in the town, and most of [them] gentlewomen, which walk upon their horses; and [many] here and there talk with those

ladies, and when they will, go in and sit company together with them, talking in their chambers. Gentlemen of the Emperor's chamber, Earls, Lords, Dukes use the same; and I among them. I used not the pastime in company of ruffians, but with such; or with the Ambassadors of Ferrara, of Mantua, or of Venice, a man of forty years old, and such vicious company.

I pray you now let me turn my tale to Bonner, for this riseth of him; yea, and so I think doth all the rest: for his crafty malice, I suppose in my conscience, abuseth the other's simpleness.

Come on now, my Lord of London, what is my abominable and vicious living? Do ye know it? or have ye heard it? I grant I do not profess chastity; but yet I use not abomination. If ye know it, tell it here with whom? and when? If ye heard it, who is your author? Have you seen me have any harlot in my house whilst ye were in my company? Did you ever see woman so much as dine, or sup at my table? None but, for your pleasure; the woman that was in the galley; which I assure you may be well seen; for before you came neither she nor any other came above the mast. But because the gentlemen took pleasure to see you entertain her, therefore they made her dine and sup with you; and they liked well your look, your carving to Madonna, your drinking to her, and your playing under the table. Ask Mason, ask Blage, (Bowes is dead) ask Wolf that was my steward; they can tell how the gentlemen marked it, and talked of it. It was a play to them, the keeping of your bottles that no man might drink of but yourself; and, "That the little fat priest were a jolly "morsel for the Signora." This was their talk; it is not my devise. Ask other whether I do lie. But turn you to my own part.

What! think you this man meant sincerely to accuse me of treason, when he seeketh the conjectures to prove my treason by my moaning the first imprisonment; by not lending my horse (wherein also he

also lieth), by not accompanying him out of town; by misliking them for Ambassadors, and by my vicious living with Nuns. This man thought rather to defame me, than sincerely to accuse me. Like as I trust ye will not condemn me for conjectures and likelihoods, and namely so out of all appearance, although you hear them; likewise I pray you give me leave to shew you my conjectures, and likelihoods upon these things, and then guess whether I go nearer the truth. And yet I desire not by them to be absolved, so that by the other I be not also condemned.

The Earl of Essex belike desired Bonner to be a spy over me, and to advertise him; he thinking that if he might wipe me out of the room that himself might come to it, as indeed the man is desirous of honour; and for my part I would he had it, without envy. That this might be a practice of the Earl of Essex, I think, toward me, not meaning for any treason, but to find whether it were true that I did so good service as was reported, I know by myself; for so would he have had me done for him toward my Lord of Winchester, then being Ambassador in France; and I suppose my said Lord could tell, by Bonner's means, and one Barnaby, what a tragedy and what a suspect they stirred against him. Well! all this is reconciled. But yet I say that it is the likelier that he would take that office toward me, that used it to another; and then conceiving in his mind (and that as God judge me, falsely,) that I had letted him in Spain that he had no reward of the Emperor, conceived therewithal a malice, and by some inkling that he had that I misliked his fashion: and upon this he hath built this ungodly work that ye see, that standeth all by invention, conjectures, likelihoods, stretched, wrested, and drawn out of all, (God forbod) without any proof at all.

This far I have had to say upon the foundation and rearing of this accusation against me, and I do not mistrust your wisdom never a

whit, but like as ye weigh the chief principles, so weigh ye little these horrible and slanderous words, that, of ordinary, learned men use both in their indictments and accusations; as at the beginning I declared them to satisfy your conscience. But a great deal better to satisfy your minds, I touched afore that this matter, two years passed, was afore the Council; Mason in hold retained, and all this rehearsed, and he dismissed. I heard thereof and sued to come home for my declaration. After I came home I was in hand with the Earl of Essex for it: he desired me to let it pass; "I was cleared well enough;" and he told me much of this thing that I have in the matter rehearsed. If this were not sufficient to satisfy your conscience, then take more with you.

Within six months after that I came home, so far unlike was it that any of this gear both then known, examined, and dismissed, should be taken for treason, that I was sent again Ambassador to the Emperor at his coming into France; and the King's Grace had rewarded me with a good piece of lands, above my deserving: and then it was said unto me, "I was used for the necessity;" yea! and my instrument of treason was sent with me, Mr. Mason. I came home in the beginning of the last summer; I ran not away at none of all these goings over. All this while till now there hath been no question of this reckoning. If any thing of new be against me, why is it not alleged? If it be nothing but this that hath been tried and dismissed, you see what evidence the Counsellors give against me. The confidence put in my affairs, is for you to acquit me. And it is a naughty fear (if any man have any such) to think a Quest dare not acquit a man of treason when they think him clear; for it were a foul slander to the King's Majesty. He, God be thanked, he is no tyrant; he will not such things against men's consciences. He will

but his laws; and his laws with mercy. What displeasure bare he to the Lords for the acquitting the Lord Dacres? Never none; nor will not unto you, if you do as your conscience leads you. And for a great cause. The law ministereth betwixt the King and his subject an oath to the Quest in favour of the subject: for it supposeth more favour to be borne to the Prince than to the party; if the oath bound not Christian men's conscience.

Thus much I thought to say unto you afore both God and man to discharge me, that I seem not to perish in my own fault, for lack of declaring my truth: and afore God and all these men, I charge you with my innocent truth; that in case (as God defend) ye be guilty of my innocent blood, that ye before his tribunal shall be inexcusable. And for conclusion. Our Lord put in your hearts to pronounce upon me according as I have willed to the King my Master and Sovereign, in heart, will, and wish.

T. W.

LETTERS

AND

OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE

OF

SIR THOMAS WYATT.

Autographs of Sir Thomas Wyatt.
from the Harington M.S.

~~1~~ spayn

1 Ouet

Tagus fare well ye westward wt thy stems
torns vpth grayns off gold alredy tryd
wt spurr and sayle for I go seke th tems
gaynward th somme ye shewth her welthi pryd
and to th town wyth brutus sowght by drems
like bendyd mone doth lend her lusty syd.
My kyng my contry alone for whome ~~[illegible]~~ I sye
of myghty love th wingt for this one gyve

Tho

I amt in holde: if pitie thee mexeth:
gop, bend thy bowe: that stony herte breketh:

In dowtfull brost, / whilst moderly pitie,
wt ~~fr~~ furyous famyn / stondyth at debate:
sayth thebrew moder / o child vnhappye
retorne thi blowd / where thow hadst mill of late.

cleyne from his reign: & from all his intent:
laught to his folke, yt whome sorrowe did torment:
his cruell dispite / for to disgorge, & quite.
so, chauncetth it oft: that every passion

4. Ouet

Love to gyve law vnto his subiect herte
stode in th Jyes off barsabe th bryght
and in a loke anone hymselff converte
cruelly plesant byfore kyng david syght
first dasd his Jyes / and forder forth he stete
wt ~~[illegible]~~ vemenid breth as sofftly as he myght
towcht his sensis / and on ramus his bonis
wt ~~[illegible]~~ creping fyre sparplid for th nonis.

C Plese it ye Matie to be adutised Acordyng to ye comandement in ye last lres off the xv of the last month I have ~~[illegible]~~ had accesse to themp. to gyver wt this bezer m^r vawghan. whose being present and relation shall supplie by his good remembrans / that yt paventure I by the ~~[illegible]~~ warme resonyng of the matter / shall omitt.

Harleian M.S.S. No 282.

And if it be possible / and yt ye lordship hath not other ways promest I shall take it among maym my other bonde to ye lordship / agret dole more thy if the proffett were to my selff.

Cotton M.S.S.

O^r Lord send ye lordship good lyff and long.

ye lordships allway
most bounden
Jo. Wiat

In asmith as now ye ar come to sume yeres of understo ding, and yt you should gather wt in your self sume fram of honestye, I thought yt / I should not lese my labour holy if now y did something advertise you to take ye suer fonda tions, ~~of honestye~~ and stablisht opinions, yt leadith to honestye,

Harington M.S.

LETTERS.

LETTER I.

Instructions given by the King's Highness to his trusty and well-beloved servant Thomas Wyatt, Esquire, whom his Majesty sendeth at this time to the Emperor to reside with him as his Grace's ambassador.

HENRY REX.

FIRST, albeit upon the matter of controversy moved between his Majesty and the late Princess Dowager concerning the cause of their matrimony, the said Emperor did not only (contrary to the King's Highness' expectation conceived of the entire friendship that had been before established mutually in their hearts, that no respect, affection, or worldly matter, could have interrupted the same) labour and travail by his agents at Rome, and otherwise to the uttermost of his power to have procured a sentence against his Grace, neither regarding the injustice of the matter, nor the great and most perfect kindness and friendship before by his Highness sundry ways shewed unto him; but since that matter was defined and determined here, (as the Holy Councils would that every matter should be decided in the province where it should first spring) hath shewed a great strangeness towards his Majesty, rather setting forth a visage of desire to have the old amity between them renovated, revived, and brought to his old perfection, than in such earnest wise following the overtures thereof, as it might not be conceived that he did it rather upon a jealousy to stay his Highness that he should not have entered against him, than for that indeed he did any thing earnestly stomach the obtaining of the same; yet forasmuch as the said Emperor's ambassador here resident hath often lately renewed such conversations as

have been had touching the renovation of their said amities, and hath imputed the want of the following thereof on the Emperor's part, rather to the great affairs that the said Emperor hath lately had in hand, and the long journies that he hath taken, (by reason whereof either the letters written by his ambassadors here came not to his hands, or could not conveniently for want of time, leisure, and opportunity, be answered), than for want of good will and a desire on his side to prosecute the same to that effect that should be to his Majesty's satisfaction, and to the evident declaration of his heart towards his said Majesty; his Highness considering the weakness and debility of his ambassador there resident to be such as in case there should be any farther entreaty for the conclusion of that matter, he cannot well with his commodity follow the same to such purpose, nor with such dexterity, as should be requisite and convenient:

And on the other part, knowing the wisdom, learning, and fidelity, of his trusty and well-beloved servant, Thomas Wyatt, Esquire, hath for the great trust and confidence he hath hereupon reposed in him, appointed the said Thomas Wyatt to occupy the room and place of his ambassador resident in the court of the said Emperor, in the lieu and place of his trusty and well-beloved chaplain Mr: Pate, now supplying the same, who shall return to his Grace with convenient speed, after the arrival there of the said Thomas Wyatt; and therefore his Majesty's pleasure is, that the said Thomas Wyatt, taking with him all such instructions, letters of credence and recommendations, with all such other muniments and escripts as be prepared for his dispatch, shall, with all convenient diligence, address himself to the Emperor's court, wheresoever the same is, or shall be, and there he shall use and behave himself in all things in manner and form following.

First, when he shall arrive at the court of the said Emperor, he shall wyne himself with the said Mr. Pate, and so give knowledge of his arrival, requiring the appointment of a convenient time for his access to the Emperor's presence, which obtained he shall, at his repair to the same, deliver unto him the King's Highness' Letters, with his most hearty and affectionate commendations: and he shall further say, that forasmuch as his Grace's said ambassador now there resident, being

sickly, hath often time sued to his Grace for his return; his Majesty now granting his suit and petition, hath for the suppliment of his place sent thither the said Thomas Wyatt, requiring therefore to give unto him, from time to time, favourable audience in all such things as he shall entreat with him on his Grace's behalf; adding thereunto as of himself that he trusteth before his return again to see such a renovation of the old amity that hath been between his Highness and the said Emperor, that it shall appear to all the world to consist in a good perfection: and if the Emperor shall thereupon make answer that as he would be glad thereof, so he hath set forth certain overtures with his ambassador here for that purpose, the said Thomas Wyatt shall reply that he doubteth not but the King's Majesty will gladly embrace the same, if they be of such nature as his Grace may conveniently so do: trusting that the Emperor will, by the measure of himself, weigh and consider that Princes be commonly of such courage that they will not be forced to things, but like to have all things, especially touching their own affairs, to proceed in such sort as they themselves shall think most expedient, without the arbiter of others, unless it be by way of friendly request and desire, keeping such a temperance in this communication, as he might seem to be desirous that this amity should be renovelled, as every indifferent honest man would be, for the manifold good effects that may ensue thereof: nor, on the other side, that he may conceive that the King's Majesty would be as glad of the renovation of their said amity as the Emperor himself could be desirous of the same. Which communication with the Emperor finished, he shall, to the rest of his council, deliver such letters as he hath from the King's Highness unto them, with his Majesty's most hearty commendations to every of the same: and if the said Emperor shall at any time grieve the cause of his amity, and seem to ascribe therein any unkindness or sinister proceeding to the King's Majesty, the said Thomas Wyatt shall thereunto answer, that if he would indifferently weigh his Highness's proceedings therein, he would not only much commend, approve, and allow the same, but he would again, on the other side, confess that his Majesty was as evil handled in the discourse thereof as ever was Prince

of honour that in his doings used that dexterity that his Grace used in that matter.

For first, when the scruple of that matrimony was laid before him by those that were great learned men, and men of great honesty, gravity, and reputation, his Highness did not incontinently give faith unto it; but with great advice consulted thereupon with all others the great clerks and learned men of his realm: and not contented therewith, required therein the judgment of all the famous universities and learned men in manner in Christendom, never leaving till he came even to Rome, where the Bishop himself with his own hand writing, which his Majesty hath remaining with him, did confess the injustice thereof, conformably to the censures and sentences of the said universities, and the great learned men of all parts: so that if the Emperor will either lay before his eyes the proceedings of his Highness, the justice of his cause, or the old friendship that hath been between them, he can neither shew himself grieved with that matter, nor use so great strangeness as he hath used towards his Grace, since after they first came into question. And if the Emperor shall upon his answer take occasion to speak of my Lady Mary, and seem to be offended only with that, that she is declared illegitimate, alledging for her part that she was born in bona fide parentum; then, that the said Sir Thomas Wyatt shall answer, that where the prohibition is of the law of God, there cannot be alleged bona fides, and therefore that allegation is not justifiable: but in such case as this is frivolous to be alleged, and therefore consisting the matter in such terms as it doth; that is to say, neither maintainable by God's laws, nor by the ancient laws of the realm, which, without exception, excludeth all claim of inheritance to them that be born in any such matrimony, the said Thomas Wyatt shall say, that the allegation thereof shall but irritate the King's Highness, and renew the unkindness that he thinketh he receiveth at the said Emperor's hands in that behalf. And here he shall deliver unto the Emperor the letter written unto him from the said Lady Mary's, whereby he shall perceive how she doth repent herself; and how she would that he should repent, and take her the tenor; whereof it shall like him to consider, it is not

to be thought but it will acquit him therein, his Grace being nevertheless so good Lord and Father to her as he is, and undoubtedly will be. And if the Emperor chance to speak of an overture of marriage that was lately made for her with the Infant of Portugal, and in the setting forth thereof shall shew himself desirous to have that matter rendered to some effect, the said Thomas Wyatt shall say that he hath no special commission to entreat thereof: nevertheless he supposeth that in case the said Emperor will earnestly follow the same, and condescend to receive her in that kind of legitimation and succession that his Majesty will appoint; that is to say, to succeed him in the crown imperial of this realm, if his Highness shall chance to have no issue male nor female by the Queen that now is, nor by any other lawful wife that he shall have hereafter, the King's Highness he thinketh will be then content to entreat further with him thereupon, so as he will send either some personage of honour to require the same in such sort and form, and with such other conditions, as shall be reasonable and convenient: and thus with general words the said Thomas Wyatt shall pass over that matter signifying unto the King's Majesty the Emperor's words and communication uttered touching the same. The said Thomas Wyatt shall also at his arrival there acquaint himself with the French King's ambassador, shewing unto him a countenance of great friendship in respect of the amity between the King's Highness and the said French King; and yet keeping himself in such a temperance, as the said ambassador may perceive that he looketh to find a like inclination in him, to shew unto him again a correspondence of like gratitude and kindness.

The King's Grace's Instructions.

LETTER II.

CROMWELL, LORD PRIVY SEAL, TO SIR THOMAS WYATT.

After my right hearty commendation: because I would not let the bearer, George Perry, one of the gentlemen of Monsieur Chappuis the Emperor's Ambassador here resident, to depart without my letters unto you, although I cannot amply advertise you of all things, yet for this present I advertise you that being here at Stepney this morning arrived Rouge Croix the herald, which ye sent with your letters dated the 23d day of June last, and so I sent them instantly to the King's Highness which is now at Oking; wherefore as to his pleasure upon the same, I cannot by this bearer inform you of it. But for my letters, as well written at your first arrival before you had audience, as for those I have now received, I give unto you my hearty thanks, taking your excuses for your so late writing in good part.

As touching the communication with the Emperor's Ambassador here, whereof I wrote partly unto you by Monsieur de Vaudray, I hope there shall follow good success of it: so that there shall be found reasonable conformity and correspondence of that behalf.

Concerning the news of this realm nothing has succeeded since my last writing; but from good quiet and peace, daily to better and better. The traitors have been executed. The Lord Darcy, at Tower Hill. The Lord Hussey, at Lincoln. Aske hanged upon the dungeon of the Castle at York, the rest were executed at Tyburn. So that as far as we can perceive, all the cankered hearts be weeded away.

The Bourguignions have a jolly army of hardy men, the which at the first brunt took St. Pol by assault, and there killed at the assault eight hundred Frenchmen, and at the entry and fury of the coming in, sixteen hundred and more. From thence they passed the country and came to Montreal where they abode two days; so the town was yielded upon composition. Monsieur de Canaples, captain there, and the men of war went out with their bags and baggage: afterwards the town was spoiled, burnt, and rased. From thence they went incon-

tinent to lay the siege at Terouenne, where they be yet in good hope to take it. They have as yet had in manner never a skirmish by the Frenchmen that we can hear of: albeit they say the Dauphin and Great Master are now at Abbeville, preparing and assembling their army and puissance to rescue that town; and the French King is at Fontainbleau. They crack that they will give them battle; but what they shall do I cannot lightly judge.

These I have thought with this present occasion by the bearer, that tarrieth for no other purpose, to write unto you, although, generally and in haste. More amply I shall write by the next.

Nevertheless, for all the haste I would not omit to advertise you, that some, your servants here, be called and named common stealers of the King's hawks. I would ye should give them warning that they shall leave such pranks, and that ye will be no maintainer of such unlawful fellows of light disposition; and write unto them earnestly.

I think no need to write of the King's and Queen's Graces very prosperous disposition. God continue it, as I trust, for a great many years.

Thus fare right heartily well. From Stepney, the 8th of July, 1537.

Your loving friend,

THOMAS CROMWELL.

To my very loving friend Sir Thomas Wyatt, Knight, the King's Ambassador resident in the Emperor's Court.

From my Lord Privy Seal, by George Perry, at Saragossa, received the 11th of August, of the date of 8th of July.

LETTER III.

CROMWELL, LORD PRIVY SEAL, TO SIR THOMAS WYATT.

MASTER WYATT,

AFTER my right hearty commendations: by this bearer, Rouge Croix, you shall receive the King's Highness's Letters, containing his pleasure for an overture to be set forth for a mediation of peace between the Emperor and the French King; wherein, by the said letters, you shall perceive that his Grace, like a good Prince, and a very friend to both parties, offereth himself to travail if they will commit the managing of the matters to him. Your part shall be now, like a good orator, both to set forth the princely nature and inclination of his Highness with all dexterity; and so to observe the Emperor's answers to the said overture, and to the rest of the points in the same letters expressed, as you may thereby fish out the bottom of his stomach, and advertise his Majesty how he standeth disposed towards him, and to the continuance of the amity between them. It is bruited that there should be a convocation of a peace to be managed by others. Use all your wisdom in the research also thereof; that you may in that matter likewise signify some certainty to his Highness, and semblably what the Emperor will do touching the Bishop of Rome's counsel, which the Germans, upon good grounds, have refused to consent unto; and the King's Majesty, upon many of the respects declared by the Germans, with certain other great and weighty considerations, hath made like refusal. You must in your conference with the Emperor take occasion to speak of all those matters, and so frankly to speak of them as you may feel the deepness of his heart; wherein you shall do good service. It is much marveiled that you have not yet delivered my Lady Mary's Grace's letters. It was a part of your instructions, and therefore very negligently thus pretermitted. I have yet so excused the matter that you may now deliver them, and write the answer to the same as done before according to your commission, though not at the first answered for want of opportunity.

The King's Majesty is your good and gracious Lord, and taketh your conferences, both with Mons. Grandvela and those with the Emperor himself, in good part. Continue vigilant now in the researching out of things meet to be known, and use diligence and advertisement when any such thing shall occur; and doubt you not but your service shall be well employed.

And as for your diet and post money, I shall see you shall have them paid according to your warrant: and in the rest of your affairs I shall be such a friend unto you, if need require, as your enemies, if you have any, shall win little at your hands in your absence.

Your brother Anthony, he hath been in the porter's lodge for consenting to the stealing of certain of the King's hawks: and your sister suing for his deliverance, hath been here with me at Mortlake; they be both merry: and the King's Highness is now again good Lord unto him.

Gentle Mr. Wyatt, now use all your wisdom, rather to try out how the Emperor is disposed towards the King's Highness, than to press him any thing to agree to the overture of mediation, if he will not as gently embrace it as it is made friendly unto him. For to be plain with you, the other part declare him in words towards his Majesty to make only fair weather, and in his heart, deed, and works, to do all that he can to his Grace's dishonour; insomuch as they boast themselves to have refused some honest offers for themselves, because they never knit with vile and filthy conditions towards his Majesty: and if it be true, it is pity there should be such dissimulation in such a Prince: and specially towards him whom he ought of congruence, all things considered to observe, love, and honour to his uttermost. If you think that the speaking of these things unto him may by any means decipher his very meaning, bolt them out of yourself, as signified unto you by some of the agents of the King's agents in France; and when you shall be in communication of these matters, handle them with such a plain frankness, as you may draw somewhat out, that perchance resteth yet hidden under a coloured cloak of friendship, or at the least manifest and make open, that like a Prince of honour he meaneth as he pretendeth.

I thank you for your sundry letters, and require you to be diligent in writing of the occurrents there, as you may have opportunity of messengers; putting the King's Majesty to no further charges than your wisdom shall think expedient.

Your gentle sister being yet there, desired me to have her commended unto you in these letters. I send your servant a letter, written from Mr. Pate to an Englishman in the Emperor's Court. When you have received it copy it, and so seal and deliver it, and solicit the answer with all diligence: for the King's Majesty much desireth to try out that matter of Dignely.

Thus fare you heartily well. From Mortlake, 10th of October. Fail not to get the answer to the matter of Dignely, with such speed as it may be put with the next post if it be possible.

Your assured loving friend,

THOMAS CROMWELL.

To my very loving friend Sir Thomas Wyatt, Knight, the King's Ambassadour, resident with the Emperor.

My Lord Privy Seal, in October, by Bartholomew, at Barbastra.

LETTER IV.

CROMWELL, LORD PRIVY SEAL, TO SIR THOMAS WYATT.

After my right hearty commendations: this shall be to advertise you, that since the departure of Rougecroix, which was dispatched to you in post on Wednesday last, here be no news occurred, but very good news, which for surety I have received this morning: that it hath pleased Almighty God, of his goodness, to send unto the Queen's Grace deliverance of a goodly Prince, to the great

comfort, rejoice, and consolation of the King's Majesty, and of all us his most humble, loving, and obedient subjects. Whereof we have very great cause to thank our most benign and gracious Creator, who after so long expectation hath discharged our prayers and desires. I have written this letter, having the opportunity of this present courier, to the intent that ye shall advertise the Emperor thereof. I think that with convenient diligence the King's Highness will write unto him, and to the other Princes of the same, to make them participants of his great joy and comfort, whereof I shall move him tomorrow at my next being with his Grace. Thus fare ye heartily well.

From St. James besides Westminster, this 12th of October, the 29th of his most prosperous reign. [1537.]

Your loving assured friend,

THOMAS CROMWELL.

A mon tres bon et assurè ami Mons. Wyatt, Conseillier et Ambassadeur du Roy d'Angleterre, resident en la Cour de l'Empereur.

My Lord Privy Seal, December. Delivered long after the date by the sea. Of the news of the Prince.

LETTER V.*

CROMWELL LORD PRIVY SEAL TO SIR THOMAS WYATT.

After my right hearty commendations: Albeit ye have been hitherto somewhat slack and negligent to write unto me, and advertise me from time to time of your occurrences and successes, yet nevertheless, having opportunity to write unto you by the bearer hereof, Mons. de Vaudray, who hath been here with the King's Majesty

* This letter ought to have stood the first in this collection; immediately following the King's instructions. The mistake was not discovered until too late to be corrected.

from the Queen of Hungary, Regent in the Low Countries, to visit and salute his Highness, and declare her excuses of the conveyance made and given to the traitor Pole to conduct him from Cambray (where, being commanded by the French King to avoid all his dominions he was retired) to the dominion of the Bishop of Liege, which was thought to have been more solemn than the treaties required; it notwithstanding his Grace hath taken their excuses in good part. Now at his departure from home to the Emperor's Court, I have thought to advertize you, that Don Diego de Mendoza is arrived here. At the Wednesday next after Pentecost resorting to the King's Majesty, then being at Hampton Court, [he] was very honourably met, received, and entertained after the best sort; with the which, and also the other Ambassadors here resident, I and other of the King's Council, by his Majesty's appointment, have had at sundry times conferences together on the causes of coming, touching the marriage. Whereunto, although his Grace be of good inclination, nevertheless as yet there is nothing concluded; as well because the said Don Diego brought no new commission with him, but only such as the Ambassador before time here resident had received long before his coming; as also because they seem to make some difficulty in such things as on our behalf are proposed and demanded, touching the Bishop of Rome: that the said Emperor, on his behalf, shall not stick with his doings, but rather depart from them, and adhere to the King's Majesty's in such wise that he should assent nor agree to no manner of thing that the said Bishop or his adherents would attempt against his Majesty's realm or subjects, or to any displeasure of the same, but rather let it, and withstand all such purposes and enterprises to the uttermost of his power; and as yet have not agreed thereunto. Whereupon the said Ambassadors, and also upon other conferences had with them, have written at this time by the said Monsieur de Vauldray; and upon such answer as they shall have from thence again the whole matter shall be or concluded, or broken off, as the cause shall require. Whereof I think best, and advise you to pretend ignorance; yet nevertheless, if you see good opportunity and occasion offered, you may shew what dispositions ye knew the King's

Highness (upon good causes) was [of] at your departure immutably against the said Bishop; and that ye doubt not but he should not repent whole, entire, and perfect alliance with any person that would agree, assent, or assist him to any thing that might sound to his Grace's person, realms, or subjects displeasure; saying and declaring the same as of yourself; with the best circumstances and as discreetly as you can; taking heed evermore to the entertainment and nourishing of the good amity between them, as much as ye shall [find ye] conveniently may; and in all things requisite keeping as close as shall be expedient: using in this your charge such good dexterity and circumspection, as ye know our good opinion and expectation was, and endureth yet ye should.

'As concerning of our news and successes here since your departure; assure you, thanks be to our blessed Creator, the King's Majesty is in as good health and disposition as I saw his Grace of long season; and the more, because the Queen's Grace is quick with child. God, by his grace, send her good deliverance of such a Prince, long to live, according to his Majesty's gracious desire, and the common joy and wealth of all his realm, and good faithful subjects; who for the same, being the news thereof brought from Hampton Court hither to London on Trinity Sunday afternoon, there was great celebrity at Paul's, and thanks given to God, and in the evening eleven fires made in sundry places, as well of the city as of other towns. The whole estate of the realm, from the highest to the lowest, are in very good rest and quiet, with their hearty obedience and good will [towards] the King's Majesty all of one union and concord; such as [were] offenders, very sorry for their offences, and full [of] desirance to have occasion to minister the King's Majesty some acceptable service, for to shew their true heart to him; the more confirmed for his benign and gracious pardon mercifully extended upon them, which his Majesty hath observed hitherto, and will for ever observe inviolably; for although the Lords Darcy and Hussy, Sirs Robert Constable, Francis Bigot, John Bulmer, Stephen Hamilton, Knights, the Lord Lomley's son, Robert Aske, Nicholas Tempest, the Abbot of Iereux, the Prior of Birlington, and some other, also Sir Thomas Perry had their pardon,

yet because they have been openly condemned and attainted of such conspiracies and high treasons, most ingrately, spitefully, and heinously committed against his benign and so gracious merciful Master unto them, since the pardon granted unto them, (as right was their incurable ingratitudes deserved) have been condemned of high treason, and some of them already executed. Whereof, if there is any communication moved unto you, ye may assuredly affirm, that if they had not highly offended since the King's pardon, his Master had never remembered their precedent offences nor imputed the same to their charge, being a Prince most honourable observator of his word: but seeing their cankered ~~not~~ heart, he could no less do than to suffer them to have his laws. The example of such ingrate and irremediable obstinate hearts.

Shortly of all other occurrents, as shall succeed of other conferences, I shall advertise at large by the next that shall be sent thither. Thus fare ye right heartily well.

From the Rolls this 6th of June, the twenty-ninth of our most noble Sovereign Lord his prosperous reign. [1537]

Your loving assured friend,

THOMAS CROMWELL.

To my very loving friend Sir Thomas Wyatt, Knight, the King's of England his Majesty's Ambassador, resident with the Emperor.

From my Lord Privy Seal, the first by Vaudray, the 26th of June.

LETTER VI.

CROMWELL, LORD PRIVY SEAL, TO SIR THOMAS WYATT.

MASTER WYATT,

AFTER my right hearty commendations: because it hath pleased the King's Majesty to address this bearer to the Emperor, to signify unto him the certain news of the birth of the Prince, knowing

that his instruction to you shall be sufficient without further repetition of the same, I shall forbear to molest you with long letters, and only require you to handle your last commission with such dexterity and temperate sort, as at the return of this said bearer Mr. Dudley, your good friend, his Highness may perceive that thing which his Grace desireth to know; that is, the Emperor's good inclination towards his Majesty; or the contrary of it shall otherwise appear unto you. And thus fare you heartily well.

From St. James's besides Westminster, the 20th of October. [1537]

The King's Highness desireth you also to send an answer by Master Dudley, of the matter touching Digneley; for his Grace hath it specially to heart: and I pray you report what was last written to you, touching the letters addressed from my Lady Mary.

Your loving friend,

THOMAS CROMWELL.

To mine assured loving friend Sir Thomas Wyatt, Knt. the King's Ambassador with the Emperor.

My Lord Privy Seal, in October, by Sir John Dudley, at Barbastra.

LETTER VII.

CROMWELL LORD PRIVY SEAL TO SIR THOMAS WYATT.

Mr. Wyatt,

After my very hearty commendations: I have received by this bearer, Nicholas the courier, the letters directed to the King's Highness, signed by you and my friend Hobby; and also another letter in cipher, the which have been both delivered unto his Majesty, like as by the answer his Grace sendeth unto you, ye may amply know. Doubtless I think no need to require you to use your accustomed dexterity in setting forth of the same after your best sort, and to utter every point thereof in such terms, order, and place, as

upon the disposition, inclination, answers, occurrences, and circumstances there, ye shall by your discretion know most convenient to bring his Majesties purposes to pass, and to the conclusion his Highness most desireth.

I assure you your diligence and dexterity to be used therein shall be much commended and praised, if, as my hope is, the things by your good setting forth may take effect: Nevertheless the same to be taken thankfully however the matter shall succeed; for it is well known ye want no good heart, and alacrity, and that his Majesty considereth well, and continueth your gracious and benign Lord. For my part ye may be certain that I bear unto you no less good will and sincere affection than I was wont; the effect hath been, and shall be, my witness thereof.

Concerning the two hundred pounds, which ye lent to Sir Francis Brian, whosoever ought them I have disbursed them, and paid to Mr. Bonvixi. Other men make, in manner of their debts mine own; for very oft where they have borrowed I am fained to pay.

Ye have, by mine opinion by the way of Flanders, been advertised how the Lord Marquis of Exeter, and the Lord Montagu, with a sort of their adherents of mean estate, and no estimation greatly, have been commanded to the Tower, to prison there for sundry great crimes of lese-majesty traitorously imagined and uttered, as far as they durst, against the King's royal person, his issue, his council, and the whole realm, so that it abhorreth any man to hear of it: and the same their offences be not known by light suspicion, but by certain proofs and confessions. I doubt not but when their conspirations shall be disclosed, and their ingratitudes towards the King their Sovereign Lord, to the which they give most humble thanks for all that they had, and for that state they were in, all honest hearts shall have abomination at their miserable wretchedness and traitorous malice.

Other occurrences of importance we have none here. The King's Majesty, my Lord Prince's Grace, my Ladies his daughters, and the rest of his Council be all merry, and in good prosperity, the 16th day of this present. The King's Majesty, for the reverence of the Holy Sacrament of the altar, did sit openly in his hall, and there pre-

sided at the disputation, process, and judgment of a miserable heretic Sacramentary, who was burnt the 20th of the same month. It was a wonder to see how princely, with how excellent gravity, and inestimable majesty, his Majesty exercised there the very office of a superior head of his Church of England; how benignly his Grace essayed to convert the miserable man; how strong and manifest reasons his Highness alleged against him. I wished the Princes and Potentates of Christendom to have had a meet place for them there to have seen it. Undoubtedly they should have much marvelled at his Majesty's most high wisdom and judgement, and reputed him none otherwise after the same than in manner the mirror and light of all other Kings and Princes in Christendom. The same was openly done with great solemnity; whereby I doubt not but some of your friends that have good leisure, shall by their letters advertise you of the whole discourse thereof, so, without further recite, save to signify unto you that forasmuch as it is by sundry complaints shewed unto his King's Majesty, that his Grace's subjects John Toles, Richard Fermor, and other consorts, merchants of London, and besides them sundry of his Grace's subjects, both of this realm and other dominions, be protracted there without any expedition of sundry process and suits they have, touching many depredations and bribes by the Emperor's subjects committed against [them], as it is like they have had recourse some of them unto you, ye shall at your opportunity so solicit the Emperor to ordain that they may have brief justice and reason by his judges ministered unto them there; and that they may be no longer tracted and delayed in their suits, to the utter undoing of some of them. The King's Highness hath granted unto them a letter to the said Emperor of the same tenor, requiring him to cause justice to be ministered, with declaration that his Majesty hath appointed you to solicit their expedition. Ye shall do well and charitably to help them of your intercession, both to the Emperor and to his privy Council, to obtain short judgment and final end in these matters. Also to desire that ye shall call upon the Emperor to send instructions full and ample into Flanders for expedition of the matters; and that the King's Highness's Ambassadors shall not remain there without business, but evermore proceed

to the expedition of their affairs. Not failing after your accustomed fashion to use diligence in giving advertisement of all the answers ye shall have there, occurrences, and other things whereof ye may attain any knowledge being of any importance. I commit you to our blessed Lord's custody and keeping, who preserve you.

From London this 28th day of November A°. 38°. At the time of the condemnation of the Sacramentary, the King's Highness caused some proclamation to be made, the copy of which in print ye shall receive therewith. [1537.]

Your assured loving friend,

THOMAS CROMWELL.

To my very loving friend Sir Thomas Wyatt, Knight, the King's Ambassador with the Emperor.

From my Lord Privy Seal, the 28th of November, by Nicholas the courier.

LETTER VIII.

CROMWELL, LORD PRIVY SEAL, TO SIR THOMAS WYATT.

MASTER WYATT.

AFTER my right hearty commendations. Albeit I have at this time no matter of importance to be written unto you; yet having the opportunity of this messenger, being, as I understand, dispatched unto you for your own private affairs, I thought meet to signify that your last letters containing your conferences with the Emperor and with Mons. de Grandvele, were taken and accepted in as thankful part, as I have lightly seen the letters of any the King's Majesties orators, residing in outward parts. And whereas in the letters with the same addressed to me, you make instant request and suit for money for your diet, as upon the arrival of the said letters I took order for the payment of your diet for six months before hand, for the present payment of all such money as you had laid out for posts and for

your further diet, for two months to be received in the lieu of a prest for the dispatch of such posts as you should address hither; so if your agents here would have called for money before the coming of your said letters, or of Rouge croix, [who] would have taken your bills of exchange with him, the same might long before have been dispatched. And one thing I much marvelled of, that you would put the King's Highness to the charge of the interests: the precedent were too evil to be admitted. And for your part I would have you in no wise to desire any such matter; it would be taken in evil part, and yet you shall never therein obtain your purpose. Mistrust not but you shall have as much favour as I may extend unto you. And indeed you had need of friendship; for I have not seen a wise man leave his things so rawly, as yours be left.

Now to touch some of the points of your letters addressed to the King's Highness. It was found here marvellous strange that it should be said there that the Emperor's agents here resident could have none audience in six months. The truth is, they never desired audience but they had it; and so themselves have confessed since the arrival of the said letters. Since which time there hath been communication again touching the marriage: but they be so, percase, to have the daughter; whom I assure you the King's Majesty esteemeth as she is worthy, and to shew no point of friendship for it; I cannot tell what I should say to their fashion of proceeding. If it take not effect the fault shall not be in his Highness, but on that side; for we have desired nothing but that, which as the Emperor may do without breach of his league with the bishop of Rome, so, if he should not do it (in case) without any bond of treaties, only upon his offer, being a good Christian Prince, he hath not that sincerity in him that I judge to be in his Majesty. But I trust all shall be well.

Upon the decease of the Queen, whom God pardon, the Ambassador made an overture for the Daughter of Portugal. It was thankfully taken, and would have been much better taken if it had come of new from the Emperor, as they appeared they did it by an old commission. Howsoever the matter should succeed, the overture could not be taken but very kindly, and might work many good effects in

other things. The King's Majesty is much desirous to hear from you touching the matter of Dignely. And thus fare ye most heartily well.

From the Nete the 29th of November.

Your loving friend,

THOMAS CROMWELL.

Post Scripta. Whereas in your said last letters addressed to the King's Majesty, you do signify in the repetition of your conference with the Emperor, that the same should say unto you upon your overture for the mediation of a peace between him and the French King; "I can-" not tell how my friends do solicit me alway to peace; for divers have " meddled in the same; and whensoever my matters go any thing darkly " forwards, I hear no word of mediation of peace; and now when it " seemeth my successes come something handsomely to pass, I am soli- " cited to peace both by the King your master, and others;" The King's Highness's pleasure is, that upon the receipt hereof, taking your occasion to enter a new conference and communication with the Emperor, you shall declare unto him that forasmuch as in your late dispatches with his Majesty, which you wrote unto the King's Highness, it appeared by the words expressed, that he thought he was solicited to the peace when his affairs went prosperously forward, and otherwise heard no mention of it: as the King's Majesty having no respect to the state of his affairs at that motion of it, but to the good of the thing, upon the zeal that he had to both Princes, and to the general quiet and repose of all Christendom, made that overture like a good Prince and an assured friend to the Emperor; so, being since the arrival of your said letters advertised of the abasement of his affairs in Italy, and of victories of the French King, both in the getting of the passage at Guise, and in the reinforcing and re-victualling of his holds and fortresses in those parts; to declare how much his Grace tendered the benefit of peace, and how little he regarded any affection or cause that might move him to favour either the one or the other part more than became a Prince indifferent; and so indifferent, that knowing

them both to be Princes of honour, and his dear friends and allies, he could have been content with his travail, charge, and great expenses to have been the mean to convey them to a quiet; whereby the effusion of Christian blood should have been eschued. Albeit his most noble, virtuous, and princely overture therein was not so lovingly embraced as the [amicable tender] of the same required; yet nevertheless, to express that the same proceeded upon the mind and zeal declared, his Majesty hath commanded you eftsoon to renouvel the said overture of mediation unto him; and to desire him even now, though his things be not so prosperous altogether as they were, to signify his resolution unto you, whether he can be content to commit the decision of his matters to his Grace's arbiter, if the French King will for his part condescend to do the semblable: and if he will thereunto conform himself, you may then require him for the declaration of his titles, to address unto the King's Highness such a personage as shall be able sufficiently to instruct his Majesty in the same; the same to bring with him such commission as he may make such overtures for that purpose as may be reasonable and seemly for that Prince to ground himself upon, which indifferently desireth an honest end between them. Whereupon, the French King doing the semblable, if he will agree to the like of this overture, neither of them shall need to doubt but his Majesty will so proceed between them, as neither party shall have cause justly to be grieved.

And with this matter you may also declare unto him, how the information made that his orators here could not have audience for six months was untruly surmised unto him, as they have themselves confessed; which I think they have also signified thither for the manifestation of the truth in that behalf. Thus imparting your words, so as he may take these advertisements and overtures as friendly as they be made unto him; and yet so observing him in the uttering of his answers thereunto, as you may somewhat decipher the bottom of his heart, and affection towards the King's Majesty, if by any wisdom it may be drawn out of the same.

And thus fare you again most heartily well. From the Nete the last day of November. [1537.]

The King's pleasure is, that you shall send a speedy answer hereof, and therewith signify such occurrents as have happened in those parties, since the writing of your last letters.

Your loving friend,

THOMAS CROMWELL.

To my very loving friend Sir Thomas Wyatt, Knight, the King's Majesties Ambassador resident with the Emperor.

My Lord Privy Seal, in December, at Barcelona, by Peter Rede.

LETTER IX.

CROMWELL, LORD PRIVY SEAL, TO SIR THOMAS WYATT.

MASTER WYATT,

AFTER my right hearty commendations: by this bearer you shall receive the King's Highness' letters with a commission, whereby you shall be authorised to treat common, and conclude with these Princes, for his Grace's part, as by the said letters are limitted.

Now, use your wisdom to set forth the contents of the said letters with such a dexterity as the effect desired may ensue of the same. There was never a better inclination in the King's Majesty both to forget all things passed, to enter a perfect reconciliation, and to do all things that may turn to the Emperor's honour or commodity, as much as can be reasonably desired of him, than there is at this present, if the Emperor will now shew himself to esteem his Highness as he pretendeth: and especially in following his Grace's advice in the matter of the Council. All thing, I doubt not, shall so succeed between them, as shall be to God's glory, to both their honours, and to the great good and quiet of Christendom. We shall desire much to hear from you, and therefore whenever you shall be able to write any certainty either upon the Emperor's assured promise, or upon any certain

conclusion, send with diligence. And thus fare you most heartily well. [1537.]

Your loving friend,

THOMAS CROMWELL.

From London the 26th of December.

To my assured loving friend, Sir Thomas Wyatt, Knight, the King's Ambassador with the Emperor.

My Lord Privy Seal, in January, by Mr. Mason at Barcelona.

LETTER X.

CROMWELL, LORD PRIVY SEAL, TO SIR THOMAS WYATT.

MASTER WYATT,

AFTER my hearty commendations. This shall be to advertise you that this present day, being the last of February, arrived here at the Court the Bishop of Tarbes, being addressed to the King's Majesty from the French King; who, bringing with him a commission to entreat and conclude upon a confirmation of all amities between them, with an addition of all such things as on either part might be devised further to ———— or either of their commodities, made plain and certain overture that whether the King's Majesty would enter into any such capitulation or no, in case it should be his pleasure to take it upon him, he should for the French King's part have whole and entire maintaining of the peace between him and the Emperor: and further, he offered on the French King's behalf, that he should never take peace with the Emperor but the King's Majesty should therein be a principal contrahent; and also in the matters of Council, and other things, that the King should find the French King so assured and conformable towards him as he should have cause to accept him for his good brother and most entire friend. To this the King answered, that their words were many times so qualified, that it appeared hard to him to give any great credit, without further proof unto him: nevertheless, for that that part shewed an affection in him, the said French King, the King gave unto him his condign thanks;

declaring how much his Highness desired the succeeding of such universal peace as might redound to the quiet of all Christendom, and how earnestly his Grace hath travailed upon that zeal only to obtain the mediation of it; not doubting but in case he would stick to that overture, his good brother the Emperor, who hath shewed therein already good inclination, would right gladly do semblable. And as touching the winning of his Grace as a perpetual contrahent, his Majesty told him that he was assured so to be by the said Emperor's means, though the French King would say nay unto it. Albeit his overture therein, and in the rest, carrying with it a friendly visage, was such as he would not but take in good part, and give unto him thanks also for it, as thanks be given for friendly words which keep their place, as long as they shall not be denied by contrary effects.

To this they replied, that for the French King's part, they would affirm, that as his overtures proceeded from a most friendly heart, so his deeds should most certainly approve and confirm the same. But as for the Emperor, they said they could affirm also upon their certain knowledge, that what words soever he had uttered, or any for him, he never minded to join the King as a Prince contrahent, nor would in any wise agree that the King should have in his hand the managing of the peace between them. Whereunto I assure you the King made friendly answer for the Emperor's honour, truth, and assuredness to the observation of his word, and in the debating of his most hearty love towards the Emperor; so that our Ambassadors from the French King be retired to London without doing of any thing, or they receiving of any other answer. And forasmuch as I do perceive that they will offer wonders to stay the King from the Emperor, albeit I am in most assured hope that they shall therein fail in their purpose, notwithstanding his Grace would, I think, labour to make some good end between them, and therefore, the good of Christendom, and the better chastising of the common enemy of the same; yet I thought good to advertise you therein that you may at your opportunity declare the same to the Emperor and his Council for the good acceleration of his determinate answer to the things put in overture between them; and especially you must travail that, seeing the French King hath

offered his mediation of peace to the King, the Emperor seemeth to have less confidence in his Grace than they shew themselves to have. And likewise it shall be well done that you shall most earnestly induce the Emperor to the writing of the letters, wherein he shall affirm his promises both touching the joining of the King as a premier contrahent, and touching the consenting to nothing in the Council, though it should take effect, that to the [King] his Grace, or to his realm, may be in any wise prejudicial. Touching also that for the stay of his consent to the place whereunto the said Council is indicted, and concerning all the rest of the things whereof mention is made in the letters sent unto you by Rede, his Majesty will use that loving conformity that may bring all matters now well entered into a just perfection; if any lack should be, [it] must spring on that part: which I, being a poor minister to my Master, and bearing an honest heart towards the communication of him and the Emperor together, would be loth and sorry to see it end. Therefore, Mr. Wyatt, now is the time for him to take his time, and for you to play your part of a good servant. I mistrust neither the loving mind nor the wisdom of the one, nor the honest zeal and desire of the other, that all things may frame to the honour of both Princes, and consequently to the benefit of Christendom. Heartily desiring you to use your dexterity, and to accelerate such certain and resolute answer in all things as may be to the King's satisfaction.

Mr. Wyatt, now handle this matter in such earnest sort with the Emperor, as the King (who by your fair words hath conceived as certain to find assured friendship therein) be not deceived. The Frenchmen affirm so constantly and boldly that nothing spoken by the Emperor either touching the principal contrahent, the Council, or further alliance hath in the same any manner of good faith, but such fraud and deceit, that [though] the King had gathered a certain confidence in the Emperor's honour and trust upon your letters and the relation of Mr. Dudley, I assure you on my faith, it would make any man to suspect his proceeding. They say, and deeply swear, that the peace resteth in their hand and arbitrament; and, therefore, if the Emperor should in any wise conclude with them before he should go through with his

matters here, yea though [he] might have them to take peace with such conditions as he himself would appoint unto - - - - - - - - after he would offer as much or more to the King than he hath done, or is now desired of him. I think certainly it could not be with all that which would now be engendered by such agreement. But I neither fear his honour in his promise, nor his wisdom for his bargain that may now be made, if he will now follow it, and firmly wyne himself with this marriage party. And if there should be any difficulty upon the point of the mediation by reason of the shortness of the time of the truce, you may declare how the Frenchmen show themselves so earnest to put all in the King's hand, that they offer, upon any signification that the Emperor will make, though it were but to his Ambassador there to condescend to the same, they will straight resolve and agree upon the protraction of the truce for so long time as the King shall think meet, and will determine. Wherefore, if that point be desired upon advertisement of the Emperor's mind thereon, either it shall be obtained, or else the Frenchmen shall start from that which so absolutely they have offered even to the King's own person.

Labour, Mr. Wyatt, to cause the Emperor, if it be possible, to write it. The French King, if he is content to commit this mediation to the King's hand, [is] to offer therefore a longer truce: for the Frenchmen say they will make the King see the Emperor's crafty dealing, and disclose him, and by this mean their own craft, if it be false that they say, as I think surely it is, shall be turned unto their own necks. Thus fare you heartily well. At Hampton Court, the 1st of March. [1538.]

By your loving friend,

THOMAS CROMWELL.

To my assured loving friend, Sir Thomas Wyatt, Kt. the King's Ambassador in Spain.

My Lord Privy Seal, of the 1st of March, received the 11th of the same, by my Lord of Winchester's servant in Barcelona. Anno primo.

LETTER XI.

SIR THOMAS WYATT TO THE EARL OF HERTFORD.

In my most hearty manner I recommend me unto your Lordship: and whereas this bearer, for certain business of his city hath been here in the Emperor's Court, with whom I have had acquaintance and familiarity; now that he returneth unto his country, he hath desired my letters unto your Lordship, whereby he might have acquaintance with the same. It may please you therefore to have him for recommended; whom ye shall find a right honest man, and that understandeth right well the things of his country. Besides this, I beseech your Lordship, all such letters as shall come from him to your hands for me from time to time, to see them safely conveyed; for they shall be of importance for the King's service. Of other news that be now here he shall inform you better by mouth than I by my letters. And by the way of the post I suppose ye shall have other my letters, before these come to your hands. Therefore, for this present, I shall bid your Lordship farewell. And our Lord have you in his keeping. At Toledo, the 3d of March. [1538.]

To my Lord of Hertford, the 3d of March, by Hulrick the Almain from Toledo.

LETTER XII.

CROMWELL, LORD PRIVY SEAL, TO SIR THOMAS WYATT.

Master Wyatt,

After my right hearty commendations: by this bearer you shall receive the King's Highness's letters; by the contents whereof you shall perceive so largely what hath been done here, that I shall not need to make any repetition of the same, only I thought

meet to signify unto you, that if these men here would have come to any peace of reason, they might perchance have done themselves more good than they have done. There were appointed as Commissioners to approach to them, my Lord of Canterbury, my Lord Chancellor, my Lord of Suffolk, myself, my Lord Admiral, the Bishops of Hereford and Chichester, and Master Russell, now Comptroller. All these persons had conferences with them at every meeting. And in the commission was also my Lord of Norfolk and the Bishop of Dureslme; but they were absent. By this you may see they were not slenderly esteemed; and sure I am, and dare boldly affirm it, I never heard so many gay words, and saw so little effect ensue of the same since I was born, before this time. But by this I may well see there is scarce any good faith in the world. The King's Majesty doth much marvel that you send your letters open to my Lord of Winchester. For albeit his Grace doth not mistrust him, yet he noteth some folly in you to do it, without his express commandment; and willeth me to advertise you that you shall in no wise use it hereafter. If he would break them he may do it at his peril; but now the fault is in you; which nevertheless, for that which is past is pardoned. By the next messengers, Doctor Haynes, Dean of Exeter, and Doctor Bonner, Archdeacon of Leicester, you shall hear of the signature of your bill of augmentation of diet. Thus in the mean season fare you heartily well. From St. James's, the 5th of April. [1538.]

Your loving friend,

THOMAS CROMWELL.

To my very loving friend Master Wyatt,
K^t. Ambassador with the Emperor.

My Lord Privy Seal of the 5th of
April, by Francisco, the 12th of
the same at Barcelona, April 2. A°. 2°.

LETTER XIII.

CROMWELL, LORD PRIVY SEAL, TO SIR THOMAS WYATT.

MASTER WYATT,

AFTER my hearty commendations: because you shall perceive by the instructions made to these bearers, and by their relation the whole discourse of all matters of importance touching the King's Majesty, I shall not be tedious herein with any repetition of the same; only by these you shall know, that according to my promise I have obtained your warrant for the augmentation of your diet, a mark by the day; so that now you have a daily allowance *54s. 4d.*; which odd shilling above four marks is also - - - - - to Mr. Mason. Your agents here, if you have any, be very slack to call upon any man for you. Your brother Hawte was not thrice here since you went; and the rest I hear nothing of, unless it be when nothing is to be done. I never saw man that had so many friends here, leave so few perfect friends behind him. Quicken them with your letters; and in the mean season as I have been, so shall I be both your friend and your solicitor. Thus fare you heartily well. From St. James's, *the 8th of April*. [1538.]

Herewith you shall receive a letter from Master Pate to Brauncetour; I pray you mind it, and solicit the answer to the same. If Brauncetour will come home, you may tell him I doubt not but he shall find the King's Highness his good and generous Lord. And I shall not fail to take such order with his creditors, as he shall be in quiet, and out of all damages.

Your loving assured friend,

THOMAS CROMWELL.

To mine assured friend Sir Thomas Wyatt, K^t^. the King's Ambassador resident with the Emperor.

My Lord Privy Seal of the 5th of April, by Dr. Haynes and Mr. Bonner, at night, the 10th of May. A°. 2°.

LETTER XIV.

CROMWELL LORD PRIVY SEAL TO SIR THOMAS WYATT.

After my right hearty commendations: by this bearer you shall receive the King's Highness' letters signifying an overture made unto his Majesty by the French King, with an instruction how you shall use and behave yourself in the same, which I doubt not you will duly weigh and consider, and so proceed therein (whether it be proposed according to the device or objected unto you) as his Majesty's honour may be preserved, and his commodity therewith wrought to his Grace's satisfaction. Much his Majesty doth marvel that you, Master Wyatt, are not more speedy in your advertisements considering the time and importance of affairs now in treaty among Christian Princes. It shall be good that you redubbe that negligence. Thus fare ye heartily well. From St. James's, beside Westminster, the 4th day of May. [1538]

Your loving assured friend,

THOMAS CROMWELL.

To my assured loving friend, Sir Thomas Wyatt, Mr. Doctor Haynes, and Mr. Doctor Bonner, the King's Orators with the Emperor.

LETTER XV.

CROMWELL LORD PRIVY SEAL TO SIR THOMAS WYATT.

Mr. Wyatt,

After my right hearty commendations: by your letters of the 25th of the last month the King's Majesty is advertised of your discourse had with the Emperor upon the arrival of the dispatches by Francisco; and to be plain with you, the King's Majesty, and all we of his Majesty's Council, find such a coldness in it, that we be

much sorry to remember you, so many good words should bring forth [such evil] deeds; and besides, his Majesty is advertised from sundry parties, how all this meeting [of] the Council, and all things done for the benefit and glory of Rome be set forth and advanced by the Emperor, that he doth but to devise to work all the world by practices with fair words for his own purposes. I pray God those news and advertisements, may be by his good deeds shewed false. It were great ruth that a Prince of his honour shall intend so corruptly; whereof I give you knowledge that you may either bring things [to] a better stay; or decipher the truth, that the malice thereof may be the better prevented. Thus fare ye heartily well. From Westminster, the 10th of May. [1538]

LETTER XVI.

CROMWELL LORD PRIVY SEAL TO SIR THOMAS WYATT.

After my right hearty commendations: after the receipt of your letters by Mr. Mason, upon the signification made to the King's Majesty by the Queen Regent of the receipt of the Emperor's commission, and of his good and singular affection to proceed sincerely and conclude all things as their amity requireth; the King's Highness, after the sending of Mr. Wriothesley and Mr. Vaughan into Flanders, with commission and power to treat and conclude with the said Regent, hath advised earnestly to join with the Emperor, and therefore hath dispatched this bearer his trusty servant, Mr. Hobby, one of the Grooms of his Grace's Privy Chamber, with letters and instructions. His Grace, thanking you for your great diligence and dexterity heretofore used, requireth you at this time earnestly to proceed to the declaration of his good affection and purpose, which I assure you is as sincere and fervent, earnest and effectual, as could be desired; and also of the whole instructions, which do proceed of the very bottom of his good heart, and pure stomach. Now is the time that by the same you may much further the matters, and get yourself much praise

and estimation; the which I would be glad, for the desire I have of your furtherance no less than ever I had, might be accomplished and done before March, for at that time, I trust, according to your desire, to get you leave to come hither again: and that the King's Majesty shall send some other to supply your room there; wherefore, essay so earnestly to set those things forward as you may increase your estimation thereby.

The King's Highness had sent Mason unto you instead of this said bearer, were it not the chance that he is evil diseased of a fever, like as by his own letters ye shall perceive.

All occurrents here the said Mr. Hobby may declare unto you at large, and amply. I mistrust not your diligence: wherefore, without longer exhortation I commend you to the blessed Creator, who send you prosperity and long life.

From London, this 16th of October, the 30th year of his Grace's most noble reign, [1538.]

Your assured loving friend,

THOMAS CROMWELL.

To mine assured loving friend Sir Thomas Wyatt, Kt. Gentleman of the King's Chamber, and his Grace's Ambassador with the Emperor.

From my Lord Privy Seal the 16th of October.

LETTER XVII.

SIR THOMAS WYATT TO CROMWELL, LORD PRIVY SEAL.

Please it your Lordship for this time to accept short letters, remitting the same to the letters of the King more largely written. I thank your Lordship for the giving order for my money which I lent Mr. Bryan. If the King's honour, more than his credit, had not been before mine eyes, he should have piped in an ivy leaf for ought of me. I report me to Mr. Thirlby, Loveday, and Sherington. I humbly

thank you also for your advices of news. By our Lord it is a notable grace that the King hath ever had, the discovery of conspiration against him. I cannot tell, but that God claimeth to be principal, whether he cause more to allow his fortune, or his minister's. I would I could persuade these preachers as well to preach his grave proceeding against the Sacramentaries and Anabaptists (as your Lordship writeth) as they do the burning of the Bishop's bones. But of that, nor of other news, on my faith, I have no letters from no man but from you.

I cannot tell whether it be that men are more scrupulous in writing than negligent to do their friends pleasure. Here are already news of the condemnation of the Marquis, of Montagu, of his brother, of Sir Edward Nevill, and of three servants; but of the particularities I hear nothing.

I have had it told me by some here of reputation, that peradventure I was had in suspect both with the King and you, as they said it was told them; but like as I take it light, so I ascribe it to such invention as some of my good friends would be glad to have it.

I shall not let for all that to solicit at your Lordsnip's hands my coming home, and there let me, reddere rationem. But out of game, I beseech your Lordship humbly to help me. I need no long persuasions. You know what case I am in. I have written this unto you. I am at the wall; I am not able to endure to march, and the rest shall all be the King's dishonour and my shame; besides the going to nought of all my particular things. Have some consideration between them that feign excuses for such with————and him that endeth frankly his service to his Majesty. I can no more but remit me wholly to your Lordship; and if it be not sufficient that ye know of the strait I am in, inform yourself of Mr. Vane and Mr. Poynings. And thus after my most humble recommendations, our Lord send you good life and long.

At Toledo the 2d of January [1538.] Don Diego told me [he] had obtained licence for two genets for you, and that he would deliver them to me to send them. I trust to bring them myself to see them better ordered.

To my Lord Cromwell.

LETTER XVIII.

CROMWELL, LORD PRIVY SEAL, TO SIR THOMAS WYATT.

After my right hearty commendations: I have received your letters by this bearer, Nicholas, and set forth the matter of your return at March next, and, my suit notwithstanding, it is deferred until April, as you shall perceive by the King's letters, whose Majesty taketh your diligence and active alacrity there in good part; sending you assuredly of his great pleasure in all things, as by his said letters ye shall perceive.

I doubt not but you shall duly discharge your duty in the putting forth thereof as you have done hitherto. I advise you to take patiently your abode there until April, and to send me word what money ye shall need to have sent unto you, for I shall help you. Assuring you that I could not see you that went, and hath abided there honestly furnished, to return home, and at the latter end return needy and disfurnished. I do better tender the King's honour, and do esteem you better than so to suffer you to lack. Advising you, nevertheless, that I think your gentle frank heart doth much impoverish you. When you have money you are content to depart with it and lend it, as you did lately 200 ducats to Mr. Hobby, the which I think had no need of them; for he had large furnishment of money at his departure hence, and likewise at his return. We accustom not to send men disprovided so far. Take heed therefore how you depart of such portion as ye need. And foresee rather to be provided yourself, than for the promotion of other to leave yourself naked. Politick charity proceedeth not that way. If you shall advertise me what sums ye shall need, I shall take a way that ye shall be furnished. I require you to solicit an answer of the Emperor to tenor of the King's letters: and as shortly as you can, and as often as you may have opportunity to advertise his Majesty amply of all occurrences. Thus fare you heartily well. From London this 19th of January, 1539.

Your assured friend,

THOMAS CROMWELL.

To my very loving friend Sir Thomas Wyatt, Knight, one of the Gentlemen of the King's Chamber, and his Grace's Ambassador with the Emperor.

LETTER XIX.

CROMWELL, LORD PRIVY SEAL, TO SIR THOMAS WYATT.

After my hearty commendations: forasmuch as the King's Highness, after the arrival of Mr. Blage, which was on Sunday last writeth unto you his gracious pleasure more at large, I surcease at this present to declare unto you any thing thereof; but only I advertise you of the receipt of two of your letters sent to me at divers times by the way of France.

I have caused Mr. Tuke to deliver lately unto two of your assignees here the sum of 500l. and odd, as I doubt not but they shall advertise you thereof. Here we have no notable news and occurrences, but do look daily to have some of you, and to be ascertained of the Emperor's final resolution upon the points contained in his Grace's letters sent to you by Nicholas. If you have had as yet at the arrival hereof no answer, I pray you to solicit it instantly, and to use all speed in giving advertisement thereof; and also of the Emperor's answer to his Highness's letters sent you by this bearer, the which I require you to dispatch hither again with some answer as soon as you may.

Of your coming ye shall perceive the King's gracious pleasure by his own letters. The personage that shall succeed you is not yet appointed, wherefore I can give you no knowledge thereof. The King's Majesty hath your diligence and proceedings right acceptable, and using good celerity at this time, and like dexterity, you may be assured of increase of more favour. I have reserved for you the house of the Friars of Aylesford, as ye desired it, and will be glad in all other things to employ myself to further your reasonable desires.

Thus fare ye right heartily well. From London, the 13th of February. [1539]

Your loving assured friend,

THOMAS CROMWELL.

To my loving friend Mr. Wyatt, Knight, one of the Gentlemen of the King's Chamber, and his Grace's Ambassador in Spain.

By Francis at Toledo, the 19th of February.

LETTER XX.

CROMWELL, LORD PRIVY SEAL, TO SIR THOMAS WYATT.

After my right hearty commendations: forasmuch as by the letters which the King's Majesty sendeth unto you at this time, ye shall both perceive the receipt of such your letters as be hitherto arrived here, and his Grace's answer thereunto, with the whole discourse of the news and affairs here: albeit I doubt not but ye will use such good diligence in fulfilling his Highness's pleasure in the same as ye have accustomed; yet I have thought to desire and pray you at this time no less diligently to employ your earnest dexterity, but rather, as much as in you shall lie, to set forth and so conduce the affairs, as thereby may follow his Majesty's good purpose: marking and noting in such wise the discourses, proceedings, and communications to be had there, their countenance, fashion, and vehemence, with the very words and answers, as by the same the certainty of things to ensue may be conjectured and known. And as ye have right well done heretofore, much to his Grace's contentment and satisfaction; so ye shall, according to his good expectation by your letters, with all possible celerity advertise his Highness of your whole proceedings and conferences there, and of the circumstances thereof, together with all the occurrences; assuring yourself, that his Majesty taketh your good service in thankful acceptation and perfect remembrance thereof, to your no little comfort. And as concerning the advancement of your diets, I shall travail for the new signature of your warrant for the same as soon as an opportunity shall occur for the same. This bearer is paid both for his journey hither, and for his return again, which I trust shall be with diligence. And thus fare ye heartily well. From St. James's, beside Westminster, the 22d day of February. [1538]. I pray you truly to answer my last letters.

Your assured friend,

THOMAS CROMWELL.

To my assured loving friend Sir Thomas Wyatt, Kt. the King's Ambassador, resident in the Emperor's court.

My Lord Privy Seal, of the 22d of February, received by Rede the 3d of March, in Barcelona.

LETTER XXI.

SIR THOMAS WYATT TO THE EARL OF HERTFORD.

My Lord,

Take this in haste. Know ye that Pole the Cardinal cometh after this courier to the French King to solicit against the King our master. I suppose it shall be your office to make preparatives with the French King to demand of him according to the treaty. The whilst ———— after advertisement from the King. Further believe this bearer and I recommend me to your Lordship. At Toledo, the 23d of February [1539].

THOMAS WYATT.

I pray you see this packet safely delivered, for so I have promised.

To the right honourable my Lord of Hertford, Ambassador for the King's Majesty in the Court of France.

Received 7th of March, by a servant of Mr. Archdeacon Carver, about 4 of the clock afternoon, delivered by a servant of Mr. Wyatt's called Rudston, at Paris.

LETTER XXII.

CROMWELL, LORD PRIVY SEAL, TO SIR THOMAS WYAT

After my right affectionate commendation: I have received, not only your letters by Nicholas the courier and by your servant Rudston, but also all other contained in your catalogue at the latter end of my letters sent by the same Nicholas. Ye may perceive by the King's letters to you addressed at this time, how thankfully his Grace accepteth your good diligence, and doings there; and also the occurrents and bruits which have been spread abroad. Marvellous strange the suspicion and conjectures of those ships which be sent out

of Flanders to Spain, for what cause no man can well tell here; and the arrest of ships in Flanders. Albeit since the King's letters signed, I have received advertisement from Mr. Wriothesley, that as Wednesday last the Queen Regent, and the Council there, sent him my warrants for the delivery of the same ships. But as yet they be not arrived. We cannot satisfy our minds whereof did proceed all those unkind parts and such strangeness as suddenly, and upon no manner of ground, hath been since Lent used to the said Mr. Wriothesley. He had good chere and entertainment a little before that two couriers should arrive thither from Spain. Whether the Emperor wrote any such things to be done, we cannot tell; but it is like he did. Therefore I require you well and diligently, by all manner of means to you possible, to seek and search to know the bottom of their hearts there, what they do intend and practise; what intelligence they have with the Frenchmen, and Bishop of Rome; and if you can perceive any notable knowledge, to give [information] thereof, with the answer that ye shall have to the effect of the King's letters now unto you. I shall help to dispatch Mr. Tate, and to send him thitherward as soon and with as good diligence as I can, to the intent you may return hither according to your desire. I trust to be so earnest to set forth your good service, that after your return, within a short space, ye shall be no more needy, nor have cause to think yourself hindered. Thus fare ye right heartily well. From London, this 10th of March. [1539.]

Your assured loving friend,

THOMAS CROMWELL.

To my very loving friend Sir Thomas Wyatt, Knight, one of the Gentlemen of the King's Chamber, and his Grace's Ambassador with the Emperor.

From my Lord Privy Seal, by Nicholas, the courier to Toledo, the 10th of March.

LETTER XXIII.

CROMWELL, LORD PRIVY SEAL, TO SIR THOMAS WYATT.

MR. WYATT,

AFTER my most hearty and affectionate commendations to you, I advertise you of the receipt of your letters of the 29th of March last, by your post Nicholas; and also of your other letters by the way of Flanders of sundry dates, as the 16th and 18th of the same month, the which, and your good diligence and office therein ministered, the King's Majesty taketh very thankfully, and purposeth to remember the same accordingly. His Highness hath dispatched this bearer, Mr. Tate your successor in post, for the causes which he shall declare unto you. I pray you, that for my sake you will help him of such your plate and stuff for his furnishment as ye may spare, for reasonable price, and to shew unto him your favour and gentleness, as I doubt not thereof: he shall declare unto you the diligence of your coming, and why his Grace would have it accelerated. I pray and advise you to order it so diligently as may be to his Grace's satisfaction. And so because he can declare unto you all manner of news by mouth, without any further recital, fare you heartily well. From London this 12th of April. [1539.]

Your assured loving friend,

THOMAS CROMWELL.

To my very loving friend Sir Thomas Wyatt, Knight, Gentleman of the King's Chamber, and his Grace's Ambassador with the Emperor.

From my Lord Privy Seal, by Mr. Tate, the 12th of April, to Toledo.

LETTER XXIV.

CROMWELL, LORD PRIVY SEAL, TO SIR THOMAS WYATT.

Mr. Wyatt,

After my right hearty commendations to you. Forasmuch as the King's Majesty hath much heart to know what is the matter that ye cannot write, but declare only by word of mouth; therefore his Grace willeth, ye shall with all possible diligence return; and in case ye cannot so soon come, the King's Majesty's will is that ye shall make the shortest abode there ye can; and in the mean time, because of your better acquaintance ye shall inquire what the Emperor will this year; or go out of Spain, or where, i. e. against Turkey, or Barbary, and how all stands between France and the Emperor, and news there. Thus because this bearer can inform you of the news, I shall, without longer recital commit you to Almighty God. From London this 16th of April. [1539.]

Your loving friend,

THOMAS CROMWELL.

To my very loving friend Sir Thomas Wyatt, Knight, Gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber, and his Grace's Ambassador with the Emperor.

From my Lord Privy Seal, by Nicholas, the 16th of April, to Toledo.

LETTER XXV.

SIR THOMAS WYATT TO THE KING.

Please it your Majesty to be advertised I wrote unto my Lord Privy Seal, of the 28th of the last, from Paris, which was but of small importance; but only to let you know where I was, the cause of

my little speed by the weather, my judgment then upon the Emperor's speed hitherward, and a postscript that I had of the courier that left him at Bruges the 22d of that same month, ready the next day to depart hitherward; and further, what I intended with further consultation with my Lord of London.

And according as I wrote then, so overtook I with my said Lord of London at Orleans, ready to depart on Sunday last. And after I had participated with him my instructions, I rode with him in journey till the next post, and there lay all night. And so for because of the French King's moving from Schamborow the next day, being Monday the 1st of December, toward Bloys; and the difficulty to have access in following his moving, we did deliberate that I should prevent the said King's coming to Bloys by the post; and so I did, my said Lord of London making so good speed that he rode four posts the same day in journey. At my coming to Bloys the Cardinal of Lorraine was arrived, and unto him I sent Mr. Mason to advertise him that your Majesty had sent a servant of yours to the King his Master, both with letters and further credence, which desired him to procure audience. Who, incontinent, bad him tarry, for that he would forthwith advertise the King, and he should know his time at the very hour the King arrived. And the Cardinal returning, appointed to Mr. Mason after supper the same night for our access. By this was our Lord of London arrived, and at after supper we went to the Court, and came to the Cardinal's chamber who even then had ended supper, and with gentle recal asked for the good health of your Majesty. And after the report of the same, with your Grace's recommendations, and my thank for his continual favour to all your Grace's servants for their address, he sent to advertise the King of our coming; and, after the little hearing his music, accompanied us to the Queen's outer chamber whereas the King was, and with little abode came forth unto us. My Lord of London, after presenting himself unto him, declared unto him that your Majesty had sent me with letters and further credence unto him. Whereupon I presented your said letters, which he read at a cupboard, the Cardinal of [Lorraine] holding the quarrier unto him. The letters read, he returned into the midst of the chamber

unto us, and repeated unto us justly the effect and sum of the same letters, and asked my further credence, returning again to the cupboard. Whereas I declared your Majesty's hearty recommendations, your congratulations of his recovered health; the intimation that his Ambassador, jointly with him of the Emperor, made unto your Majesty of this interview; how glad news this was unto you to know your two principallest allies and friends to come to such reconciliation, friendship, and confidence, with setting forth of the goodness of peace; and the harm of dissension of two such princes upon whom depend so many people of Christendom, with further request to know of his good successes and news, if it pleased him to participate them with your Majesty, according as your Majesty's instructions did limit me. He heard me very gently and notingly, and putting again off his bonnet, thanked the King his good Brother for his good visitation, and the friendly office that he doth with him; and for the recovery of his health; "No doubt," he said, "it was dangerous, his sickness, and to "the very death: that it seemed an impossibility to have warranted him "in so short a space to be in such a point as I saw him; whereof he "greatly thanked God." Whereunto my Lord of London said, that such was the love and sincere affection of your Majesty towards him, that his sickness was your sickness, and his amendment made ye whole again. Which word he seemed to take pleasantly.

And whereas I had mentioned of his Ambassadors signifying this interview to your Majesty, so he had, he said, given him a commandment so to do, and that no doubt it could not be but to the great good of Christendom, were it not but for the ceasing of so many mischiefs as have been betwixt him and the Emperor; whereof since they both seemed to be weary, and since they spake together at Aquas-Mortes, he hath found the Emperor so inclinable to reason, and he himself being so also for his part, that he seemeth to have great assurance in the performing of the things that shall be for the common quiet of Christendom: and now since the Emperor for the affairs of importance that he hath of these conditions in his Low Countries, which yet now are appeased, nevertheless that the view of the Prince among his subjects is a great satisfaction unto them, would come thorough his realm; he

was very joyful of it, not only for that he might have occasion thereby to make him good chear, but also for that the said Emperor doth him in that the greatest honour that can be; and sheweth thereby to take him for an honest man. And here, when I reply that the Emperor knew well with whom he dealt, as with the Prince of honour. "O!" quoth he, "we have among us all nothing but our honour;" and so forth, continued his tale with such small incidents, both of my Lord of London and me, as might minister matter unto him; wherein he contained expressly, that although he conceived as before, good assurance of such things at the Emperor's hand as should be to the confirmation of the quiet of Christendom; yet would he not, passing through his realm, laying his hand on his breast, move one word of any such thing, for that it were not honest; but he would only intend to make him such chear as appertained to the confidence that he came in. But when he came into the Low Countries, then he trusted some good thing should ensue; and that in any thing wherein he might gratify the King, his good brother, he trusted that like as he had before time by effect shewn himself ready to do that that should be to the advancement of his affairs, so would the King, his good brother, by that that was past, assure himself of that that he might in all things to come. And here, I replying, the confidence that your Majesty had in the same, with the correspondence, assayed what of his good successes and news he would participate with you. Whereat, he taking again the tale, told us that he had news how that the Emperor was on thursday last within his realm, and that by the diligence he maketh he should now be at Bourdeaux. And further, he shewed us that he would the next day forth toward to Amboys, and so to Losches, and there tarry him. And that for the present he had none other thing, but that then at my return he should see me again. With that I took my leave; and my Lord of London, upon your Majesty's last letters, whereof yet till then had had no audience, trifled forth by the Constable from place to place, declared unto him, how that long ago, both at Compeigne, Paris, and Fontainbleau, he should, if he might have had access as he laboured for, have declared unto him the direction that your Majesty took for the justice to the

Bretons, according to his request in his letters; and also touching the apprehending and deliverance of Adrian Cappe's pretending conspiration against him and his children; declaring also therewith how friendly and brotherly your Majesty had done in the same, intending always so to continue. Whereto, with his bonnet in his hand, he thanked much your Majesty, and that in any like thing that shall touch your Majesty in person, that ye shall be sure on his behalf to be had as dear as the ball of his eye. Thus we departed; and for confirmation of the Emperor's coming on, I spake with that same courier that left him on Thursday at Bayonne; and it is marvellous much the diligence that the said Emperor maketh, considering the weather and the mountains, and the evil sliding ways.

I would spur before the French King, and get access, and insert myself into the Emperor's band before they meet, and not much before, to the end, for lack of horse, I be not cast far behind.

Marvel not, your Majesty, if yet ye have no more the particular advice what shall pass, who hath conduced this interview, or the what these Princes after it determine; for yet I have had no conferences, I have come to none acquaintance; nor I think it not easy to be had; but yet doubt not your Majesty of that which lieth in us to do. For the which it shall not, in my opinion, be unmeet that you send often some matter, if any be, or something that may seem matter, whereby without suspicion we might get often access.

But further to advertise your Majesty what I think; surely I begin to persuade myself marvellously to that opinion, that you thought the French Ambassador doubted, although my Lord of London be not of that mind; but that finally, notwithstanding the diversity of reports, he feareth they shall make conclusion; and though I have no stedfast ground, but conjecture, yet yesterday Mr. Mason going to speak with the Cardinal, meeting with him that was the Duke of Bourbon's Almoner, that is both of Mason's acquaintance and mine, after the first salutations, and inquiry of his coming and knowing of my being here, promising to come to me demanded of him roundly what your Majesty thought of this Emperor's coming through France? who answered him, that ye could nothing judge but well, since it could be

but amity and quiet of both of his your friends. Yea, quoth he, but doth he not know that he cometh to derange us; and with that sware deeply that it was for no other purpose: and thereto added, how he had done with his master, and reported him unto your Majesty; and also how he had done with him, yea, and with every man he meddleth withal. He said further, how he had plainly counselled Pellow to do as he had done, to seek to return to his natural country, and leave the falsehood and trampery of the Emperor. And that the French King had given him, since his departing from the Emperor, one thousand crowns a year in provisions; whereas the Emperor took from him that which he had. And further, he discoursed on the constraint that the Emperor was in to come to this friendship, to gain free passage into his Low Countries, and there to make him a mockery when he had done; and that also he were undone, and the most miserable man in the world by this dissension, both in the Low Countries and in Almaine; and the little friendship and estimation that he hath by his known craft in all the world, if this were not now. This purpose passed between us there, which I note unto your Majesty for the purpose afore, and for that the man may, besides himself, have heard the like discourse in some good place: for he is of some good estimation, both of wit and judgment, and a round man. Further, that I can learn of the County Gwilliam, whereof your Majesty gave me charge, is, that he, being at great words with the Constable, was commanded to keep his house on pain of his life; and so he did, and now he is departed with leave, but in small favour, and greatly offended; and, as I have before spoken, he hath returned himself to the Duke your brother. For this time we would trouble your Majesty with no longer letters, but only praying our Lord to have the same in his continual protection, and to continue the same in long and prosperous life. Amen. At Blois, the 2d of December. [1539.]

LETTER XXVI.

SIR THOMAS WYATT TO THE KING.

PLEASE it your Majesty to be advertised; that since my last letters, the 2d of this present from Blois, I departed the next morning; and notwithstanding that there was from the Constable a commandment come to the posts, on pain of their lives that no man should be horsed, unless it were from the Emperor, the French King, the Queen of Hungary, or him, yet what by force, what by means I got before the French King, and with much ado recovered Chatellerault; and being well ascertained that the French King, by the Emperor's great instance and often requests, by intercourses of his gentlemen to and fro should not pass Loches, and that I already was three posts past that; seeing also that the Emperor kept not the right highway, but following sometime hunting, sometime lodging, as it lay, I judged it better to tarry him there in certainty, than to less commodity of the better time to go seek him I wist not where, which also was almost impossible for fault of horse. And whilst I tarried there, there arrived Mons. de Grandvela, that came long before the Emperor out of Madrid with his wife by journey, whom I went to visit upon Saturday the 6th of this present, and after these common salutations and common demands, he asked me what news, and among other common news I told him I heard before my coming forth that the commotions of the Low Countries were, thanked be God, somewhat calmed. Whereunto he answered me, that they had letters that those things were in good way, and that they must know themselves subjects, yea, and other to. I could not have much leisure with him, for that even then he was dispatching Cornelius Skippenus by the post into Flanders. But I note this unto your Majesty, for that shall appear unto the same after in my access to the Emperor.

Wednesday the 10th day of this same date at night, came the Emperor into Chatellerault from hunting, the Dauphin on his right hand, the Duke of Orleans on the left. That same night a gentleman

came unto me to know how I was lodged, and what I lacked; with gentle offer of any thing I would command. I caused the Emperor to be advertised that same night of my being there; and the next morning about nine of the clock I had access unto him, where he received me, the Constable being in the chamber, very genteelly, with his hat in his hand, asking heartily for your Majesty. And after your Majesty's hearty commendations, with delivery and reading your letters, he drew towards me again, and rehearsed unto me the effect of the same touching the revocation of Mr. Tate, and my returning to his place, telling me that I was welcome, and further, that my letters were credential. Whereupon I shewed him that your Majesty having determined to employ Mr. Tate otherways, and to return me unto him, had had advice by his Ambassador, jointly with him of France residing in your court, of his passage through France, by which occasion you willed me to make more diligence than else I should, to the end I might do both offices under one; that is to say, to go toward my former determined journey, and also to congratulate this reconciliation, this confidence, this amity, between your Majesty's two chiefest friends and allies. And here, according to your Majesty's instructions, enlarged the discommodities of dissension and war with the lauds of peace, and your great allowance and rejoicing of this goodly amity. Whereunto he answered me, that he trusted it should be to the great commodity of all Christendom; and that incontinent that he had determined the voyage, he caused your Majesty to be thereof advertised, and that now going through, he thought to make good chear with the French King, and afterwards the treaties should follow. With this came into the chamber the Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans, to whom he went toward, and put off his hat, bidding them good morrow, and again calling me toward him, told me smilingly that we should see oftener together; and as it seemed would so have dismissed me; but I began again, and told him further, that your Majesty had given me in commandment to declare and certify unto him, that where his Ambassador had also shewed your Majesty that so he intended to keep stable and firm all his capitulations and treaties already passed with you; ye most heartily thanked him, assuring him that

he should always find the correspondence on your behalf. And for further declaration thereof, that your Majesty assured him that in this alliance that ye had now made, that ye had nothing passed in prejudice or derogation of your treaties passed with him; for the which he heartily thanked your Majesty, saying, that also he thought it not reasonable that any man should meddle between his subjects and him, and saying roundly, that he trusted your Majesty would rather counsel Mons. De Juliers, rather than aid him against his Sovereign, by example of your own subjects, saying further; "What hath Mons. De Juliers "to do with Guilders? I assure you, Mons. L'Ambassador, I shall shew "him that he hath played but the young man." Sir, quoth I, I know not the right that he pretendeth, nor I have no commission of this purpose, but only as I have shewed unto you: and I doubt not but Mons. De Cleves will put himself to all reason with your Majesty. "Yea, Mons. l'Ambassadeur, quoth he, he shall so." Sir, quoth I, as for the King my master, I dare well assure you, that like as he would be loth [not] to shew himself a good and loving brother to Mons. de Cleves, so would he be as loth but to shew to your Majesty all fashions of friendliness. But as I have already shewed your Majesty, I have no commission on this point. "Well, quoth he, Mons. l'Ambassador, this is but "as incident; I doubt not but the King your master would give him "good and wise advice how to order him to his Sovereign; for I assure "you Monsieur De Juliers shall do me reason; and I shall do but well "so to do. I say he shall; he shall, laying his hand on his breast; and "he hath of one a Sovereign, a neighbour, and a cousin; and otherways "he shall lose all three." Again he bade me welcome, and that we should see oftener; and thus he went to mass, and forthwith to horse. He went that same night within four leagues of Loches, and I, with much ado, upon plough horse, in the deep and foul way got before that night late to Loches. I marked much earnest fashion in the talking of the things of Guilders; and conferring it in my mind with that before of Grandvela, it confirmeth me in the opinion that I have had alway, that is, that surely he mindeth more Güilders in his heart, than he doth Milan and all Italy. And in my conscience, his coming out of Spain in this haste hath been upon the news of your Majesty's alliance

with Mons. De Cleves, to prevent things that might succeed. And if that be so, the danger of his person, the hardness of the winter, and the length of the journey, declareth therein his desire. And furthermore, his large speaking therein, in manner distending his courage in the matter (that of his custom and nature is want in his enterprises to work nimbly and closely) maketh me suspect some further assurance with France, than either of them both declareth; because they both agree in a tale of deferring the treaties till after this voyage of passing France. I wot not, by our Lord! what I may write to your Majesty of any certainty, for I see little appearance which way I may come to knowledge: all that I may do is conjecture. Here is coming few or none of my familiars; his train is the Duke of Alva, Don Henrico de Toledo, the Marquis de Aurise, Don Picho de la Cueva, the Master of his horse, Monsieur de Gemound Palaux, that was with Bourbon Lashaw, Monsieur de Rye, two valets of the chamber, two secretaries, one physician, and the master of the posts: the most of these hath not more than two servants, and few so many.

My conjectures might be more certain, if it pleased your Highness that I might be so much trusted as to have some advertisement of your other intelligences, and other men's conjectures, for upon them I might note some such things as should import, which else, peradventure, I should neglect. I say this same in service of your Majesty, to whose good consideration I remit the same.

This far had I written at Loches, in evil-favoured lodging and worse bedding, when I was dislodged. And it vailed not to send to the Constable, for I had for answer, that there was no Ambassador should tarry, and scant I could get a bill for to command the posts to give me horse. So was I fain these letters unfinished to come before to Amboys, where I found my Lord of London, that likewise the day before was commanded to depart. I write this to the end your Majesty may consider how much in such case our diligence in travail may avail. And it is not only with us, but with all Ambassadors likewise, and with the Nuncio also, who thought greatly to have been privileged, by reason specially of the coming of Cardinal Farneze, that as they say is at hand coming in Legacy to both these

Princes; and as I supposé rather for the Bishop's demonstration, than any stroke that he shall have in these matters; for it is thought that these Princes do that they do by themselves, and it seemeth not far unlike, by the neglecting of all other Ambassadors and Princes agents.

By this means I cannot be present at the meeting, which is the Friday the 11th of this present, in which thing shall be little to be noted but the accustomed ceremonies. And if I may by all means possible, I would seek at the least to tarry here; nevertheless it is said that the Emperor would not [be] two days in one place before he come to Fontainbleau; but howsoever the matter goeth, I will not be far.

The Duke of Lorrain and his son is coming hither to the Court, and as I suppose, he pursueth his demand of Guilders still. Other occurrence come not yet to my knowledge; but as matter shall rise, I shall not spare your Majesty's cost for your further advertisement, as our Lord knoweth; who send your Majesty long prosper with your heart's desire. At Amboys, the 12th of December, late. [1539]

LETTER XXVII.

SIR THOMAS WYATT TO THE KING.

Please it your Majesty to be advertised; that forasmuch as my Lord of London would dispatch this bearer upon such intelligence as he hath gotten of the ceremonies of these Princes meeting, I thought also to write, having that occasion. Also in my last letters of the 13th of this present, I excused me of such matters of small importance to give your Majesty trouble.

Nevertheless I judged it not unmeet for your Majesty's knowledge the arrival at Ambois of Mr. Tate, by the posts on Sunday last, on which day also the Emperor and the Court came thither, which being so near upon this Prince's meeting (that was on Friday before) considering the commandment given in Spain, that no man might go

before the Emperor; and that he knew not of my being here for your Majesty, judging it unmeet for him in such case to be absent, I cannot but commend unto your Highness both his diligence and good consideration. And for as well as in the foyle of this press we are all driven still before, and that we cannot but in corners lie hidden, where we may hear or see any thing, I see not nor how, nor where to have handsome commodity for the said Mr. Tate to take his leave before we come to Paris. And although he might have his leave, he should not prevail to get horses; here is so small respect to any man at this hour. And I doubt not but that the same Mr. Tate would amply advise your Majesty of his occurrences. His great haste shall not be greatly necessary till his horse come; which shall not be long. And if it seem not otherways to your Highness, I do think his industry in this Court awhile shall not be out of purpose to your Majesty's service. I mean in passing without sojourning, unless he may see handsome commodity for his leave. Of this it may please your Majesty advertise your further pleasure.

And further, it may please the same to call to your Grace's remembrance, that out of Spain I wrote once my opinion for the staying of Robert Braucetour, as he passed through France with Pole. I eftsoons advise your Majesty now of the same, and that he followeth now here the tail. Assure your Majesty it were for your service greatly to have him: and I think the Emperor would not excuse him by being his; for once Grandvela told me that he marvelled what he made in that Court: and that he had been rewarded for his pain. And beside that, the French King hath no colour to deny your Highness the delivery of him, so newly upon the delivery of Adrian Cappe's: unless it be under colour of the Emperor. Therefore it may please your Majesty to give order for this purpose; for as I say, I suppose it greatly for your service. And I heard such a word, that ere this he was secretly once in England, with the Marquis of Exeter, and returned. Upon this, beside many other knowledges that might come out of him, your wisdom may judge how necessary his apprehension were.

And for this purpose my devise should be that your letters, both

to the one, and to the other of these Princes should be made, requiring of the one the delivery, and of the other the not supporting. Which if I may know once to be coming, I would assay before the overture of the same, secretly to trap him in my hands: and forthwith to secure the apprehension of him, or commandment to all officers for the assistance thereof, if in case I can find him. And if I deemed that, (if your Majesty command not otherwise) he shall never escape my hands. Of this also I beseech your Highness I may know your pleasure with speed.

Of all other things I remit to my Lord of London, and to Mr. Tate, for in my last letters I wrote unto your Majesty at large, as much as was then worth the writing. And since that time I know no alteration, save that Monday all day the Emperor, contrary to the first determination, tarried at Ambois; and I, with Mr. Tate, came that Monday at night to Blois. This day he cometh not fully to Blois; but to a castle in the way, called Chalon.

And thus I beseech our Lord send your Majesty long to prosper. Amen. At Blois, the 16th Day of December. [1539.]

LETTER XXVIII.

SIR THOMAS WYATT TO THE KING.

Please it your Majesty to be advertised: at Orleans now at our return, we had it in a right good place that the Queen of Navarre advertised a friend of hers, that the Emperor and the French King, the Constable, the Chancellor of France, and Grandvela, had been at Blois in council three hours together, and that there was no appearance of conclusion, as the French King looked for, and he thereof assured him very earnestly. In which thing it is doubt whether he conceived the name of the place right or no, for that at Blois they sojourned not but one night, and at Amboys, as I wrote in the letters of the 16th, they tarried a day whole and two nights, whereas it seemeth more likely that consultation was had.

This we write, for that these Princes affirmed both that nothing should be treated here; which is almost impossible on the Frenchmens behalf to contain by direct or indirect means, to hunt for the thing that they so much desire. But that the advertisement above should be apparent, it seemeth by the according with many likelihoods. One is, that the glory of the Constable, and the very nature of the Frenchmen, would not hide the conclusion, if there were any, or any likelihood thereof; but rather to make one way or other a devulgation of a bare likelihood for a certainty, if there were any likelihood at all.

Another is, that forthwith from Blois, Grandvela came the right way before to Paris, which if so be that that consultation proceeded, and no approaching to conclusion, might be done of purpose to avoid in the mean time further communication in the matters, having with him no man of council but Grandvela, and he then not present.

Add to this, that as we learn the Emperor presseth neither the French King nor the Constable with no requests, not so much as very trifles, not that he would add one of his servants to be lodged above the number that he first appointed, as we take it to be not bound unto them in any thing more than in that, that they of their selves do.

But chiefly of all is to be noted in the manner of the Imperialists proceeding, that when they would win time for delays, or have a colour to scat, they would depend the matter upon a third person not present, as they did in treating with your Majesty for the Dutchess of Milan, sometime depending the matter upon the Queen of Hungary, sometime upon Duke Frederick, sometime upon hearing from their Ambassador, till they saw their purpose, and then quailed the matter with that excuse that was long before in sight, and had nothing to do with the dependings that they pretended likewise with the Venetians, likewise with the Almains, and with other; so now, is to be supposed, they do with these Frenchmen, protracting the matter upon the coming of the King of Romans into the Low Countries, which cometh forth straight after these holidays, more to win time, till they have wound themselves honestly out of France, than for that it

were so requisite his presence, although it have a wonderous [appearance] of an honest pretence, for that the King of Romans must be a party therein. But it is well known that his consent is but the Emperor's will, whereby if that were not a plain delay, little more or less, they might approach the thing now.

We cannot yet, in this point, frame unto your Majesty any other certainty, but as your Highness seeth, whereby (notwithstanding these apparents) in our opinions we had rather your Majesty did yet doubt the worst, that is to say, their conclusion, that to conceive uncertain hope of their disagreement; not that either the one or the other could we suppose be hurtful to your Majesty, although their disaccord might peradventure be more to purpose.

The dryness of this interview, as far as we can other learn or guess, have been the necessity of the Emperor and the Constable, that would not suffer him to go the other way into Italy, and the Constable that took occasion at that to get him this way into Flanders. Which Constable abhorreth from the war; for that himself is rich, desiring his pleasure and ease, and now hath the stroke alone. And though as some think he is not so abused, but that he seeth the nonconcluding of these things, yet he had rather willingly so be holding his Master being sickly given to ease, and not of apparent long life, in hope of his purpose, than to shew desperation thereof, and then for his honour to be driven to revenge the mock. Beside that men think the Constable well wone Imperial that which would hardly be sped yet; but sure a Papist he is without suspect. And as for the Emperor's necessity, it was manifest that the things of Flanders, and your Majesty's sudden alliance with Guilders, always to him suspicious, must needs draw him thither, and the way thither by sea, besides the danger of the winter, must be to him suspected, by landing peradventure where he would not. And it is out of doubt, that the Bishop of Rome could not allow his coming through Italy, for then must he have come through Almain; whereas he might peradventure have caught a persuasion not best for the Bishop's purpose. And yet the Bishop had well other matters to allege, whereby to dissuade his coming into Italy; as the extreme dearth, and the vehementest persuasion of all,

the Emperor's poverty, that might not sustain the great charges to pass that way, and avoid the cryers on for their rewards and payments. So that there was left him no way but other to come through France, or to see the revolting of Flanders, and leave his great desire of Guilders.

Thus in our opinion been coming these matters about, for we can see no likelihood yet of the Bishop of Rome doing or any other.

And as we suppose, after their departing, they intend to do as they have done, that is, to dissemble out the matter till they see time, and that the Emperor would do nothing else, unless necessity further constrain him, and in the mean time no doubt he will strain himself for Guelders.

But we see not for all these entries, for all these joining of arms, knitting of crowns, and such ceremonies, that they should determine to part the world between them.

These Princes came to Fontainbleau on Christmas evening, with great triumph of skirmishes, between a band of the Dauphin and another of Orleans, which may be about thirty or forty horse each band, and it would be new year's day before they make their entry into Paris. These been the occurrence for this present we can advertise your Majesty of, and so from time to time we shall not fail of our duty, with the grace of our Lord, who send your Highness long to prosper in truth and honour. At Paris on Christmas-day. [1539.]

LETTER XXIX.

SIR THOMAS WYATT TO CROMWELL, LORD PRIVY SEAL.

Please it your Lordship, Mr. Tate and I had written our letter to the King's Highness, when Gowgh, my Lord of London's servant, passed through Paris on Christmas-day in the morning early, to Melun, to his Master, who did send back that same night your Lordship's letters unto us and him, directed of the date of the 21st of this present with the doubles of the King's letters to these Prince's,

and the next day at night my Lord of London came hither; and on the 27th day at night, we received again your letters of the date of the 24th of this present, by Henage, with the doubles and letters again to these Princes.

And as touching the first letters, we hold yet that matter in good order; but there is no time where now the French King is to do the matter, for that the party is here, and besides, that it is hard to get their audience; yet as the Constable hath written to my Lord of London, yet I would be loth to give them so much leisure after the overture, as betwixt Fontainbleau and Paris. And whereas it pleaseth the King's goodness to have my jeopardy more dear than his traitors distraction, I most humbly thank his Majesty. And nevertheless he shall employ the same hazard (I trust for better purpose) whensoever it shall please him to command. For I do not think (although I be of small effect) but that I may some time do his Majesty better service, than such a wretch's malice may do hurt.

And whereas I had thought to have trapt him before the overture of this purpose, I do intend to forbear that way yet for two causes. One is, because in attempting the thing, if it quail, the man is warned, and all is lost, and then I am not without blame. Another is, that they afterward might pick a quarrel not to deliver him for my enterprise against the order of the treaty. Therefore I determine this way, I have sure watch over him, both where he lodgeth, whither he goeth, and what he intendeth, and for because he tarrieth here till the Emperor's departing, I suffer him to assure himself. And to cut off all excuses of his supportation by the Emperor, I have, in presence of Mr. Tate, handled so Mons. de Grandvela, that he hath remembered that I spake to him before of his keeping in the Emperor's Court, whereupon he repeated again that he was not supported by the Emperor or him, nor that he dare come into his sight; and that four year ago the Emperor told him, that when he had need of him he would send for him, in the mean time he might go whither he would, and that he practiseth here with the Nuncio, and for Pole. Other thing he knoweth not of him, but that assuredly he is not of the Emperor's train, nor shall have of him no supportation, so that the matter being

both close and in so good train, I intend here to assay the French king at his coming, not as though the party were here in the town, but that he were in his realm, desiring to have an officer to go with one of mine there, as I shall assign him, declaring before that he is a man of small condition, and I would add to him the secretness of the handling thereof; and in this visiting of Mons. de Grandvela he affirmed frankly unto us, that there was no innovation of any thing, nor should be, till the coming to Flanders.

And as touching your other letters, with the delivery of the King's, as yet Farnese is not coming, although he be looked for this day to make his entry solemnly for his Legacy in Paris, and hitherto I hear not of any such as is meant to come with him. And the first matter which is chief, once attained or refused I would put in ure the rest, if any such be; not forgetting the merchants of Spain when time is.

This in mean time I thought to write unto your Lordship, certifying the same that inasmuch as your letters be directed to us all, so do we participate our things and writings together with my Lord of London, which now again would dispatch, to the end that the King's Highness should be in no long expectation, or else I see no great importance, unless he advertize other thing than we know of. The Emperor hath made the means that he honestly may for haste. The things for his entry be not yet ready, which is one cause of trite of time, and the French King is now a little acrased, which holdeth him, lest the travail should hurt him that needs would go with him; but as I understand the furthest would be to Chantilly, the Constable's house.

Now I can assure your Lordship, Mr. Tate in this time both doth and shall do no small help here, as well for his practice of this Court, as for the near familiarity that he hath among these men, more than we all have beside.

Further it may please your Lordship, not only for the King's service, but for your own, in any thing that lieth in my small power, as I trust it be not now new to persuade unto you, as our Lord liveth, who send you ever good life and long.

It may please your Lordship to cause these letters of the Ambassador of Cleves to be delivered safe. [December 1589.]

LETTER XXX.

SIR THOMAS WYATT TO THE KING.

PLEASE it your Majesty to understand the order that hath succeeded following your commandment that we received jointly, with your letters to these Princes, and the copies of the same, by the letters of my Lord Privy Seal of the date of the 21st of the last month, and of the date of the 24th of the same. First, like as I wrote unto my said Lord of the date of the ——— of the last month, that same order have I observed: and to the apprehending of this Braunetour it is well proceeded.

And as I then wrote that Mr. Tate and I had again done with Grandvela to put him in remembrance of that, after the confirming of the same, again the same time. The next day after the entry of the Emperor in the town, both my Lord of London, and I sent to the Constable for our audience: that sent us round word that there was no time for that day.

The next day in the morning, being the third of this present, we went ourselves to the chamber door; but he escaped us by a back door. Nevertheless, after the King's mass we spoke with him, and he forthwith spoke with the King: and came again [and] appointed us an audience at after the King's dinner, offering us to dine with him, which because we were far off lodged, and far asunder, we refused not.

And for because the said Constable might have taken some fancy to have hindered the matter, if we should have made this overture to the King, without participating of the thing before with him; we, seeming to found ourself upon the great confidence that we knew your Majesty had in him advancing your affairs, told him that we would participate the effect of our charge, at this time with him: and so did in general terms, without naming the person or the place where he was; whereby the thing was in surety for knowledge to avoid warning, if any such way had been taken.

To this he answered as after a very gentle fashion, and that no

doubt we should have him delivered us: and that he was alway your good servant: and that he had received at your Highness's hands great honour; whereby he was bound (and also being of your order) to do that that should be in your service; knowing specially how good a friend and brother you had of the King his master.

And here in excusing the little respect that had been had to us in this time, he pray'd us to impute it to the chear that was intended to the Emperor; whereby he could not intend to us as they would: and that in this he had employed himself a great while, that is to say, to conduce a peace between these two princes: and that, thanked be God, they were now good friends, as we saw; and he would hold hand on that manner, if lay in his power, so to continue it.

To this we answered, allowing his goodly purpose and extolling his honour in compassing so great an enterprize, and bringing it to such frame: inserting there the rejoicing of your Majesty, the benefit of both your friends, and the great good that ye trusted should thereby ensue. With this we went to dinner with him.

In this mean time, I had sure watch upon this Brancetour, from time to time where he became, and what he intended; and, for because I understood he intended shortly to have gone afore into Flanders, I thought not meet to slack any thing the purpose. In which matter I have used greatly the help of one Swerder, a servant of my Lord of Canterbury, a young man well learned, and well languaged, of good soberness and discretion; and also of one Weldon, a student here, and belonging to Master Pate. Whose industry and true diligence, according to their duty, I must greatly commend unto your Highness.

And after dinner we went with the Constable to the King's chamber, where we delivered your Majesty's letters to the King: which read, he repeated to us the effect of them, and asked us where the party was; whereunto I answered still in general; "that he was coming hither into his realm; and, as I thought, I should this night hear of him here in Paris."

We could not desire friendlier words than we had of him in all things that should touch your Majesty. Insomuch that all were it so

that there were no treaties touching that purpose, that yet, the entry being such as it is between him and you, your Highness should be well assured lightly to obtain any such request at his hands, especially concerning your person. Whereunto we gave him humble thanks, assuring him of like correspondence alway at your Majesty's hands; and so hath, ere this, had proof. And therewith he called the Constable and shewed him the case, willing him that he should be apprehended: and there, unto them both I declared that he was a man of small quality, that had been a merchant's factor and robbed his master, and since as desperate of his country had put himself to conspire against his Majesty; and more to augment the matter shewed him, that in his sort there was not one that bare more malice to his person than he. Whereunto he said he could not be good French, and be false to your Majesty: and that that was for certain so concluded there, that the Provost should come to my lodging, and I should send with him to there as the party lodged, and that he should be apprehended. So we departed from the King, after he had desired us to make our hearty recommendations unto your Highness.

Yet, nevertheless, we tarried, once again to solicit this matter out of hand; to the end that the name that was expressed in the letter might not by waste of time lead them to give warning, if that way had been intended.

Shortly rejoined the Constable, and forthwith he commanded the Provost to be called; and having there my Lord of London's servant to guide the Provost unto us, we departed. Within two hours after the Provost came unto us, and told us that he had in commandment to do as we should appoint him: and after we had opened the matter unto him, I had word that this Brancetour was not yet come to his lodging; so then the Provost desired to go to some other business, and would return to supper: so he did, and he was scarce arrived but word came that the man was coming. I myself went with the Provost without light, and coming into his chamber found Weldon with him, that was left for watch; and I told him that since he would not come to visit me, I was come to seek him; and shewed him what pains I

taken, that at the door had hurt my leg with a fall, that indeed I fear me will not be whole this month.

His colour changed as soon as he heard my voice, and with that came in the Provost, and set hand on him. I reached to have set hand upon his letters that he was writing, but he caught them before me, and flung them backward into the fire; yet I overthrew him and catched them out. But the Provost got them. And with that he charged the Provost on the Emperor's behalf, whose servant he said he was, that his writings and himself might be delivered into his hands; or his Maitre de Hotel's. And with that, out of his bosom he took a bag of a cere-cloth with writings therein, and delivered it to the Provost, nor it availed me not to intreat to have them, nor yet, as appointed, to have him delivered me; but he left there his men to keep him; and went to the Chancellor to know his pleasure.

In the mean time I used all the soberness I could with Brancetour; advising him to submit himself to your Majesty. But he made the Emperor his master; and seemed to regard nothing else. Once, after a little dump, he told me that he had heard me ofttimes say, "That "Kings have long hands; but God, he hath longer."

I asked him then, what length, thought he, this would make, when God's and King's hands were joined together. But he assured himself of the Emperor, and reckoned in me great unkindness to use him after that sort. Whereunto I answered that it was not I but the French King, for he knew well that I had no authority to take no man; and that perchance it might be his creditors that had caused it. But he said strait that it was greater matters than creditors: and as for them, he set them light.

He told me that he was come from Pole not two months past, and that he had been with him in Avignon and at Rome, and that now he was come into Spain, leaving the said Pole at Rome.

And about this point came again the Provost, and told me in mine ear that he must carry the man to his lodgings, and not to mine; nor deliver in the writings, but to keep them safe.

Your Majesty considereth in such case what force I might use.

So carried he Brancetour and six score or seven score crowns that he had with him, and I, sending two of my servants with him, returned to my lodgings: whereas my Lord of London, and Mr. Tate abode my coming, unto whom I made [report] of that, that I had passed.

Upon which we consulted that it should not (be) best to give any time in the matter to invent excuses, or to make friends, or means; but that by all means we should follow the matter to prevent all things that might happen: and determined that Mr. Tate and I should the next morning essay, by Grandvela's means to have audience of the Emperor. And further, with my Lord of London again to speak with the Constable.

The next morning early, which was Sunday the 8th of this present, Mr. Tate and I spake with Grandvela, and declared unto him, that where your Majesty had written for the apprehension of that rebel Brancetour, and that the apprehension hath thereupon ensued, and for because that he might perchance seek refuge at the Emperor's hand, that your Majesty had written to the Emperor in that matter; praying him that he would not only help us to audience, but also to shew such conformity to the amity between the Emperor and the King, our master, his good brother, that the said Brancetour might be rejected according to the treaties.

He asked of us if he were already taken: which, when he knew, he affirmed again that he knew not that he had any charge or entertainment of the Emperor. But herein he softened the matter much more than he had done before, and tempered it as though it might be that he was with the Emperor without his knowledge. And further, he said that there was no such thing come to his knowledge, that he excused him upon the Emperor: therefore we might do our business as we thought best; and that he would speak to the Emperor for our audience. And where we pressed that we might wait for it that forenoon, he answered, that it could not be that day. So we left him.

And after this [we] found my Lord of London, and did so much that we spake again with the Constable, desiring him to give commandment that our man might be delivered into our hands. He told us he would speak with the Provost, and he should be sent us. With this

we returned, and in the way we found the Chancellor at mass; with whom we thought it not unmeet to furnish out all our diligence, and required his favour in this matter that we might thereby make relation of his good conformity to your Majesty's pleasure. And he with very good words shewed us, that that same day he would speak to the Constable, and then he would make us answer.

That same night my Lord of London from his lodgings, and I from mine, sent to know his answer: and he made me answer that I should send to cause the Provost to come to him in the morning, and he would dispatch us. That same I did early by Master Mason. The Provost came to the Chancellor, and sent after for Brancetour; and after the Chancellor had spoken with him, he returned him again to the Provost's lodging. And the Provost came to me, and told me how the Chancellor had spoken with Brancetour, and had visited his writings, and commanded him to put his tale by writing. And upon that, Mr. Tate and I went to the Chancellor and spake with him as he was going to dinner; and demanded of him to have our man delivered unto us. And he again told us he had not commandment to deliver him unto us, but to examine him; and to make relation; and that had he done, and bid him put his tale in writing. And when I alledged that by the treaties it was sufficient to take knowledge of the King's only letters in such case, and that to know between the King and his subjects was to put his sickle in another man's corn: besides, that we were not there to plead the matter by allegations or repliques, but only to alledge the French King's commandment, and our treaties.

He answered, that therein was nothing meant but to deliver the thing unto us; and that it were not convenient to use the very extremity and rigour so narrowly, but that a man might be heard; and asked, "What we would more? he hath confessed himself an English man, and that he is the King your master's subject; whereupon that man well knew he must be delivered unto you:" and prayed us to have so much patience, as to suffer some while till again he had spoken with the Constable; and that done, he should not fail but be delivered.

Thus we departed to our dinner: and at dinner time a servant of

Grandvela brought us word, that before dinner we should repair to the Emperor. Thus hitherto I have written to your Majesty the whole process more tediously than that therein is any thing of great importance; but as it may please your Majesty to take it in so good part, as thereby to consider that our — — — wits would extend no further for better pursuit of the matter: wherein we always have done that in us was to prevent all excuses that we thought might arise in the matter: as from hour to hour it may appear there lacked no applying.

But this that shall ensue shall seem more notable unto your Majesty. Whereas your wisdom and your Council shall ponder and discover further things than we [are] able to; and after it be nakedly set forth unto your Majesty, it may please the same to accept also in good part my poor simple opinion and judgment in the same.

Upon the twelfth even, at after dinner, Mr. Tate and I had access to the Emperor; and after your Majesty's letters delivered and read, he asked of us the credence that we had, as did appear by the letters. Whereunto I made him answer, that although we thought that in the substance of both the letters and our credence it should not be necessary to exhort him to that thing whereunto we knew his good conformity alway inclinable, that is to say, in every thing that should touch the friendship between him and the King our master, his good brother; especially in things that should concern the surety of his person; yet, to accomplish the commandment that we had received, we thought it not amiss to advertise him, that such one there was that seemed to hang about his Court, that was both vassal subject and rebel to your Majesty, his good brother; which, according to the treaties, and especially according to the amity between him and your Highness you desired, as your special trust was that he should have no refuge at his hands: according as he would your Majesty in like case should do by him and his fugitives, when ye were required."

At this pause he asked me what he was; and I told him it was one Brancetour. "Ah!" quoth he, "Robert." "That same, Sir," quoth I. "I shall tell you," quoth he, "Mons. l'Ambassadeur, it is he that hath "been in Perse." "As he saith, Sir," quoth I. "Nay," quoth he, "I know it by good tokens; for when I sent the Knight of the rods, he

" of Piemont, with charge to the Sophy through Turkey, he fell sick;
" and this man, for the love he knew between the King and me, helped
" him. And in conclusion, when he saw he should die, he opened his
" charge unto this man, and told him what service he should do to me,
" and to all Christendom, if he would undertake it. And he did so:
" and it seemed true, for the King of Perse the same time did invade,
" and he went about the other way, by the sailing of the Portingalls;
" and brought me sure tokens of the man, as well what money I gave
" him as other things. And this was no small service that he did; and I
" have had him follow me these ten or twelve years in all my voyages in
" Africa, in Province, in Italy, and now here. And since that time I
" know not that he hath been in England, whereby he hath done of-
" fence to the King; unless it be for going with Cardinal Pole, that
" asked me leave for him, by cause of the language."

" Sir," quoth I, " his long time being out of England, nor his service done to your Majesty, cannot excuse his treason to his natural Lord and Sovereign. And, Sir, of my knowledge, I know, being in Spain, in your Court, that the King my master's subjects were by him solicited to revolt from their duty; and of this I advertised Mons. de Grandvela: and he at that time alleged to me nothing of your entertaining him; insomuch that he seemed rather to express that you were weary of him, and he marvelled what he made in your Court. But beside this, his other greater conspiracies which are not in my knowledge, hath made him convainquished in whole Parliament: although it needed not by the treaties to have alleged so much, for the King's only advertisement should be taken in that matter."

" Mons. l'Ambassadeur," quoth he, " I never heard of this before:
" and when I come into mine own territories I shall then make you an-
" swer according to the treaties. And I will speak frankly with you
" that the Constable telleth me, and Grandvela too, that you have made
" him to be taken here: whereof I have no little marvel, seeing that ye
" know him to be a follower of my Court; and I promise you, it was evil
" done of you, I must say plainly to you, without advertising me
" thereof before."

" Sir," quoth I, " that your Majesty saith of coming in your territory, we demand nothing of you, that ye may not do, even now; for

since he is apprehended, and it is signified unto your Majesty that he is the King's rebel, we desire nothing but that ye favour nor support him. For as for the rest, we ask here of the King that is owner of the territory, by like treaties."

"What!" quoth he, "would ye that I should consent to the dis-"courtesy of a man that followeth me upon my word, that yet for his "service I have not rewarded, but hold him in hope, and given him "somewhat to relieve him? And I assure you, it were no small service "if I should go, as ye know I have purposed once or twice into Levant, "to send him again into Perse. Nay, Mons. l'Ambassadeur, I tell you "plain, I will speak for his deliverance, both to the Constable and to "the King: and I trust they will not do me so great dishonour as to "suffer one that followeth my word to suffer damage; for surely I will "advertise you, that though your master had me in the Tower of Lon-"don, I would not consent so to change mine honour and my consci-"ence. And I tell you yet again, it was not well done of you to cause "him to be taken."

"Sir," quoth I, "your Majesty must give me leave to say plainly unto you in this matter, I have not done him to be taken; for my authority and commandment, ye know, is nothing where I am; but it is the King and the Constable that hath done it, having regard to the treaties. And there, as ye have ascribed fault unto me for not advertising you before, I suppose I did more than my duty in advertising Mons. de Grandvela that the man was the King my master's rebel: and though I would have advertised you, your business now, and the difficulty of audience seemed not meet to importune you: and especially since your Minister had answered us that he was neither of your train, nor of his. And although it had been so, the narrowness of the treaties, specially being here out of your territory, asketh not of [me] any such thing; whereby I am blameless.

"Well," quoth he, Mr. l' mbassadeur, do your pursuit as well "as ye understand. I have told ye frankly that I must do the best that "I can to set him at liberty."

"Yet, Sir," quoth I, "I trust ye will see him in safeguard; and since ye will needs have him in prejudice of the King my master's

treaties, yet at least to have regard to the surety of the King your brother's person, that by his escape conspiracies further ensue not."

"I will set him at liberty," quoth he, "Mons. l'Ambassadeur; "and I think not that he will flee: and when I come in mine own "territory, I will then see what I am bound to."

"Then," Sir, quoth I, "shall I write this resolution for answer, that ye will shew him this favour and supportation?"

"Ye see," quoth he, "I can do no less."

With this, since me thought I could get no gratifying of your Majesty's purpose in this, I thought to prove what I might do in the matter of the merchants treatings in Spain, which complain of the evil handling of that they have there by the Inquisition, as hath been written unto me from thence; which letter my Lord Privy Seal sent me, with your commandment to treat with the Emperor therein. And for that purpose I had before delivered to Grandvela the double of that part of the letter put into Spanish, to have the matter more in remembrance. And I began with him again under this manner.

"Sir," quoth I, "I have also to complain unto your Majesty of the evil entreatings, by the Inquisition, of the English merchants that traffic in your countries of Spain. And not only of their behalf that of late have written thereof unto me; but also on behalf of the King my Master to whose hands the said letter of their complaint is come. And the which declared unto him according as the letter expresseth, and desires that there might be redress shortly therein."

Whereunto he answered, "That the authority of the Inquisition "depended not upon him; and that it hath been established in his realms "and countries, for godly considerations, and such as he would not "break, no not for his grandame: and that therefore they that will live "in his countries, must live as they that live there: and the Englishmen, "if they will have commodity thence out, they must obey his laws."

To this I replied, "That at my being in Spain it seemed unto himself reasonable that I had proposed for our nation's traffic that there were moderation had in respect of that office: and that for that purpose Cavas, Grandvela, and one of the Inquisition, by his commandment had conference together with me, where I declared that since your

Majesty concurred and agreed, with all notable - - - used in the Church, with punishment of heresies, as Sacramentarians, Anabaptists, and other, and the difference alone was but about the Bishop of Rome; that then it was thought reasonable that no such rigour should be used: especially in that case where they might be already condemned, as many as be your true subjects: and driven to that extremity to lose their body and goods, or else at home body and goods."

To this he answered, "The King is of one opinion, and I of ano- "ther: and though, as you say, there were communication upon this, "it was not agreed to. I assure you, if your merchants come with "any - - - - I cannot let the Inquisition. This is a thing that "toucheth our faith."

"What Sir," quoth I, "the primacy of the Bishop of Rome?"

"Yea!" marry quoth he, "it is plainly against the principle. There "be things that make for it that it is, De jure divino; yea and by "vile: and this is a point against the principle."

"Sir," quoth I, "almost they themselves durst never claim that, De jure divino."

"What," quoth he, "Mons. l'Ambassador, shall we now come to "dispute that of "tibi dabo claves?" I assure you I will not alter the "Inquisition: no, nor if I thought they would be negligent in their of- "fice I would put them out, and put other in their room; at the least "write that they should be altered whilst I put in other."

"Sir," quoth I, "I came not to dispute. I am not learned; this seemeth otherwise answered than before this I have seen your Majesty disposed. By this means the Bishop of Rome shall not need by excommunications to take away the traffick and intercourse of merchants, betwixt your merchants and ours, for this shall be all one sufficient. The King, my master, must provide for the indemnity of his subjects, and would."

"He may," quoth he, "if he will; if he will see that there be no "such opinions as shall differ from us all."

"Well Sir," quoth I, "then shall I write unto the King your brother, for answer, that unless we change in this we shall look for no redress."

Here at a little he stayed. "Mons. l'Embassadeur," quoth he, "I will answer him; I will answer him myself."

"As it shall please you, Sir," quoth I, "or else to give me your answer by writing." "I will write," quoth he. "By my troth, Sir," quoth I, "the King can do no less than to do it to be known openly to all his subjects, that as many as will traffick into Spain that they do it at their adventure; for that there is a power depending upon his adversary and enemy, the Bishop of Rome, and not upon your Majesty against the which the treaties between you and him cannot warrant them."

"In that," quoth he, "the King may do as it shall please him."

"Sir," quoth Mr. Tate, "whilst I was in Spain, it was promised, and then so used, that there was no extremity shewed. What it should mean that since your departing it is thus altered, I cannot tell, for men may be desirous so to set hand in other men's goods that there may quarrels (be) picked for that purpose enough. For I know well that the merchants were, by your minister's request, warned that they should neither teach, nor do any thing contrary to the customs of your countries; and that there should no man meddle with them."

"It may be," quoth the Emperor, "that they have done [wrong]. "I will write to the Cardinal of Toledo that is Inquisitor Major, that I "may be informed, for this is but one party."

"Nay Sir," quoth I, "this is ex officio that they trouble our nation; for they have that, that though a man live never so uprightly, by their examinations they shall trap him, where there is no publication of witnesses."

"I cannot tell," quoth he, "but give me, give me that by writ- "ing whereof ye find ye grieved, and I shall write by the next into "Spain to inform."

"Sir," quoth I, "Mons. de Grandvela hath already the very copy of that part of the letter that was sent me." "Well," quoth he, "I shall see it."

"But there is yet more, Sir," quoth I: "Preachers be set forth that defame the King and the nation, and provoke the subjects against the King."

"As in that," quoth he, "preachers will speak against myself, "whenever there is cause; that cannot be let."

"Why, Sir," quoth I, "yourself have ere this commanded otherwise. When I was in Toledo in like case."

"I will tell you, Mons. L'Embassadeur," quoth he, "Kings be "not Kings of tongues; and if men give cause to be spoken of, they "will be spoken of. There is no remedy."

I stood at this, and avised him earnestly: and he made some concedence, as though he would have been at a point; and I withdrew me a little: when Mr. Tate declared unto him his revocation very soberly, and with good words; and desired to know also if he would write any thing, or participate any thing to your Majesty; whereunto he answered, allowing his good office that he had done whilst he had been with him: and said he would write unto your Highness, and so he took his leave.

We went home, and for because my Lord of London was far off lodged, I advertised him what [little] likelihood I saw of our purpose; praying him to seek to speak with the Constable, for that my leg, with long standing, troubled me so that I might not rest all that night. So in the next morning he went to the Court, and and could not speak with the Constable; but leaving his man to know when he should speak with him, had to answer when he would. And even forthwith Brancetour was delivered and sent home to his lodging, without sending to us, or advising of any thing.

In this mean time I wrote as I might, and I have out of my custom holden your Majesty with long letters, for that I saw in this access to the Emperor that vehemence that I have not been accustomed to see. I noted his louder voice, his earnester look, and specially his imperious fashion in his words, namely, in the things of the Inquisition. Whereas afore in the same points, I have seen him far more colder, more tractable, and conformable to reason. I noted with this the things that afore he passed with me of Gueldres, almost in as notable manner as this.

And with this also, that that passed between Mr. Tate and Grandvela (whilst my Lord of London sought to speak with the

Constable) who went to Grandvela to solicit his letters, and to take his leave. In which it was thought between him and me, that he should take occasion to know what he would say in that was passed. In which Grandvela shewed him that he had spoken with the Emperor, since we spake with him, and that the matter consisted in two points: one was for Brancetour, whereof by his troth he knew not the Emperor had ever employed him; for it was while he was Ambassador in France: and yet although he spake truly to the Emperor therein, how it was a thing that touched the King and him, he bade him plainly that no man should speak to him in it. And as for the other point, he told him that he would do in that, that should be requisite: and suddenly he broke out that he would be plain with him, "that let the King, your Majesty," quoth he, "use friendly with the Emperor, that there be no practices nor none of such small traffic, nor such matters renovelled on his part (I would tell you frankly) I mean with the Almains, whereby the Emperor may be hindered in his friends there, which cannot be hid to us, if there be any. And tell him, on my honour I assure him, there shall neither in this nor in any other thing, or here, be touched of any thing that might seem to be hurtful to the amity between them." And further, declared his zeal to the same amity and your service.

This I say for the purpose I note it for. The Emperor, I take him to be of such nature that in all his things he will not gladly seem to seek upon no man: and that he sayeth your Majesty should join with the Almains; and would rather by a demonstration of evil handling your subjects, specially shewing himself in appearance afraid of the Frenchmen, declare unto you that he can, and hath the means to shew you like displeasure, as ye may do him by joining with the Almains and Guelders: and the whilst he, holding your Majesty in that neutrality, shall win time; and peradventure bear away Guelders; and so make his way more facile into Almaine: whilst on the other side he holdeth France in treating to and fro for Milan.

To this methinketh, pertaineth the round words he giveth me; and the softening of the matter by Grandvela; yea, and almost the plain declaration of Grandvela. And no doubt he intendeth some-

thing about the Low Countries; for he hath done to come two thousand old soldiers, Spaniards out of Italy, that are already passed through Loraine.

If it pleased your Majesty to command me to say my simple opinion in this matter, sure I would think not amiss that some man of ancient wisdom and learning, such as my Lord of Durham, or whom your Majesty shall think meet, should now shortly upon this declare unto the Emperor roundly, that whereas your Majesty hath been inclinable to all overtures of straighter alliance, and renovelling of amities, and that hitherto nothing hath ensued, but that ye have been holden in suspence, not hearkening to the other alliances by reason that ye have reckoning yourself tayed with the treaties between you and him, nor yet being sure of his, by reason that he may think himself, since your just withdrawing from the tyranny of Rome, but at his pleasure bound, that your Majesty cannot think in such bond of friendship any equality: protesting therefore, that though ye intend to keep your amities with him, yet unless he will come to new treaties, or to confirmation of the old, wherein may be clauses for the equality of the reciproque bond in the institutions of your realm, as it is already; that otherwise your Majesty will not hang in such suspence, neither to be sure of his amity nor of any other: but that ye would not refuse any such alliance as shall seem ye good, without respect of his that ye stand not sure of, but as it were for advantage of time dissembled.

This may, me thinketh, with power to treat and roundly to conclude if he will come to this, drive him to defend himself. And methinketh also never better time than now, before he begin his enterprises: and so also shall ye set him in as great doubt of you, as you may seem of him. And therewith provide your subjects of some certainty, where now they remain in doubt of all things. And to this doth comfort me one thing, that in my opinion the Emperor will never part with Milan; and without that, certain amity shall never ensue: and if he do part therefrom, the amity shall not long continue: whereby there is no [small] doubt in his trust of France, for I think verily he doth but use the - - - with them, and not trust them.

I beseech your Majesty, for the love of our Lord impute not this my folly to presumption, but rather to a fervent zeal that I have to your Majesty's service, which cannot contain the things that I imagine might be good or profitable for the same. And with this your accustomed goodness and supportation, taking my desire in good part, I shall, by knowledge thereof, be lightened of a great burthen that I feel by fear of my error and folly.

These Princes depart this day, and lie at St. Denis, and so they go to Chantilly; and thus the King returns, or goeth, as some say, to Amiens; but whether the Dauphin and Orleans goeth into Flanders, as it said, or the Constable, their determinations are so soon begun and so lightly altered, that I can write thereof no certainty.

This Legate goeth not that I can learn before the Emperor; nor I can know of no Englishman that cometh with him.

I determine to tarry here till Saturday next, for that I shall better get horse, and be better out of the foil of the press.

Master Tate looketh every hour for his horses, and will make the speed that he conveniently may, who by mouth can confirm and more largely express these things unto your Majesty: whom our Lord have evermore in his blessed preservation. At Paris, the 7th day of January. [1540.]

LETTER XXXII.

SIR THOMAS WYATT TO CROMWELL, LORD PRIVY SEAL.

Please it your good Lordship to understand, that I have received your letters of the 16th of this present, with those of the King's Highness, most humbly thanking you of your good advice to the interpretation of the King's most benign admonishments. Whereunto I have made mine answer and excuse at this time as the truth was. And I am sorry that I have troubled your Lordship with touching my request for my revocation, seeing so small appearance of the attaining the same. I meant not even now in all my last, but that

the way might by your Lordship have been framed against the expiration of my four months, to be ended at the 9th or 10th of March, for the which I have received. And here I think it not unmeet to advertise your Lordship what comfort I find at my coming for the disease I have long had. First, my house rent standeth me after the rate little lack of one hundred pounds by the year, without stabling; besides, the least fire I make to warm my shirt by stands me a groat. In my diet money I lose in the value eight shillings and eight pence every day, for that the angel is here but worth six shillings and fourpence; a barrel of beer that in England were worth twenty pence, it costs me here with the excise four shillings; a bushel of oats is worth two shillings; and other things be not unlike the rate. I beseech your Lordship take not this that I am so eager upon the King that I would augment my diet, for it is so honourable it were not honest to desire it, but for because I would another should have it.

That your Lordship writeth the King's Highness to take in so good part my doings, I pray God it may proceed of my merits as well as that doth upon his goodness; for if in the while that I would abide in this place my deeds might deserve any thing, would God my revocation and his Grace's continuance of favour might be my reward.

In my last letters of the 20th of this present unto your Lordship, that I wrote of the Ambassadors of Cleves and Guelders to be here, I cannot yet learn any certainty of the same; and that I wrote of Gaunt, I hear say that they be still.

Of the Lansquenets I hear not whereabout they be, nor the Spaniards.

Chapuis came to visit me yesterday, and he hath laboured a great while with me to purge himself of the blame that was arrected him for the stay of certain powder, offering himself to cause the King to have what he would of powder, or munition, or harness, and also he excuses his revocation with apparent reason, and professeth with great oaths the King's good service and true interest in the place he was in, wherein he shewed me of the accusation that after had been made against him, and of his innocence therein. I shall use him as your Lordship shall by your advice think meet.

I retain this bearer no longer for the further answer, for that the King should know the cause of the length of the time.

And thus I shall make an end, recommending me wholly unto your Lordship's good remembrance, for whose good life and long I shall continual pray. At Brussels, the 22d of January. [1540.]

LETTER XXXIII.

SIR THOMAS WYATT TO THE KING.

Please it your Majesty to be advertised: according to your commandment in your last letters of the 15th of the last month; I have had access to the Emperor, together with this bearer Mr. Vaughan, whose being present and relating shall supply by his good remembrance that, that peradventure I by the warm reasoning of the matter shall omit. And I beseech your Majesty to pardon me, if in this my relation I shall keep no order. For in all the process not once or twice, but often he clipped my tale with imperious brave words enow. Whereby, driven to reply and to return to the matter and to disgress, otherwise than ever with him I have been accustomed, scant my memory can contain the particular incidents, which to me were as notable as the principal. Therefore I shall begin at the end, and where the sum of your Majesty's commandment rested, in the expostulation and demand for Brancetour; in your request for the matter depending between the Duke of Cleves and him; and for the matters of the merchants with the Inquisition. In conclusion, this your Highness hath for answer; that as touching Brancetour he will consider the treaties, and see how they pass, whether they be in consideration of particular countries or otherways, and Grandvela shall make me answer.

And for the matter of the Duke of Cleves, he knoweth nothing to be in question or title, but taketh the matter for clear: and

playeth you not to meddle between him and his subject, no more than he doth with yours: and for all the rest of the request plainly, "Je ne "ferai rien."

The matter of the merchants he hath written, he saith, into Spain to be informed. Till the coming of the answer he knoweth not the matter, and for further provision for them he remitteth me to Grandvela to know further his mind.

Before these resolutions, in each matter we had quarrels enough; and even at the first, upon the term of unkind handling, he roundly told me I abused my words towards him. I demanded humbly of him wherein: and he said again, "Of me whom it did touch, that ingra- "titude." Whereunto I answered touching the supportation and deliverance of your traitor. "Yea," quoth he, "but from whom mean "you to proceed that ingratitude?" "Sir," quoth I, "I know no "other ways that he was delivered but by the intercession." "I caused "him to be delivered indeed," quoth he: "but I would that both your "master and you wist it well, it is too much to use that term of "ingrate unto me; for I would you know I am not ingrate: and if the "King your master hath done me a good turn, I have done him as "good or better; and I take it so, that I cannot be toward him in- "grate. The inferior may be ingrate to the greater, and the term is "scant sufferable between like; but peradventure, because the language "is not your natural tongue, ye may mistake the term." "Sir," quoth I, "I do not know that I miss in using the term that I am com- manded." "Then," quoth he, "I tell it you to the end your master "know it, whosoever utter his commandment." "Nor I see not," quoth I, "Sir, under your supportation, that that term should infer prejudice to your greatness. And though yourself, Sir, ex- cuseth me by the tongue, yet I cannot render that term in my tongue unto the French tongue by any other term, which I know also to distend out of the Latin: and in the original it hath no such relation to lessness or greatness of persons. Although I know it be not so meant to charge your Majesty in so evil a part that ye should "so be moved thereby." "No," quoth he, "I am not charged "thereby, I warrant ye; nor will not be." "Sir," quoth I, "it is

not so meant. But to the purpose that I began. The King my master, in his opinion, taketh it thus." "Yea," quoth he, "Mons. l'Em-"bassadeur, the King's opinions be not always the best." "I cannot tell, Sir," quoth I, "what you may mean by that; but if ye think to note thereby the King my master of any thing that should touch him, I assure you he is a Prince to give reason to God and to the world, sufficient in his opinions." "It may be," quoth he.

Again, in bringing in the fair words wherewith he hath long entertained your Majesty, at that he kicked, saying "he holdeth no man with fair words: and that I often pricked him with words." I desired him to parcon me, and that he would patiently hear me. So forth he did, and answered me that he had examined Brancetour what he had done; and he knoweth nothing unless it be Banco-rotto.

And here I alleged the unseemingness to give credence to his words; and that besides the amities, the treaties would, the parties letter on demand should be knowledge sufficient. "As for the treaties I "shall oversee them, I tell you," quoth he, "wherein we shall see "who hath observed the best on his behalf, and who hath given occa-"sion to have them best observed." "Sir," quoth I, "I think you never found occasion in the King your good brother, whereby you might impute any thing to him contrary to the treaties: and your Ambassador, Mons. de Chappuis, I now can inform you ere this what difficulty he made without your will to take a Spaniard called Gusman to his service." "Well," quoth he, "and on my behalf, "yet I never repartyd the King's realms and dominions." "No more, there is no reason," quoth I, "that I should do it." "No more, I "have not done it till now," quoth he. "If the King hath done so "with me, he can tell best." "I dare well say, Sir," quoth I, "that he never thought no such thing. Ye may peradventure have such information as shall not be to believed of such a friend." "I do not "say," quoth he, "that he hath." "Yet," quoth I, "it seemeth to mean as much." "Well," quoth he, "you hear what I say."

Thus, with such incidents, and many others, not forgetting the rehearsal of the apprehension of the said Brancetour without his knowledge, in this matter we came to such resolutions as above.

In the matter of the Duke of Cleves, even at the very first he would not suffer scant that I should name the matter to be in question or title, nor scant hear of putting the matter in justice, he having possession; nor would he not hear me reply therein the reason offered unto him, saying once or twice; "Je ne ferai rien." And for because I had spoken of the good will and favour that your Majesty must bear unto the Duke, he inferred that the greatest favour that your Majesty could shew him should be to advise him to submit him to his Sovereign. And as for the part of Lanfrede, he smiled and wagged his head with making a tush at the matter. And with such incidents we came to such resolutions in this matter as above.

In the third point we passed the same manner of reasoning that we had at Paris in that same matter. But that among the same he said plainly, he had rather your Grace's subjects should never come in his countries, than to sow such opinions as they have. My replying to this, according as I ever have used, could get none other answer for the matter now in ure, but to refer me to the answer out of Spain, and for the using of them hereafter to resort to Grandvela. Upon which delays I thought not meet to hang your Majesty's expectations any longer, seeing the commodity of Mr. Vaughan's coming unto you. But of this to advertise your Majesty, in which discourse the same Mr. Vaughan can well note to your Highness the vehemence, the fashion, and the changing of colours of this Prince: far more, I assure your Majesty, than ever I have seen in him any such alteration afore.

What your Majesty may hope of Brancetour (the best for your purpose, whereof yet I see no likelihood), is at the uttermost to bid him withdraw him for a while.

Of the Duke of Cleves nothing at all, other than having from him the state of Gueldres: and his only help is, as far as I can see, either at your Majesty's hands, or to join himself with the Protestants if he may, and that by times; or else both.

Of your merchants' redress, a long suit, many delays, as well by this man's manner of proceeding, as by the tract from hence to Spain, and from Spain hither, and in conclusion, nothing. I shall, never-

theless, solicit resolution and answer: but, in the mean time, I show your Majesty what hope I have.

And upon the whole in general to say mine opinion; surely I durst never have done it, unless your Majesty had commanded me, the matter being perilous for such a fool as I to deem upon. But sure, since your Highness hath commanded me, I must say that by all that I can perceive, either this man hath knowledge of some such your intent against him, whereby he hath no trust to have you for him: or else knoweth himself, not to merit your friendship; whereby he is in despair, which way it will; or else would provoke you to be the first breaker. I cannot else see what should move this rigour, this sharpness, and this unaccustomed manner in proceeding, unless I, peradventure, be unacceptable to him I wot not by what occasion. It may be also that he hath some imagination, that by such faces he might draw your Majesty again to the subjection of Rome; whereof peradventure he conceiveth a vain hope, in that he seeth you not wholly addict to the Germans: but that your institution is a part from theirs: by which division each of us is the weaker, and he thereby the more brave. I wot not what I may say more in the matter.

That any thing passed in France should make him in these terms I cannot learn here, and that your Highness must look for rather from thence, that being a more open Court.

And as for the Germans I hear nothing; but I doubt not but this bruit of the French matters shall be contrived to put them in dread, and that may do hurt.

Here be Ambassadors from Holstein, and I think to treat longer treves. Whereby methinketh this his coming to be dreadful to all his neighbours. Two days post arrived at Namur, which is within ten leagues the band of Almains to the number of four thousand. And I hear say, that there be many more bands assembled in Almaine; but at whose moving I cannot tell.

The Emperor, as it is said, goeth within ten or twelve days into Gaunt, for which the bands of the horseman be assembling. It should not hurt, for all that I think, if your Guines looked about, having such neighbourhood.

I must remit me to Mr. Vaughan, for, on my faith, at the writing hereof I was not able to write scant three lines together, for my head that so paineth me: Therefore I humbly beseech your Majesty to pardon me, and accept this as the substance of the matters passed. And after my most humble submission, I pray our Lord have your Majesty in his blessed protection. At Brussels, the 3d of February. [1540.]

LETTER XXXIV.

SIR THOMAS WYATT TO CROMWELL, LORD PRIVY SEAL.

Please it your good Lordship to understand: upon Candlemas-day, and after the King's letter finished, Chappuis came to me as I lay sick in my bed. And for because I am not well able to write the discourse that he had with me, like as I was scant able to write the King's letter, I have referred all to Mr. Vaughan, to inform the King and your Lordship of the [illegible] of the matter that he went about with me. And how he wished that Mr. Vaughan had not been present: and I joining with him in the same: and what I judge of the same: and yet that his promise with me confirmeth that that afore I judge in the King's letters upon the answers to come.

There hath also a gentleman made an overture to me to serve the King; and as it seemeth to me in miracles. He maketh the overture in the name of another joined with himself; so that they be two, they are like enough to be men of war, and specially the tone, which by his name is a man that hath good charge: they call him Robert Valle: but his name must be secret. And they say plain, for the truth's sake they desire to serve the King; and for the advancement of the word of God. I have made Mr. Vaughan to speak with the gentleman; he is a Gascoigne; and more, the particulars the said Mr. Vaughan hath can inform your Lordship: and the same gentleman hath sent for further information a gentleman to inform the King

what things he can do. And that he will come, and shew the things plainly unto the King: which if he perform, be wonderous. I remit me in this also to Mr. Vaughan; and our Lord have you in his blessed keeping. At Bruxelles the 3d of February. [1540.]

LETTER XXXV.

SIR THOMAS WYATT TO CROMWELL, LORD PRIVY SEAL.

Please it your Lordship to be advertised: at this time I send by two divers persons this one letter, that is to say: the cipher by the one, and the letter by the other; and Mr. Mason, I suppose, long ere this hath told your Lordship whereupon that proceedeth that I think meet to occupy cipher.

I wrote unto you also of the date of —— which must come to your Lordship by the hands of Sir Thomas Poynings.

Here was from Denmark three to treat upon larger treaties; a gentleman, and a learned man from the King, and a Secretary from Hamburgh. There was offered them a peace; but with such unreasonable conditions, that they having no power meddled not, nor yet in the treves neither, but have day to go and return before Palm Sunday. The two first are gone, but the Secretary remains. I did by a third, put into their head, that if they did protract yet forty days, or two months, they should peradventure be desired of that that now they offer. I cannot tell if I have well done; but sure I think there is in that no harm to the King, and especially to the Duke of Cleves.

The Duke of Cleves's man that is here, is delayed still of his answer for his general investiture, whereof I wrote before: the pretext is, the business of the Emperor for these things of Gaunt; whereas, the Emperor entereth (as Grandvela writeth to him) this day. But it is here said that the Gantians would not suffer the soldiers to come in. Nevertheless I cannot see but though that be true, yet must they stop without the remedy.

The Ambassador of France went yesterday to the Court: whether he were sent for as for a particular favour, or whether he had letters, I cannot tell.

Tor is here still about Brancetour, and with him keepeth company Philipps. There is no way to convey him: the other way is more apparent what time he shall depart. For he telleth me of seven pounds that was delivered him, and beginneth to lack money; as long as I see hope of the matter I will feed him. They take him to be in as evil case as themselves, whereby he creepeth well into their company; and they warn him greatly to beware of me.

I have none other things to write unto your Lordship, but that the coming of the King of Romans is looked for by all, this month; and thus our Lord have you in his blessed keeping. At Brussels the 14th of February. [1540.]

LETTER XXXV.

SIR THOMAS WYATT TO THE KING.

Please it your Majesty to be advertised: yesterday about four of the clock, entered into this town the King of the Romans; whither as his sister was come two days before from Gaunt to meet with him. And within three hours of his coming, the Emperor arrived here too from Gaunt by the post. Whether he will tarry, or return again unto Gaunt at this writing I know not. There been imprisoned in Gaunt, to the number of three or four and twenty, and it is thought that the justice shall be done now that the Emperor is absent.

Here is here, about their provision, Mr. Parker, Mr. Blunt, and Mr. Gresham, your Majesty's servants, and Mr. Palmer, two or three days is gone. I stand in expectation of your Majesty's further pleasure by Mr. Mason, and press no more any former matter till I may know that; and although I have not matter of importance, nor that these advertisements been not of no great weight, yet I dispatch

this bearer purposely, most chiefly for this letter enclosed which yesterday came to my hands; and I send it so blotted with my hand whereas the cipher was, for that your Majesty shall see the very letter rather than the double.

I judge that to be of some importance, as well for the fresher date, as for the expressing of the state of the Almain matters; which although your Majesty have by more ample advertisement, yet the conferring of these may not hurt; and since the writer is a man that penetrateth far into matters of state; and if it be your pleasure to have from the same place continual letters, I shall procure them. And further; whereas he writeth of the Assembly that shall be the first of March at Wittenburgh, if that it seem good that your Grace knew what were in that determined, I shall by my letters, if it please your Grace, cause that same man to go thither, as it were upon my cost. And I doubt not that any thing shall be hidden from him. Please it your Majesty, that in this I may know your pleasure.

Furthermore, it seemeth that now a' days men set forward their matters wonderously with false rumours and noises, so that these things pass as much by appearance as facts; and I doubt not but that like as your Grace's marriage (as he writeth) is falsely spoken of there, so been other of your notable deeds disguised, to alienate the Germans' minds. Wherefore, if it seem good that any thing were published in justification, and declaring your Majesty's proceedings, I would undertake by the same man to cause the thing to be put into the Almain tongue and published, your Majesty by my hands secretly considering the charge; and it should stop many things that upon such rumours, for lack of knowledge, would proceed; and if this may stand with your Majesty's pleasure upon knowledge, I will write to know plainly what things been sown there in the people's ears, touching your things, that against those things may be made indirect provision. And whereas in this with enclosed letter, is mentioned of certain Italians and Spaniards to be coming; in that point I suppose the bruit deceived him as well as the Ambassador of Cleves in France, and others upon whose relation I wrote,

the same news being in France; for, by any thing that I can draw out, both of Ambassadors here, and Italians, I cannot perceive any such moving, neither in Italy, nor in Spain.

Other thing I have not for this present to write unto your Majesty, but to beseech the same that I may put in your good remembrance your Grace's promise for my short abode here. And our Lord have your Highness in his blessed protection. At Brussels the 25th of February. [1540.]

LETTER XXXVI.

SIR THOMAS WYATT TO CROMWELL, LORD PRIVY SEAL.

Please it your Lordship, since Master Mason's departing here is little occurrence of importance: saving that I contain, and continue still that matter that I received by Mr. Wallop's hand: but methinketh there is none appearance of any thing that way to be done here, unless it be upon the congè that they say shall be given.

Mr. Wriothsley's Juell hath made alliance with mine; and the third insinuates himself very well.

The Emperor departed yesterday toward Gaunt, leaving all Ambassadors here, till they should know his further pleasure; with him are gone the 3000 launce-knights, and about 600 horsemen.

I received yesterday word from Grandvela that he would take upon him the charge, that the treaties shall be followed to the extrusion from all their dominions: and of the redress of the things of Spain, with as good words as possible.

The Duke of Cleves hath sent hither a Doctor of the Law, with request for investiture in general: he hath not yet his answer.

Yesterday after the Emperor's departing arrived here Ambassadors from Saxe, from Landsgrave, and other of Almaine. Saxe of late

hath spoken with Cleves, and I suppose be not far asunder at this hour.

The Ambassador of France hath of late seemed to take for certain the donation of Milan, and of more importance the expedition against the Almains than against the Turk. Whereby I guess they would persuade to this man a nearer war at home, to draw him into extreme necessity of the French side.

I look shortly to hear from your Lordship, as well of the things of Mr. Vaughan, as of Mr. Mason.

I must beseech your Lordship to move unto the King's Highness for me this one suit. Among my many other great debts, I owe his Grace 500 marks for my livery, which I could not get out till my last being in England; and I must pay it by 40*l.* yearly. I owe him beside 250 marks of old debt, which in all maketh 500*l.* If his Grace will so much be my good Lord, as to let me take out all mine obligations and bonds, and take good surety in recognizance for the said 500*l.* after 50*l.* a year, truly to be paid, I would trust so a little and a little to creep out of debt, with selling of little land more. If not, on my faith, I see no remedy. I owe my brother Lee as much, beside other infinite that make me weary to think on them. I have written to Sir Thomas Poynings to know your Lordship's answer in this: and also most humbly to thank you for your goodness toward me, touching that he moved you for me of the Lordship of Ditton, that is John Lee's. But surely I am not able to buy it, unless the King's great liberality shewed unto me in this case; and yet the thing is so necessary for me, as that that lieth in the midst of my land, and within a mile of my house. I remit me wholly to your good Lordship, in whom is mine only trust, next to the King's Majesty. But above any of all these things I recommend unto your Lordship the good remembrance when time shall be of my recovation; and I alway your bond bedesman, as our Lord knoweth, who send you good life and long. At Brussels, this Shrove Tuesday. [1540.]

LETTER XXXVII.

SIR THOMAS WYATT TO THE KING.

PLEASE it your Majesty to be advertised: since my coming hither to Gaunt, which was eight days past, I have done to the King of Romans the common ceremonies to visit him with offers of my service, advertising him of your Majesty's prosperous health, and of your desire of his like; which office he seemed to take in good part, with gentle words and fashion.

And for because it was noised that the treves general between the Turk and the Christian Princes was taken for six months, beginning at the first of January last, I proved if he would tell me any particular thing thereof. And resolutely he would not tell me that so it was; but that he thought it should be so. Nevertheless there is one Lasko of Polonia, which is his servant, that is come hither with the news. And it is among men of knowledge taken for certain. And unto the Legate I know the King of Romans told it for certain. Notwithstanding there is no news thereof yet from Venice, though the Ambassador affirm it to be of surety.

These men, as it is said among men of judgment, go about to call hither the French man; and it is thought the Constable, and the Cardinal of Lorrain shall be here shortly. In my opinion more for to make good cheer; or at the uttermost to make appearance of amity among those Almain Ambassadors, than for any resolution that shall ensue further: as I gather, as well by passed things, as by those that here under I shall advertise your Majesty.

And if I would make reckoning of these common drunkards talk, the peoples' common devises, yea! and the merchants' doubts and reports, I should minister unto your Majesty matter of great suspect toward some secret thing against your Highness. But me thinketh there is no such thing at hand. And if ought be thought therein, there been many things first to be compounded and framed, whereof with your Majesty's licence, I shall say what I think.

And first I shall note unto your Majesty, that the same time that the Legate had his audience, as soon as he departed the Almain Ambassadors entered and had theirs; and beside that, that the letters out of Almaine which I sent your Highness, did advise of the purport of their charge. They spake also of treves.

But this that shall ensue, I assure your Majesty, I have it out of a good place. The Legate, since his coming to Gaunt, (I mean the Legate's Governor, that is, one Marcetts, of late made Cardinal) told to a near friend of his, that by the Bishop's, his master's commandment he did move the French King to make difficulty awhile, in this conclusion; and that the necessity of the Emperor should cause him have what he would desire. Whereunto the King answered, that if the Emperor would live, as he doth, in peace and friendship, he would do his best to shew him always like correspondence; but if he would treat any further thing, it must be for all dependants, or else nothing.

The latter end of this, that is to say, the French King's saying, was secretly reported to the Emperor, which found his saying marvellous good. And when it was replied unto him, that that same "all dependants" included many things, as well Bourgogne, Navarre, treaties of Madrid, as Milan and Piedmont, he answered, that of truth the things were marvellous intricate. The other remembered unto him again, that at the treating at Perpignan, he being at Barcelona, he once thought it not best to come to particulars. "It is "true," quoth the Emperor, "and that maketh me loth to come yet to "them: for there is danger of unhonest conditions, or of discontentment "at departing." How this is true may be considered by conferring with those things that my Lord of Norfolk draweth forth of France. But I take them for certain and true, it is in so good a place that I have it; as certainly as that I know it was said to the Emperor: "That if he look the way, either by force to win the Almains, or by means to divide them, that he should be deceived: and the Bishop of Rome's persuasions therein should be of small effect; for that his avarice would not afford great contributions in the matter. And that what-

soever particular thing were among the Almains, the common hatred against the Bishop was alone; whereby his friends there should not be assured unto him in matters of Religion; for that either open, or secret, they were all Evangelists;" persuading him by this to take that way, that might be best to join them unto him: though it were not all he would; yea, though it were something dishonest in his own opinion, for that if they were irritated, he doubted much some great inundation by their furor over all Italy and Christendom.

Unto this the Emperor made no doubtful answer, but earnestly allowed the reason, affirming that like as it was expedient, so had he mean enough to do it; and that without doubt he would provide for surety, whatsoever other builded upon hazard.

By these things, Sir, methinketh I gather near at hand an accord with the Germans; a suspense, as it is still with the Frenchmen, and a time for the managing of the said accord, by the treves that shall yet last till the latter end of June. And if these things come to pass, your Majesty not comprehended with the Germains, then methinketh were something to be suspected, that is here commonly bruited against your Majesty. For if it be true, that I know this Cardinal hath secretly said for truth, that is, that they have gotten to be passed already between the Emperor and the French King, that neither of them shall further treat any particular with your Majesty without the advice and consent of the other; then seemeth these things an appearance to leave your Highness destitute of any foreign assurance.

Add to this that it is here said, and the Duke of Cleves's own servant told it me too, that he heard it of men of reputation, that they were about to give the Duke of Cleves a marriage of the Dutchess of Milan, and to confirm that, I note that the King of Romans promising to do the best he could for the Duke toward the Emperor, advised him not to seem to insult against the Emperor, but rather to go humbly to work with him, and that he should have the best mean he could.

I advised him to advise his Master, in case of marriage, to use his friend's counsel; and herein, if I shall be plain with your Majesty, I

cannot but rejoice in manner the scape that you made there; for although I suppose nothing but honour in the lady, yet methinketh your Highness make would be without note or suspect: and there is thought affection between the Prince of Orange and her, and hath been of long: which for her bringing up in Italy, may be noted but service which she cannot let, but I have heard it to proceed partly from her own occasion. Of this your Majesty judge; and do with your friend as ye shall think meet.

And for purpose of these practices, and handling of this accord whereof I have spoken before, it is thought the Emperor will not be long out of Almaine. The preventing of these things, and they be thought apparent, and any thing prejudicial to your Highness, I doubt not but your Highness' wisdom pondereth accordingly.

Of the things of Gaunt; on Friday the town made their answer of submission to the accusement and confiscation of the town, and the liberties, which the Emperor's advocate seven days before purposed.

These been the occurrents for this time I can write unto your Majesty, praying our Lord long to prosper the same in health and honour. At Gaunt the 9th of March. [1540.]

LETTER XXXVIII.

SIR THOMAS WYATT TO THE KING.

PLEASE it your Majesty to be advertised: forasmuch as my Lord Privy Seal wrote unto me that the letters of advice out of Almaine did not mislike unto your Majesty, having yesternight received another, I send it unto your Highness; wherein is to be noted, that at the making of the cipher, Duke Geo. was alive, whose cipher I think he useth now for him that succeeded him. And further to write of the things that been here bruited, the fame of the accord with Cleves, by the marriage of the Dutchess of Milan, groweth still.

And when I searched to know the ground of such bruit, I can find none; whereby I judge it a practice for the purpose that hereafter I shall write.

It is said that the Count Palatine the Elector is dead, and that Duke Frederick cometh hitherward.

The appointment with France waxeth colder and colder every day in every man's mouth, and hath done since the King of Romans coming; and in the Legate's entertainment here, I see neither great affection nor great matters treating.

By all things that I can draw out here, I remain of the same opinion that I was at the writing of my last letters, that is, that there would accord follow shortly betwixt the Protestants and the Emperor; and this letter out of Almain doth not appaire that opinion. For upon that same protracting of the Duke of Cleves' entering with the Protestants, the Emperor taketh occasion so to entertain him till he appoint with the Protestants, and feedeth him with some fame of marriage; yea, and useth his brother to give the Duke's servant here good words, and delay of his answer, not only to hold him in that kind of suspense (wherein also peradventure some of the Duke's Council being Papists constraineth him to) but also thereby to minister unto the Almains, seeing the said Duke not inclinable unto them, occasion to be a great deal more facile to the appointment. Methinketh the proceeding of the Emperor hath much framed to such a purpose. First, he hath won from the Almains the French King, or at the least hath made them believe so, insomuch, that they scant believe the Frenchmen whatsoever they say to the contrary. Next, that it seemed that they doubted greatly your joining with them by the words of Grandvela to Mr. Tate at Paris. And now by any means if they may put them in despair by the Duke of Cleves' suspending that they shall not make a frontier of Guelders, he shall so leave them to trust to themselves, and make them more easy to come to appointment, for which purpose the Bishop of - - - promiseth, upon the Emperor's head, much good will and affection; yea, and that the Emperor himself abhorreth not much the thing that they have done,

as the same Bishop said openly in the Assembly at Frankfort. The Bishop is not yet comen although his lodging be appointed, and hath been this month. The cause of his tarrying be, I suppose, to let - - - - - - - - - and let this practice. This performed, he hath both time by the means, with the rank and commodity to assault the Duke; and then, dare I warrant, the Duke shall not find that facility in him, that the King of Romans painteth here to his servant. Add to this, that there is means with the King of Denmark peace, or trêves as I have written before.

Furthermore your Majesty shall understand that the same Lasco, of whom is written in the letter that I sent, is here; and it is he that brought the news of the trêves; but of the other purpose I hear nothing but by the postscript that I send herewith; and if that be true, then methinketh the practice that I have mentioned before is out of question.

Other occurrence here is not for this present worthy of advertisement, but that the Gauntian's shall, I think, this day bring in their privileges. And I beseech your Majesty that I may have Mr. Mason returned to me shortly, for I shall want him greatly for the little while that I shall tarry here, for the which I most humbly thank your Majesty that it please your Highness to have consideration of my poor destiny, and our Lord grant me once to do your Majesty such service that I may partly be deserving the least of your immeasurable goodness towards me; for whose honour and long prosperous life shall be my continual prayer. At Gaunt, the 12th of March. [1540.]

LETTER XXXIX.

SIR THOMAS WYATT TO THE KING.

Please it your Majesty to understand: a secretary of Grandvela told a friend of mine this other day, that there was news come out of France that made the Emperor so jocund, that he scant

could tell on what ground he stood. And of truth it seemed he had need of them, for before that came he was in great melancholy, insomuch that he confessed he could not sleep on nights. The most particular of these news that could be drawn out of that secretary was, that the French King had advertised hither what my Lord of Norfolk treated in France, and what answer he had, the suspect whereof held the Emperor in great dread for awhile.

Upon this ———— is gone into France, and Brisack is comen hither, or will be here this night; and it is thought that this amity will stand still without request or donation of Milan. For it seemeth that neither the French King presseth the matter; and sure it is, the Emperor will not part therefrom without constraint, whereby there seemeth to be spoken of betwixt them, the t' one to wink at the other in reparting of the Duke of Savoy's state; and that also, methinketh, I perceive by the Duke's Ambassador that is here. And to confirm the non-donation of Milan, a Milanois, servant to the Emperor, that meddleth in matters of finance, consulting with the Emperor not two days past upon means for money, found unto the Emperor ways for three thousand ducats out of the state of Milan, which liked well unto the Emperor, and bade him communicate the thing with Grandvela; the other replying, 'That if it were true that was commonly spoken, that he would part from Milan, it should be but vain, for that it would ask the space of eight or nine months the making of that money.' Whereunto the Emperor answered; "Yea, "they are deceived; let them say what they will, go and speak with "Grandvela." And when he had made relation unto Grandvela, as well as of his device with the Emperor, as of his replying, Grandvela seemed angry that it should be spoken of the giving of Milan, saying; "Are we wont to give our own away so lightly?"

A secretary of the Emperor, to one that reasoned with him how the amity could stand without Milan, and how Genes shall do if Milan were given, said in great choler; "These be practices and [shifts] of Venetians, and other that [uphold them;] but they shall find, in spite of the Devil, and all them that have been about to let it, the matter is clear enough."

And another wise man whom the Emperor occupieth in matters of importance confirmed all these things, and added the accord with the Almains and the Council to ensue; and that those things were already in train, and that there was also 5000 Spaniards and 3000 Italians coming hither; which concurreth with letters that I have seen out of Spain. I durst not now eftsoons have reinforced my opinion that twice or thrice I have before written, unless these things and many other apparents had concurred to the confirmation of the same. Surely, if I shall say as I think to your Majesty, and as me thinketh the Emperor's proceeding hath always been, no man winneth at his hand by trite of time. If your Majesty may not dispose with the French King as you would, and that the Emperor may assure him there better than you, if the Almains accord with the Emperor, your Majesty nor the Duke of Cleves comprehended it, it cannot be but to your prejudice; at the least the Duke of Cleves, I warrant him, shall feel it; and I doubt not but the state of Guelders would make the Emperor go as near the brink as he may to please the Almains. And whoso thinketh that the Primacy of the Church be the thing that shall make the difficulty of the Almains if they come to a Council, I fear me, shall be deceived; for I have heard it among them, that so the Bishop of Rome's power be not plenary and absolute, but taken as by consent, and not usurped by colour of Scripture, there might be qualification in that point. Other things, it seemeth, that the Emperor doth not abhor so much as that division. And for the Bishop's part, I think verily, if he may find means to establish his temporal power, and keep the name of Primacy by sure capitulation before the Council, he would not greatly detract to come to Council, for that this day he hath little profit by other things. This I say, for that me thinketh it were no sure foundation upon their non-agreement. I had thought no more to have mentioned unto your Majesty my opinion in this purpose till time I might, with your Grace's leave, have by mouth declared the same. But that me thinketh as much time as I had deferred the matter, of so much advantage I should have defrauded your Majesty of that in me lay.

There is one gone from hence into Almaine; who it is I cannot know yet.

The Bishop of London is looked for every hour. It is said that after Easter that the Emperor would to Arras. Other things that importeth I know not for this present, as our Lord knoweth, who have your Majesty in his blessed protection. At Gaunt the 14th of March. [1540.]

LETTER XL.

SIR THOMAS WYATT TO CROMWELL, LORD PRIVY SEAL.

Please it your Lordship to understand, I received the last day of the last month your letters both by Master Mason, and also by Francisco, whom I retain yet that he may bring fuller answer to your said letters; nevertheless I thought it meet to advertise before of the state of the things here, and what I intend in the accomplishing of those your said letters.

These mens things with France, by all ways that I can learn and conferring one intelligence with another, remain after that same rate as I have ere this written.

Peloux came hither again the day before I received your letters, and he told me that the Constable doth not move hitherward till he be sent for, which, by the answer which was made to Brisack whereof I wrote before, maketh little that he should be called.

And the day before Peloux coming the Emperor sent the Ambassador of France to the French King by post; more as I think to render him the like than to draw to any conclusion. For that which before I took to be of the Emperor's sending for, the coming of the Emperor's Ambassador in France by post, was by the French King's sending, as I have learned since.

And the same day I spake with Grandvela about these gentlemen's horse that have been stopped, and in general demanding him of his

news, he told me that of these truces they have no certainty, and that now they were about clearing the purposes with France.

Whereof the first I know to be untrue; for that the Ambassador of Venice hath expostulated in the Seignory's name with the Emperor, that in his trêves they are excluded; and he hath sought ways of his excuse. And besides that, they themselves, as I hear, have peace with the Turk, for the which they gave Napoly in Romania, and would seem by such exclusion to be driven to the same, for they divulge the evil dealing as a preamble for their excuses. And for the other part that they be about the clearing of their purposes in France, I suppose the conclusion of that clearing will be but cloudy; and that they would set out some appearance thereof for a time: for I cannot see that it should be for their purpose, if they thought that clearing should come to a resolution, to tell it me; unless they would have it hindered rather than furthered, for so they take that we would; or else to see if thereby we would make to them any offer, in declaring whereof they might recompense the Frenchmen with the like. But in sum, they of the Court that dare a little more liberally speak with their friends, make here a mock unto Frenchmen.

That your Lordship writeth of, the intelligencies and advertisements that the King's Highness hath from hence and other parts touching the things of Guelders, as well of Ambassadors as other things, those intelligences may serve his Highness in other things; but in this I dare well say, the intelligences penetrate no farther than the common bruit; whereof I have written before this time, and what I thought was the ground thereof. And for the argument thereof I suppose the Emperor seeketh it not himself on the Duke, nor that he hath any man with the Duke. And as for the Duke [he] hath none here yet, for he that was here is gone, and neither was he a man to treat any such matter; and what he treated I wrote long ago, and of his answers. If there were any such Ambassador here at all, were it so that he were hidden from me, he could not be hidden from them that would not hide it from me. The bruit is risen by the favour that the King of Romans shewed to the Duke's man that was here; and upon the same some men of wisdom have founded themselves, shewing me that there

should be spoken of an arbitrament, whereof the King of Romans and another Elector should be for the Emperor, Saxe, and the Landsgrave for the Duke; thinking verily that so it should make most for the Emperor's honour, after his great braveness in the matter, to have the thing given from him rather than kept; for that it is thought that the Almains will not consent to so much greatness of the Emperor as to let him have Guelders. But of all this I see not yet any foundation or appearance. It is the thing I have always had in a[pprehension] and your Lordship's letters shall make more earnestly search.

The matters of Almaine come not so forward as was to be thought before; and that, the mention in your letter of the Emperor going into Almaine that I did write of, I remember well I wrote thereof; but not of certainty, only that it was thought he would not be long thus. But this your Lordship must take for a general rule in all advertisements of his movings and viages, that there is never certainty till his foot be in the stirrup; nor I think his own determinations be not certain therein, for that he taketh always occasions as they offer, and useth presently his time, being always as it were - - - - - . Therefore I say yet, that most men think he must of force go thither, and I think he protracteth the treating with them by any other, (of which protracting the Bishop of London greatly *complaineth*, making the thing easy to be done,) because he determineth to do *the matter better* by his presence. So much is this matter in appearance, that, as I am advertised, the Bishop of Rome crediteth it greatly, and his Ministers here also.

The form that your Lordship doth prescribe unto me to hold and the occasions, I shall follow; but if I should do it sudden upon this coming of Mason in post, it would be thought not of myself, therefore a little I defer it, but this day I will speak with Grandvela. And I have sent this morning to Aukinson to search the truth of that matter; And since the King's pleasure is to ask licence for horse, I am determined to ask also for Spanish horse, for a dozen or sixteen, whereof I had rather his Highness had one good than ten of these royals, whereof I see few fit for his saddle.

Of the stay of horse, and what I have done therein, this bearer can

inform you of at large. And where your Lordship writeth that the King's Grace willeth me to have patience for a month longer, till it be seen the clearness of the Constable's coming, surely, my Lord, it is a pleasure and no patience unto me to do the King service, and would God I were as able in suffisance to the same as his Grace would make me in substance, whereby I would then never playne the waste of my private things, for my contentation should be my recompence. But since I know mine own insuffisance, I see no reason why I should hope the reparation of my things, for of truth my service is not such to merit that. But God forbid that ever his Majesty's requests be other unto me than in place of straight commandments. I shall persevere in my duty, and will his Grace take heed as I have always said of the ableness of him he trusteth. But the little appearance that I see of that Constable's coming giveth me good comfort of my short abode; which thing I recommend unto your Lordship's good remembrance as one of my chiefest desires; and most humbly I thank your Lordship for Mr. Gresham's letters of exchange, and I suppose his son will say I have done him some pleasure in these parts.

The Marquis of Marignan is coming, and I think it will not be hard to draw him now to come see the King; and to purpose thereof the Bishop of Rome hath, for to gather money, put an high imposition upon the salt in his towns, whereby Perusa hath mutinied, and is in arms; The Bishop hath sent thitherward 200 light horse; and they long ago and of late have instance done Radulpho Baglione to come to be their chief. The House of Baglione is and hath been in Perusa as the Medicis in Florence, and this Bishop, since the death of Malatesta Baglione, which was a notable man and father to this Radulpho, usurped the patrimony of the same Radulpho under promise of restitution, which yet he would never restore, although the promise were made to the Emperor and other; whereby the Emperor is somewhat offended. And, to augment the same, there is a speaking of a divorce to be had between the Bishop's son and the Emperor's bastard daughter, that was Dutchess of Florence. But the commotion of Perusa may, perchance, be so kindled that it may bring these Princes again to arms in Italy. These been all the occurrents that for this time been in my knowledge,

saving that they say the French Court turneth back toward Paris. And thus I beseech our Lord have you in his blessed keeping. At Gaunt, the 2d of April. [1540.]

My Lord Deputy wrote of late to the Emperor by the conveyance of the Captain of Gavelines; I suppose not without knowledge of the King or the Council, but without participating with me of any thing of the matter.

LETTER XLI.

SIR THOMAS WYATT TO CROMWELL, LORD PRIVY SEAL.

PLEASE it your Lordship to be advertised: on Saturday, the 3d of this present, which was the next day after I had dispatched Mr. Blunt, I had advertisement that the Legate had desired the Emperor two days before, in the Bishop's behalf, to intend toward the donation of Milan to the French King, and therewith shewed the Emperor the whole part of the letter that contained the reasons and the persuasions why. Whereunto he answered that he had sent the Ambassador of France to his Master with such party and conditions that ought well to satisfy him; and if not, that all the world should know it stake not at him whereby the accord followed not.

This self same answer he made two or three days after to the Ambassador of Venice, which I took in confirmation of the other. Further, I had that same day advice, and it cometh from a likely place, that at the arrival of the said Ambassador, the French King, the Dauphin, and the Constable, shut themselves together in a chamber for the space of an hour and half. The Constable at his coming out laid himself forthwith in his bed, and there lay sick two or three days. And with this, that the Admiral is acquitted in Parliament, and at Paris tarrying in the Court.

And upon Sunday after I had advertisement, and it cometh by let-

ters of the 13th of March out of Swiss to the Bishop of London, that the French King hath sent to his pensioners there their pensions, and appointed them to come to Lyons; but further the purpose is not known. With these seemeth to colour these letters that I send herewith that came to my hands yesterday. And this far as touching the King of France, which all the world here taketh for Koran, saying the one was a great beast to put himself in that hazard, and the other a greater to let him pass.

And as for the other things of your Lordship's letters, the same Saturday in the morning I was with Grandvela, as well for the signment of these Gentlemen's licence, as also for to get me an audience for the asking of the licence for the King, which, as I wrote before, I intend to ask as well for Spanish horse as for these. And as it fell in purpose of the things of Cleves, I found him as hot and as peremptory against all means, as ever I did; resting and agitating the thing as much as he might with the costs and the wars, and the travail that that State had put their house unto. This came to purpose, although it were not moved as to purpose, but "That as I wished in my heart there might have been some good means;" and in this I noted that he told me; "The Duke arneth, quoth he, and makes strong; and they peradventure that he hath most help of will not stick so to him as he weeneth. I speak not this for you, but for other;" but further I could not have.

The next day after, which was yesterday, I had had advertisement that the Duke of Brunswick went hence on the said Saturday in the morning toward the Duke of Cleves, and that it was thought that peradventure he might bring him hither. This advertisement is certain that thither he is gone; and the other are not to be contemned. I never saw likelihood of any treating with Cleves before this; and yet, if I shall join this to that of Grandvela, it seemeth rather a practice whereof these men would take no knowledge, than any form of treatise. But I am of opinion, as I wrote before, that all this year shall pass with practices, and no declaring openly. The King's Majesty judge upon these things as his high wisdom shall best deem; but I think that the donation of Milan shall not conclude, neque in hoc

sæculo, neque in futuro.' And as for the things of Cleves, as I further shall learn, I shall further advertise. But I doubt nothing so much as that he be beguiled with practices, and that he maketh not his surest foundation where he should; that is, rather his alliance and own force, rather than his intercession. These men are not drawn by courtesy, friendship, or equity; but by interest.

Touching the matter of Aukenson, Grandvela telleth me that I give him a memorial, and he will not fail to do justice; and I have sent thither to learn the perfect truth both of the ship and of the man: which had; I will see whether they would apprehend him to answer to that that shall be laid against him.

Furthermore it is taken for truth the accord of the Venetians with the Turk, and that Postscripta out of Almaine of Lasko's practice for the King of the Romans seemeth to have some confirmation. And Lasko is returned; and it is said, that in Constantinople the war is determined against the Sophy. Beside that it is said, Barbarossa hath stripped Scio both of goods and men; and if that be true, he hath served so the Genoese for the Frenchmens' request. Other things I have not for this present to advertise; but of Mr. Leghe's coming, which briefly I did before last, and of that it may please your Lordship to advertise me what I may do. I, knowing no particular hitherto, treat him like the King's true servant and my friend, and for ought that I can perceive, he hath such confidence in his innocency that he determineth to come with me, although he plaineth greatly that he hath heard of his suspect.

Moreover, yesternight the Prince of Salerno sent to me to shew me he had leave of the Emperor to come see the King's Highness, which he had long desired, and that he intended to go within these fourteen or fifteen days, and desired to know of me what order he might best take. He is a man of thirty or forty thousand ducats rent, and beside that greatly esteemed in all Italy, and one of the greatest men of Naples. I suppose he would tarry there to see hunting and such pastime for one month. I beseech your Lordship, that I may know what I shall do herein; I intend to give him one of my servants for guide; and would God I were then ready; if it were so the King's pleasure, I

would make him such company as should not be unhonourable to the King. Other thing I have not for this present, but that our Lord have you in his blessed keeping. At Gaunt, the 5th of April. [1540.]

LETTER XLII.

SIR THOMAS WYATT TO CROMWELL, LORD PRIVY SEAL.

Please it your Lordship to understand, I have received your letters of the 8th of this present, sent by Francisco, upon Saturday last at night; and the next day I was appointed to have audience, although I might have had the same long before if I had judged the matters of great importance; but I was desired else to forbear, the Emperor having all the last week much business and consultations, which I judge to proceed upon the return of the French Ambassador. And after I had declared my said abstinence from importuning him in his business, my matters being not so much important, and done the King's Majesty's recommendations, I shewed him how that his said Majesty's Court being revived with rejoicing since the Queen's coming,* had made gentlemen to set themselves on horseback, and that the King's Majesty, thanked be our Lord, being in so good disposition, could no less but some time find himself amongst them. Although he were not so to his purpose mounted as he would desire, therefore he desired him to let not only the Squire Parker (being now here) to draw out of these parts such number and such horse as should be meet for him, but also out of Spain; and that if there were any thing in the King his good brother's country wherein he might take like pleasure, it should be ready at all his semblable requests.

To this he made me answer that he heartily thanked the King for his recommendations, and that he purposed shortly to send his unto him by Chappuis, for that his Ambassador there was a man that desired more his liberty and ease at home. But in the mean time he prayed me to make his hearty recommendations when I wrote next. And

* Anne of Cleves. See Surrey's Memoirs, p. xlvi.

casting a little down his eyes, he laughed, saying, "That he knew right well that the King having been so good a man of arms as he had known and had seen him seeing other doings, and having taken of late a wife, could not hold his hands, and that he was glad to hear so good lust and disposition in him that he would put himself sometimes on horseback. And that I should speak with Grandvela and see what number should be necessary both of the one and the other, and that the King should have all the pleasure that could be shewed him in that or in any other thing that he might."

In the matter of the Pirates I had like gentle and goodly answer, and, "That such men were not to be cherished, and after I should be surely informed (which I told him I had sent for) I should have all expedition for his apprehension and justice." These things passed sweetly with smilings and good countenance. And after this I thanked him in the gentlemen's behalf to whom he had given licence for the horse, and showed him also that there was certain that had armed them at Brussels, and that likewise they had heard of stay of harness, and desired his favour in that. He said the meaning of the stay, though it were in general, was not for that, and that they should with good will. And here I took occasion to speak of confiscations of harness at Antwerp in Merchants hands, *which the Merchants*, both by their privilege and also by the treaties claimed to have frank, *paying the* customs as well as other merchandizes. In his answer he alleged that our Merchants in time of war carried out both ammunition and harness to enemies, which occasions of the straighter restraint; but that in this I should also speak with Grandvela, and see together the treaties; notwithstanding that the King should alway have when he would.

After this, shewing countenance of willing to take my leave, asking if his Majesty would command me any other thing, and whether there were any thing of his news that he would participate with the King his brother, he said there was none other, but that he had sent offer and parties to the most Christian King, whereunto he had made him answer, and that so it seemeth the things go in long. This was something after the manner, moving his head; and by cause I perceived I should have of him but such generality, I spake not with him in that matter. "And of the things of Cleves, Sir," quoth I. "As

"ye see," Mons. Embassadeur," quoth he. "By my truth, Sir," quoth I, "for that in those matters I never had word from the King my Master since I wrote him your answer, I take it that he takes himself for resolutely answered in that request; but I would have wished that he might have found more facility in your Majesty; and I suppose ye should have found him as meet a man for your purpose as any other both for his friendship with you and alliance with him. And although I doubt not that he would be glad that betwixt you and his brother in law there should be good conclusion; yet when he shall know that, that is commonly spoken here, that in that means other are put in trust and he refused, it may minister unto him matter of evil interpretation." "I promise you," quoth he, "Mons. l'Embassadeur, "I never used any means in the matter, nor never made other answer "to any man but such as I made unto you. It is true that my brother "hath spoken unto me therein, and the Duke of Brunswick, that would "needs go unto him; but I assure you there is no other mean but that "likewise I would the King your master should have persuaded him to "do as he ought to do, and he shall find me his good neighbour, Cou-"sin, and his good Emperor, for he is subject to the Empire. I have "forborne much time, and now the year is well forward, to see if he "would come to reason."

"Sir," quoth I, "I understand that he hath alway offered to stand in justice." "Who shall be," quoth he, "the justice, Mons. "l'Embassadeur? it is I that must be in that case." "Let it be so, Sir," quoth I; "yet what particularly mean you by that, Ye would have him do as he ought to do? It must be by order of law to try his title." He wagged his head, "No, no," quoth he, "there is no "title." "At least, Sir," quoth I, "he pretendeth a title which he "offereth to put at trial." "What," quoth he, "and usurp the pos-"session? let him therein do the law as he ought to do, and relinquish "the possession which yet is no possession." "Sir," quoth I, "I know not the law." "Yes marry do ye," quoth he, and laughed. "Nay, in good faith, Sir," quoth I, "I am no legist." "Well," quoth he, "I have learned so far." "But me thinketh, Sir," quoth I, "that Mons. de Cleves, if he should have no more confidence in

your equity than in his own power, should be but evil councelled to relinquish his possession. "He must look," quoth he, at his superior "hands for justice by order of law and not by constraint." "Sir," quoth I, "in this purpose I have no commission, nor will not detain your Majesty in pleading of that I cannot skill of." Thus with good and gentle passions we parted friends.

Touching that your Lordship writeth, that the King's pleasure is that for the time I shall be here I inquired diligently for occurrents. As for the things of France, [these] in sum are, for ought that I can draw out here, conformable to all my former advertisements, and that all things that way are here as cold as though the things passed had been but dreams. This one particularity I have come by since, which I am glad I knew no sooner for it might have made a proceeding upon a mistaken certainty, and in conclusion have come to none effect. At Madrid the French king sent unto the Emperor, firmed with his hand, these parties of Marriage. The Duke of Orleans, with the King of Roman's daughter, and the donation of Milan in that match. The King's daughter, with the Emperor; and the King of Navarre's daughter, with the Prince of Castille. These the Emperor for trowght, and sent them again to the French King with promise obtained no particular to be touched during his passage through France. Who had known this then must needs have judged another sequel of these things than now ensueth; but these generalities receive Spanish interpretations now. And where the French King would make of these parties one loaf, and mould them together, this man would separate the things each apart, and taking occasion at the generality of the article of his own marriage with the daughter of France, wherein is no mention of dote nor douaire, and thinks the state Bourgogne to be reasonable demand for the counterpoise of Milan by corporation of his estate with that of Orleans. And the manner of the clearing of the matter of Navarre is now in hand to enjoy the rest of Navarre, and after the King of Navarre's death to have the state of Albert. These things have so deceived the French King, that men think he rather timeth the matter till he be in readiness, than hopeth any further treating. And otherwise the Emperor hath offered to treat the marriages, and let the

States remain in longer treaties, of which marriages two at the least must be in futuro, for that their years be not yet ripe; which it seemeth the French King likewise taketh for practices.

These things maketh me remember the tale of the Welshman when he was in danger on the sea, that vowed a taper as big as the mast, and when he came on land paid a little candle to our Lady; with "That he offered her to hang him if ever she took him on the sea again."

With this the Ambassador of France maketh here sour countenance, and the entertainment in France of Captains is still confirmed. And the Legate seeing these matters so colded, seeketh his revocation, loth as it seemeth to stand here for an image in so little reputation, where at home he is honoured like a young god.

Of things of Cleves I have none other thing than I have before written; saving that the Duke of Brunswick that is gone thither, goeth also further; and it is said secretly for greater practices, but yet I cannot learn any particular.

The things of Almaine your Lordship shall better perceive by these letters than I can inform you; by the which it is more to be noted that at that time there was no knowledge there of this cooling of the King's of France. I have written thither this other day; whereof yet I have none answer.

And further, I send you herewith certain chapters that seem of mediation of the matters of Almaine, which I had of the Ambassador of Venice; he having them, as he said, out of a good place. But I cannot perceive who purposeth the matters, or who should make those additions, for to me it seemeth a Welshman's hose; so are the things weaved together.

Of Denmark I hear nothing, nor of the Ambassador that should have returned, and the mean that I have to learn of those things is not here.

Andalôt, a gentleman of the Emperor, whom he useth in great matters, is on his dispatch into Italy about the variance that is betwixt the Bishop's nephew and his wife. And it may be, that it be also to warn for order of the things there. I marvel your Lordship

writeth nothing whether I should continue any thing with the Marquis Marinian any purpose or not, and whether I should comfort him to go see the King.

Of the Prince of Salerno I shall advise time enough by the next. He is now gone to Bruges, and will be here to-morrow or to-night. And if Mr. Pate made him haste, I might bring him yet before May-day. It may please your Lordship that there be commandment at Calais to prepare an honest ship and lodging upon my advertisement, and not with much noise and industry, to the end it may seem him well without great cure; and I shall write to them in time. Of the letter that was written hither I am something informed, and I shall inquire further for the truth: it is but well if it be no other than I can learn yet. And as for Mr. Meredith, I doubt not but I shall finish that before my coming.

And thus, after my most humble recommendations, I pray God send your Lordship good life and long. At Gaunt, the 12th of April. [1540.]

LETTER XLIII.

SIR THOMAS WYATT TO THE KING.

Please it your Majesty to be advertised: as I wrote in a Post scripta to my Lord Privy Seal, with my letters of the 12th of April, touching the coming of the Duke of Cleves, even so on Tuesday last he arrived here, and [there] was sent against him to receive him the Prince of Orange, the Great Master, and other. He arrived about six of the clock at night. I found the means that same night to speak with him secretly, unknown. And the Thursday after I went to him to do my duty in public, and for because I judged it in your Majesty's service that he concluded nothing suddenly without your Majesty's knowledge, whereof was thought great appearance by his coming, I did insure all that in me was to dissuade him from any conclusion, as well by declaring him the state of things of this Court, the square with

France, the apparent war with the Turk, the poverty of the Emperor and such like things whereby he might be better [drawn] to stand awhile till your Majesty were advertised, and as I perceive both by - - - - - - and his Counsel he hath desired nothing more than your Majesty's advice and counsel in this matter, however, that the shortness and the suddenness of the time suffered not the due advertisement that appertained as well to your Majesty as to other. His coming hath some appearance of good reason to justify his duty, and avoiding of force; which he pretendeth to desire, if so be it had been consulted with his friend; but since that is done, he desireth greatly to be excused and counselleth. I have moved him himself to write to your Majesty particularly and at length the order of his coming, and his determinations resolute; which he hath done. Whereupon it seemeth unto me, if he persist there is no hurt done, if his friends been not offended. And for because he writeth more particularly I shall not in that point enlarge longer; for that in substance his letter [gives] his answer to the marvel, and proposes that I purposed unto him, with the determinations that he saith he is finally resolved in.

It seemed here to most men the matter concluded before he came. But they affirm, and also it appeareth, that no thing nor word was mentioned of any particular before; nor yet hath he but spoken with the King of Romans, and only protested that he is comen with neither word or mind of the sequestration of the state of Guelders. And I think if he persist in that, as he saith, that he shall not speak with the Emperor; so stands he sometime upon such points of greatness. For these matters, although Mr. Pate be arrived here on Wednesday last, yet I purpose not so suddenly to depart till I see some issue of this matter.

Touching the occurrence now present, it may please your Majesty to receive these briefly. The trêves with Denmark are concluded for two year, and yet I cannot learn by whom it is done; but I find it confirmed two or three ways, that it was done before yesterday for certain. The Turk, as the Venetians say by report of a servant of the Bishop of Ostringeses, cometh forward with two hundred gallies, and sendeth upon twenty-two thousand men toward Hungary. King

John of Hungary hath delivered Pieto Palatine of Moldavia, to the Turk's hands. The realm of Polonia is noise and mutinieth againt the See of Rome, and the liberty and the rights of their priests and abbeys.

Duke Frederick, as it is told me, seeketh to appoint with the King of Denmark by the mean of Saxe, and the Landgrave. His wife hath been here a good while. And he and other Electors do write to the Emperor, remembering him of his oath to do no violence where law is offered; which letters the Duke of Cleves looketh daily for. The Prince of Salerne will be here to-day, and the certain day of his coming forth I shall advertise, and of the other particulars that shall be expedient. For this present I shall hold your Majesty with no longer letters; but pray our Lord to have your Highness in his blessed protection. At Gaunt, on Friday early the 16th of April. [1540.]

It is thought, and the Duke of Cleve's Council taketh it for true that the Duke of Lorrain cometh hither also.

LETTER XLIV.

SIR THOMAS WYATT TO *CROMWELL, LORD PRIVY SEAL.*

Please it your good Lordship to understand, having the commodity of this bearer, Mr. Meredith, I thought to write unto you to the end the King's Majesty should not be in long expectation of the things that in my former letter I promised to write of, rather than for any important matter that of those things I can yet draw by any ways; nevertheless, the Emperor hath well entertained the Ambassadors of the Protestants; and other be looked for from the Landsgrave, and Saxe for their particular.

As yet I can get no particular of the Bishop of London, but only that about the matters that last year were compounded between the King of Romans and King John, the Chancellor of the Empire and he are at square, the one giving the fault to the other, de re male gestâ, whereby the Bishop plaineth himself of others envy in his service.

The Ambassador of the Emperor that was in France is comen hither, and Peloux, that I wrote before was gone into France, remaineth there till his return; and since his arrival Brisack is comen hither out of France. Chappuis the other day, in talking with him, told me smilingly, that they knew no certainty of my Lord of Norfolk's things that he did in France; but that they divined that his coming was to put jealousy between the French King and the Emperor, and to revoke the Bishop of London, that was not acceptable there, for words of [his] wherewith he touched the French King. He seemeth to be very loth to return into England, and as yet is not resolved his going, however that Grandvela told me, he had cost him a good sum that he were there already.

Of the things of Italy have been letters of the 6th of this month, that the Bishop setteth an imposition of the sale of a good part of the Church for money, as he pretendeth against the Turk and against the Lutherans. As touching the things of the Turk here is no certainty, for some say he armeth, and some say he disarmeth. Doria sent hither by the post for money for the pay of the gallies; and yesterday they dispatched hence for that purpose. And by conjecture, the things of the Turk should not be urgent this year, at the least to these men's seeming, for that they dispatched hence the Viceroy of Sicily but by journey.

Other thing I have not to write for this present, although I look daily for some better advertisement, for the which, if it be important, I delay Mr. Mantell to go with diligence. Nine of these of Gaunt were executed this week, and there been fifty more in hold; and it is thought fourteen more shall suffer this week. Touching this matter I suppose he can inform your Lordship I do the best for him that in me lieth, and to say the truth I have no other matter to apply. Wherefore, if it please the King's Majesty, I am not so necessary here, but that my revocation might be the sooner and to my great benefit. I beseech your Lordship be so good Lord unto me, as to beat the iron while it is hot. I begin to wax unacceptable here, and if I continue to be so thoroughly, I shall not peradventure hereafter have the means to do that shall be thought at some other time meet for the King's service. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - And besides that, my money

is gone. Our Lord have you always in his blessed protection. At Gaunt, this Palm Sunday. [1540.]

The Duke of Brunswick and I understand, that a son of the brother of the Marquis of Branburg, that is the King of Romans servant, is gone into England to see the country. I beseech your Lordship send me Mason, with some resolution of my return; and once again our Lord have you in his keeping.

LETTER XLV.

SIR THOMAS WYATT TO — — — —

I BESEECH your Lordship to pardon me that I do not bring you myself this letter that I send you, I have so much ado to prepare the bills in to the Parliament.

I should also have been suitor to your Lordship for this bearer my servant, Thomas Chambleyne, who hath done me honest service whilst I have been forth in the King's service. My small fortune is not such that I can recompence him; whereby I am driven to ask your Lordship's favour. Your letters and word to the Mayor and the Bench may get him now one of the . . . . . the Mastership of the Bridge House, which one Curle had that died yesterday. And if it be possible, and that your Lordship hath not otherways promised, I shall take it, among many my other bonds to your Lordship, a great deal more than if the profit were to myself. Our Lord send your Lordship good life and long.

Your Lordship's always most bounden,

THO: WYATT.

LETTERS

FROM

SIR THOMAS WRIOTHESLEY,

AFTERWARDS EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON,

TO

SIR THOMAS WYATT.

LETTER I.

SIR,

AFTER most hearty commendations; by my Lord's letters you shall perceive the occurrents here, and in what terms the treaty with Don Diego de Mendoza doth consist. If the Emperor's Minister will come to any good point in the matter of capitulation against the Bishop of Rome, I doubt not but all shall be well. And therefore travail of yourself therein; at the least, in case of extremity labour to cause him to make an overture to aid no man directly or indirectly against the King; whether the Bishop of Rome, or any other would attempt any thing against him: but that in case of any invasion in England, or any other the King's Highnesses dominions, the Emperor may aid his Grace against the said Bishop and all others. Nevertheless I would you should handle the matter so that it appear not that the [King] could approve this overture, for that will offend. Make the bargain as good as you can: and stick upon the Emperor's joining against the Bishop. I want leisure to write. From the Rolls. In more than haste.

Your own,

WRIOTHESLEY.

I send you herewith divers letters from your friends.

To Sir Thomas Wyatt, Knight, the King's Ambassador with the Emperor. In June [1537] at Valladolid, by Welden.

NOTE. These letters were not inserted in the preceding correspondence from the fear that if introduced there they might have distracted the reader's attention. But, as many of them are pleasing in themselves; and as they all tend to illustrate Wyatt's character, it is hoped that the reader will not be displeased to see them printed here.

LETTER II.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

MASTER WYATT,

FOR all your gentle letters I thank you at once. I shall not need to write any long letters at this time, though I know you would not be weary of the reading of them, being my Lord's letters, of mine own writing, and full of all those arguments that I would else have troubled you withall. This I will repeat to you; that your doings be as well taken as yourself can wish they should be: which I know, for I have read all your letters sent hitherto to our Master. The lack of the delivering of my Lady Mary's letter hath been so handled that the King's Highness is not therewith displeased.[a] Do it no more: and write both to his Majesty and to my Lord as though you had never advertisement from hence that we think of it. Your first letters sent to the King upon your first access pleased marvellously well. But I made the superscription ere they came to the King; wherein I played the jolly courtier, faith! for before we could not, saving by the nature, perceive from whom they came. My Lord found not the fault ne the remedy of it till it was done, for he sent the letters to me then being at the Court, and there I played my part. Put me to no more such pains, for and if you do I will be angry with the negligence of your young Secretary, for whom I thank both you and Master Mason.[b] I trust you will make me a good servant of him before your return. I would you would use your hand without cyphers, unless great occasion moved you; for the exercising of your hand therein, made me beshrew you twice. For the rest of your affairs, think you I am one as fast to you as you be to yourself, where I may do you, or yours

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[a] This omission is alluded to by Cromwell in Letter III. p. 318.

[b] The young Secretary here alluded to must have been the person called Baker, whom Wriothesley mentions again in Letter IV. Wyatt seems to have undertaken the charge of him to oblige his friend, and had engaged to teach him Latin.

good. The book of the Bishops I send not because the same shall be reformed, as it had need in many points. The picture will not be obtained yet. All this realm, God be thanked, is quiet and merry, saving the plague troubleth us in many places; but God be thanked, not in such extremity as it is spoken. We look daily for a Prince. God send what shall please him. If you happen upon a light gennet that is young and trotteth galverly, of good making, colour, and fast going, if you buy him for me for reasonable money and send him over, your money shall be repaid. But I would have him a ready horse, for I woll keep him for mine own saddle: and therefore I require you to send him bitted accordingly. Thus fare you as well as I would myself. From Mortlake, the 10th of October, [1537] in haste! haste!

Your assured Friend,

THOMAS WRIOTHESLEY.

To the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Wyatt, Knight, the King's Ambassador with the Emperor.

LETTER III.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

THOUGH indeed I have so little leisure at this time to write unto you, that I know well, if you might thorough so many countries see mine important business you would for this feat bate me with your word, unless I would better regard my business, my necessary business, than thus to consume time whereas I have no matter of importance to be written (so this bearer might well in such case be my letter) yet, I was so chidden by your last letters for my silence, that now I thought I would rather enforce you to bid me hold my peace, that doth thus [torment] you with words, than at any other time provoke me again to the semblable. To finish this folly; I am the same

you left me, and will ever so continue towards you as my little power will give me leave to express my good will in that business. Thus fare you well. From London the 26th of December [1537.]

Your assured Friend,

THOMAS WRIOTHESLEY.

To the Right Honourable and mine assured Friend, Sir Thomas Wyatt, Knight, the King's Ambassador with the Emperor.

LETTER IV.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

MASTER WYATT,

I THANK you for your sundry gentle letters: and for answer, first assure you that your doings were, and are as well taken as yourself could desire they should be. Whereof I can send you as certain a testimony as any other; for I read them to the King's Highness, and heard his Grace's judgment upon every part of them. Second, touching your money; the letters of your agent shall declare how you are used. One great lack there is, that for want of special words in your letter of attorney made to Sir William Hawte,[a] they say he can give no sufficient acquittance; which maketh us send for a new warrant for every payment. Let that be amended. And yet doubt you not but at the days your warrant shall be ready, if your agent will call only four days before. Your things stand rawly as I understend;[b]

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[a] Sir William Hawte, of Boxley, in Kent; he was father to Elizabeth Hawte, whom young Wyatt had lately married.

[b] Wriothesley meant probably that Wyatt's suit for some of the lands he hoped to obtain, did not then promise to be successful.

but think that I will be as assured unto you, for my power, as my promise hath bound me to the same. I thank you for my man Baker. I pray you to continue his good master, and specially in the setting of him forward to the attaining the Latin tongue. If he use himself with you as he did with me, I trust you like him well. And yet I will continue my favour towards him, or withdraw the same, as your judgement shall think him worthy. And thus fare you as well as I would myself. From the Nete the last of November.

Your own assuredly,

THOMAS WRIOTHESLEY.

With as much ado as ever I had in a thing of nothing, I have saved you a good piece of the charges of this post.

To the Right Honourable Sir Th. Wyatt, Kt. the King's Ambassador with the Emperor. In December, by Peter Rede, at Barcelona.

LETTER V.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

For want of paper I am constrained to write on this torn piece, which shall nevertheless declare unto you that all your friends be merry, and that all your letters be very well accepted. Sir, I must buy the reversion of the land in Hampshire, which Mrs. Mary envieth. I sent you a note thereof by Mr. Mason; but now I say I must buy it. Set you the price and I will pay it. I dare refer all to your arbiter. Order me as you list. And I require you to write your mind herein to Mr. Hawte, or such of your agents here as may dispatch it. I am

constrained to be speedy, and therefore bid you now most heartily well to fare. From Westminster, the 11th of February [1538.]

Your own assuredly,

THOMAS WRIOTHESLEY.

To the Right Honourable and his assured friend Sir Thomas Wyatt, K^t^. the King's Ambassador in Spain.

LETTER VI.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

MASTER WYATT,

AFTER most hearty recommendations, with semblable thanks for your gentle letters, and like remembrance. Where you write unto me to help your friends here in the setting forth of your purposes, you may easily entreat me thereunto, who doth, I think, study as much how by some mean to relieve you, as any one friend you have here: and think assuredly that I cannot forget what I promised at your departure. If such effects follow not as you would, I dare boldly say that is not for want of good will in me; and I will shout so long for you, till at the last I will surely hit somewhat, a fat or a lean. I escaped very narrowly this day the thorough grant of 8*s*. 4*d*. by day in augmentation of your diet. It will come and that out of hand.[a] In your other great suit I am of small courage. But it may chance that among the rest we may get a morsel.[b] Think as I said, that in me there shall want no good will. Satisfy my Lord in any wise in the matter wherein he writeth so earnestly, and by this courier. I pray you take certain order with your agents here, for my purpose whereof I wrote with the letters in cy-

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[a] Wyatt's first allowance was forty-one shillings a day; on the first of April following this date, it was raised to fifty-two shillings and eight pence.

[b] Alluding to the lands of the dissolved monasteries, of which Wyatt was anxious to attain some beneficial grant.

pher, and before signified somewhat by Master Mason. Set the price yourself.[a] It is but a reversion, and I must agree with Woodhall and purchase the Frowe's estate for term of life. It lieth even in my nose; and yet my nose is scant a mile long. Thus beseeching God to send you good luck, and all your things to be treated and set forth there, I bid you most heartily well to fare. My Lady Mary's Grace is merry and in very good health. From London the 15th day of February [1538.]

Your assured Friend,

THOMAS WRIOTHESLEY.

To the Right Worshipful Sir Thomas Wyatt, K^t. the King's Ambassador.

LETTER VII.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Master Wyatt,

For this time ye shall be content with these few words whereby you shall understand that by your next letters I trust to send you certain tidings of the augmentation of your diets. Specially if we shall hear that the Emperor can be content to do as much as the French King offereth. I trust you shall have dispatches, my Master, before this shall come to your hands. I can write no more for want of time. Thus God send you well to fare. From St. James's, le premier de March, [1538.] The rent of your farm in Hampshire, as I am ensured, is 8*l.* 16*s.* 3*d.*

Your assured Friend,

THOMAS WRIOTHESLEY.

To the Right Honourable and mine assured Friend, Sir Thomas Wyatt, the King's Highness' Ambassador in Spain.

[a] This refers to the estate in Hampshire mentioned in the preceding letter. "The Frowe's estate," may be understood to mean the young lady's estate. The word seems to be designed for German.

LETTER VIII.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

MASTER WATTT,

I DO most heartily thank you for your gentle letters, and likewise for the grant of my desire touching your land in Hampshire; albeit me thinketh that you took me much amiss, for I dare say howsoever your title stand I have played therein the honest man with you: and unless I thought you would willingly forego it to your friends, surely I would none of it. If you had not been too much unhappy your bill for increase of diet had been signed this day: but being ready made and carried upwards for that purpose, it was, as the devil would, lost by the way out of my Lord's hand. But it shall be redoubled[a] I trust to-morrow. Thus in haste. Most heartily fare you well. From St. James's, the 4th of April [1538.]

All your own,
THOMAS WRIOTHESLEY.

To the Right Worshipful and mine assured
loving Friend Sir Thomas Wyatt, K^t.
resident in the Emperor's Court.

LETTER IX.

MASTER WYATT,

AFTER most hearty commendations, by my Lord's letters you shall perceive the same thing, that if he had not prevented me, I would myself have written, surely though I writ it myself. If I were not better in solicitation of your affairs than most of your agents be, you might I fear eat your bread there with dishonour to our Master, and dishonesty to yourself.[b] Spur them lustily by your

[a] Redoubled, occurs in this sense in Surrey's Letters to the Privy Council. See p. 169. It had the same meaning as *redubbed*; amended. A word frequently used formerly. See Henry the VIIIth's letter, Appendix No. XVIII.

[b] Cromwell in his XIIIth letter particularly notices, that he never saw a man so generally beloved as Wyatt was, by his friends, so little assisted by them.

next letters; and of me, to my power, you shall be ever assured. I pray you send my gear sealed with your seal of arms, and subscribed with your hand, by the next courier. Thus, in much haste, fare you as well as I would myself. From St. James's the 8th day of April [1538.]

All your own,

THOMAS WRIOTHESLEY.

To mine assured loving Friend, Sir Thomas Wyatt, K^t. the King's Ambassador, resident with the Emperor. By Mr. Heynes and Mr. Bonner. A^d. 2°.

LETTER X.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

I SEND unto you herewith, a deed to be sealed with your seal of arms, and signed with your hand for my matter. I can send you no money, for I *cannot get it*. You have no man in the town to solicit the payment of money for you: and xxiiii pounds was left with Rougecroix to have been sent you: but he will not deliver it to me to be sent, unless I would give him a bill of mine hand for the receipt of it, and being the sum so small I thought it not convenient so much to satisfy that gentleman's pleasure. I am glad that the company hath money that you may shift together, and I shall help that you may be furnished for repayment. Thus most heartily fare you well. From St. James's, 15th day of April [1538.]

Your assured Friend,

THOMAS WRIOTHESLEY.

To the right worshipful Sir Thomas Wyatt, the King's Highness' Ambassador in Spain. By Mr. Heynes and Mr. Bonner.

LETTER I.

CROMWELL, LORD PRIVY SEAL, TO SIR THOMAS WYATT.

After my right hearty commendations: forasmuch as by the letters which the King's Majesty sendeth unto you at this time ye shall perceive the receipt of such your letters as be hitherto arrived here, and his Grace's answer thereto, with the whole discourse of the news and affairs here; albeit I doubt not but ye will use such good diligence in fulfilling his Highness's pleasure in the same as ye have accustomed, yet I have thought to desire and pray you at this time no less diligently to employ your earnest dexterity: but rather, as much as in you shall lie, to set forth and so conduce the affairs, as thereby may follow his Majesty's good purpose; marking, and noting in such wise the discourses, proceedings, and communications to be had there, their countenance, fashion, vehemences, with the very words and answers, as by the same the certainty of the things to ensue may be conjectured and known. And as ye have right well done heretofore, much to his Grace's contentment and satisfaction, so ye shall, according to his good expectation by your letters, with all possible celerity advertise his Highness entirely of your whole proceedings and conferences there, and of the circumstances thereof, together with all occurrences: assuring you that his Majesty taketh your good service in so thankful part, as I trust his Grace will shortly declare his thankful acceptation, and perfect remembrance thereof to your no little comfort. And as concerning the advancement of your diets, I shall travail for the new signature of your warrant for the same as soon as any opportunity shall occur for the same. This bearer is paid both for his journey hither, and for his return again; which I trust shall be with dili-

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Cromwell's three letters that follow were found too late to be inserted at their proper place.

gence. And thus fare ye heartily well. From St. James's, besides Westminster, the 22d of February [1538.]

Your assured friend,

THOMAS CROMWELL.

I pray you truly to answer my last letters.

To mine assured loving friend Sir Thomas Wyatt, K^t^. the King's Ambassador. resident in the Emperor's Court.

LETTER II.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

MASTER WYATT,

THIS shall be to advertise you that the King having seen and perused your letters of the eighteenth of the last month addressed to me, doth thankfully accept the Emperor's gratuity, in the same declared towards him; and considering how the matter of peace between the Emperor and the French King is not concluded; for a declaration both of his zeal to the quiet in Christendom, and of a just correspondence of kindnesses again towards the Emperor if the same could be content to commit the managing of the peace to his Majesty's wise and reasonable order for the Dutchy of Milan, refusing the Bishop of Rome's mean therein, who can be no meet arbiter for that purpose, as well for that he pretendeth for interest in part of Milan, as in Parma, and Placentia, as for that there is great likelihood that in the doing of it he will follow the steps of his predecessors, who, in (such case), hath ever used to work their own benefit and establishment whatsoever should succeed of the rest; the King's Majesty would, I doubt not, but go through out of hand with the marriage of my Lady Mary's Grace, and couple his only son the Prince with the Emperor's daughter born or to be born, of years meet for him; with bond that he shall at the years of consent take her to marriage. And further also, join his other daughter the Lady Elizabeth, in marriage with one of King Ferdinando's sons, limiting such dotes as should be meet for his Grace's daughters. And over and above this, I am assured, that the King's Ma-

jesty will give such aid to the Emperor in any expedition to be made against the great Turk as shall be greatly to his advantage, so he will open his purpose therein, and reasonably demand towards the same. This I thought convenient to write unto you that you may of yourself declare to the Emperor what likelihood ye have from me and other your friends here, that there shall ensue a most firm knot between the King's Majesty and him; and advertise again how ye shall find him disposed in that business. Mr. Wyatt, I perceive your credence there is good. Keep it well. It may turn to your commodity.

LETTER III.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

MASTER WYATT,

AFTER my most hearty commendations: whereas one John Brymedgeham, one of the King's subjects of Ireland, was robbed of late upon the sea of his ship, and also goods by certain Spaniards, for the restitution whereof, upon complaint made to the King's Highness, the Emperor's Ambassador here hath earnestly written to the justices of that country; lest the same do not take effect there according to the due order of justice, and the said party may fortune to be driven to seek further for remedy in that party, this shall be heartily to desire you in that case, so to purpose his cause and matter, there with the Emperor's Counsel, as the said Brymedgeham may have justice administered unto him in the premises accordingly: and further, to do therein as my Lord Butler hath more at large declared in his letters to you at this time: who, as fully in that matter, hath at length written unto you for the same: unto whom I pray you to give firm and undoubted credence. And thus heartily fare ye well.

From Stephenhithe the 23d day of September.

Your loving friend,

THOMAS CROMWELL.

APPENDIX

TO

THE LIFE AND POEMS.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

A Description of a feat of Arms performed before Henry the VIII. in 1525, by Sir Thomas Wyatt and the Gentlemen of the King's Bedchamber.

BEFORE the feast of Christmas, the Lord Leonard Grey and the Lord John Grey, brethren to the Marques of Dorset, Sir George Cobham, Son to the Lord Cobham, William Cary, Sir John Dudley, Thomas Wyatt, Francis Poyntz, Francis Sidney, Sir Anthony Brown, Sir Edward Seymour, Oliver Manners, Perceval Harte, Sebastian Nudigate, and Thomas Callen, Esquires of the King's Household, enterprised a challenge of feats of arms against the feast of Christmas: wherefore they sent Windsor Herald on St. Thomas' Day into the Queen's great Chamber, the King being present, which herald had a coat of arms of red silk, beaten with a goodly castle of four turrets, silver, and in every turret a fair Lady standing gorgeously apparelled. The herald, after that the trumpet had blown, said, "Whereas the King our Sovereign Lord of his bountiful goodness hath given to four maidens of his Court the Castle of Loyalty to dispose at their pleasure, the said maidens have given the custody thereof to a Captain and fifteen gentlemen with him; which Captain sent forth me, his herald, called Chateau Blanche, to declare to all Kings and Princes and other gentlemen of noble courage, that the said Captain will, near to his Castle, raise a mount, on which shall stand an Unicorn supporting four fair shields. The first shall be white: and whosoever toucheth that shield shall be answered six courses at the tilt by them of the Castle, with hosling harness, and double pieces. The second shield red, betokening the Tournay, and whosoever toucheth that shield, ten strokes at the Tournay with the sword, edge and point abated. The third shield yellow; and whosoever toucheth that shield, shall be answered twelve strokes at the barriers, with the sword edge and point abated. The fourth shield blue, tokening the assault, with such weapons as the Captain of the Castle shall occupy; that is, morrice pike, sword, target, the point and edge abated. Also, the said Captain and his company promiseth to defend the said castle against all comers, being gentlemen of name and arms; and the assaulters to devise all manner of engines for the assaulting; edgetool to break the house and ground only except, and also that no other weapon shall be used but such as the pattern shall be set up by the said Unicorn, and that no man

meddle with fire within or without, but the matches for guns, and every prisoner taken on either party to pay for his ransom four yards of right satin; and every captain thirteen yards." According to this proclamation was the Mount and all things devised sumptuously with a great craggy Branch; on which were hanged the shields of the arms of the Captain, and all other of the Castle. For this enterprise there was set up in the tilt-yard at Greenwich, a castle, square every way twenty foot, and fifty foot on height, very strong, of great timber, and well fastened with iron. The embattlements, loups, and every place where men should enter, were set with great rolls, and turned so soon as they were touched, so that to seeming no man could enter the tower or embattlements. On the north and south side were two great ditches fifteen foot deep from the brink to the bottom: and they were very steep. And between the ditch and castle was set a pale, which was rampired with earth, so steep and thick that it was not likely to be gotten. On these ditches were two draw-bridges. On the west side was a great rampire or bank, very steep without and within, and like to a vamure of a fortress; by the vamure the ditches were twenty-four feet deep. When the strength of this castle was well beholden, many made dangerous to assault it; and some said it could not be won by sport, but by earnest. The King minded to have it assaulted, and devised engines therefore, but the carpenters were so dull that they understood not his intent, but wrought all thing contrary; and so for that time the assault was prolonged, and all other points of the challenge held. For the morrow after St. John the Evangelist's day in Christmas, came out of the castle six men of arms of the castle, armed at all points with their spears ready to discharge, and so came to the end of the tilt, abiding all comers. Then suddenly entered into the field two ladies on two palfreys in great robes of purple damask, leading two ancient knights with beards of silver in the same apparel. And when they came before the Queen they put up a bill to her, the effect of which was; "That although youth had left them and age had come, and would lett them (prevent them) do their feats of arms, yet courage, desire, and good will abode with them, and bade them to take upon them to break spears, which they would gladly do, if it pleased her to give them licence." When the Queen and the ladies had seen the bill, they praised their courage, and gave them licence. Then the knights threw away their robes; and it was known that it was the King and the Duke of Suffolk, whose bards and bases were gold embroidered with purple, silver, and black, very courteously: after them followed the Earl of Devonshire, the Lord Montacute, the Lord Roos, Sir Nicholas Carew, Sir Francis Brian, Henry Norris, Anthony Knevet, and five others. Every man ran eight courses, in which courses the King brake seven spears. Every man that day did well; so that the Scots much praised the men of Arms of England. But most of all they praised and marvelled at the King's strength, for they saw his spears were broken with more force than the other spears were. When

all the courses were run, the King and all the other disarmed them and went to supper; and after supper the King having with him the Ambassadors of Scotland, came into the Queen's chamber, where, after that the lords and divers ladies had danced, there came in a mask of sixteen all apparelled in cloth of gold, rich tinsel and crimosin velvet, cut, slit and tied very curiously, their buskin and shoes were gold; caps and hoods all gold, rich and not counterfeited. Of this number the King and the Duke of Suffolk were two. Then the maskers took ladies and danced a great season, and that done was brought in wine and spices, and the strangers well cherished, and after that conveyed to their lodging. And as they went they asked a gentleman that conveyed them, if all the war time the King and Lords were so merry, or had such joyous pastime, or kept such royal household, or were so well apparelled, for in their country they said in time of war was nothing but wailing and mourning; and also, they thought that the realm of France is not a realm to sport with, nor to mask with. The gentleman answered, that the King and his Court used them still all the war time as they do now, for they set not by the French King one bean; for the King of England may sit in his chair and damage the French King: for the Lords and Commonalty of England pray for the continuance of war; for by the wars of France they win, and lose not. At which saying the Scots much mused. The second day of January there was much talking of the assault of the Castle: and so after much debate Sir Francis Brian and Francis Poyntz enterprised to defend the West Bray of the Castle with pike, target and sword, point and edge abated, against Sir George Cobham, George Herbert, John Poyntz, and William Knevett. And when they were all armed, the trumpets blew. Then towards the bray marched the four gentlemen with pikes and swords, and cried "Har, har." There was foining, lashing and striking. They within fought mightily; and when any without climbed up the bank they within bet them down. They within were sometime beaten down almost, but surely they fought valiantly; and then they ceased for a while. Then began the assault again; and George Herbert and William Knevett held them two within so hard that they could scant put their heads over the brage, or bulwark. While they two thus fought, their two fellows, Sir George Cobham and John Poyntz, with their swords digged holes in the bank to climb up: but or they had done, their two companions were fought out of breath. Then Sir Francis Brian and Francis Poyntz fought with the other two that digged: and then on came the other two that had breathed themselves. Then fierce was the fight: and John Poyntz got footing in the bank above, and took hold of the pale, and fought hand to hand with Francis Poyntz his brother: and ever George Herbert sustained him at the bank with his spike. Sir George Cobham got the bank and fought hardly: but at the last he was overthrown: but up he got again and courageously got the pale. They two fought valiantly but

they were over matched, for they that fought at the pale without, by aid of their fellows, got over the pale; and then was the battle ended. I think there never was battle of pleasure better fought than this was. The next day after there was another fight of four and eight, which was sore foughten; and at the last the bray was taken. And the fifth day of January all the knights of the castle came to the barriers to abide all men. Thither came the King and many other Lords and gentlemen: and that day by them of the castle were delivered fifty eight gentlemen, and fifty-eight battles fought valiantly. The King himself fought courageously, and so did all the other. The eighth day of February the gentlemen of the castle following their challenge came into the field ready to answer all comers. To this tournay came the King: his base and bard were cloth of silver, and black velvet ruffed and not plain: and over that was a work of purple velvet, embroidered richly with gold, cut in knots, or folds fastened so that it bossed out and frounced, very stately to behold. After the King came nineteen other, richly apparelled. The King and Sir Anthony Brown tournayed together, and the King with his sword, point and edge abated, had almost cut his poldron; his strokes were so great. Then every man tournayed as his course came; and many a sword was broken; and many a good stripe given; and when every man had stricken the full number of twelve strokes, they were severed, and then they disarmed." *Hall's Chronicles, p.* 688. *Ed.* 1809.

No. II.

An Account of Queen Anne Bullen. From a MS. in the Hand Writing of Sir Roger Twysden, Bart. 1623.

I receaued this from my Vncle Wyat, Anno 1623, *who beeing yonge had gathered many Notes towching this Lady not without an intent to have opposed Saunders.*

This Gentlewoman was the daughter of S[r] Thomas Bullen, knight, being at that time but a Batchelor knight; yet afterwards for his daughters loue was promoted to high dignities: He bore at seuerall times all the great romes of the Kings household, for the most part as Comptroller, Treasurer and the like; and after was made Vicount Rochford, and at last created Earle of Wiltshire[a] and Knight of the noble order of the Garter, and for his most encrease of honour and gayne Lo: Keeper of the privie Seale, and one of the cheife of the Kings Counsell: and so

[a] Wiltshire and Ormond.

continued untill his Sonne and daughter begann to fall into the Kings high indignation and displeasure. The King[a] during his fauoure fancied his daughter, that all things began allmost to be out of frame; And to tell you of the Kings loue, how it begann to take place, and what followed thereof, I will doe euen as much, as I knowe to declare unto you. This Gentlewoman was commonly called M^ris^ Ann Bullen, and was sent, when she was[b] very younge, into France, to be one of the French[c] Queenes women, where she continued till the Queene died, and then was sent for home again: And being with her father, he made such meanes, that she was admitted one of Queen Katherines women: who for her excellent gesture and behauioure surpassed all the other; In so much, as the King began to bee enamoured of her, which was to none, ne scant to her self knowne. Now at that time my Lord Percye, Sonne and heir to the Earle of Northumberland, attended on my Lord Cardinall as his seruant, and, when the Cardinall chaunced to repayre to the Court, the Lord Percye would for his pleasure resort to the Queenes Chamber, and there would fall into dalliance among the maydes, so that at the last he was more conuersant with M^ris^ Ann, then any other, whereby there grewe such secrett loue betweene them that in the end they were ensured, intending to marry;

[a] The King gaue good testymony of his loue to this Lady, creating her in one day Marquesse of Pembrooke (y^t^ I may use the words of the pattent) for ye Nobylity of her Stock, excelency of her vertues and conditions, and other shewes of honesty and goodnesse worthyly to bee commended in her) And giuing her a patent for a 1000 pounds yeerely to maynteyne this honor wth. She was the first woman I read to haue honor giuen to her and her heyres Male.

[b] Not aboue 7 yeeres of age A° 1514.

[c] It should seeme by somme y^t^ she serued three in France successiuely; Mary of Eng: maryed to Lewis the 12th A° 1514 wth whome she went out of England, but Lewis dying ye 1 of January following and y^t^ Queene to returne home sooner then either S^r^. Thomas Bullen or some other of her frends liked she should, She was preferr'd to Clauda; daughter to Lewis ye 12th and wife to Francis ye first then Queene (it is likely upon ye commẽdation of Mary ye Dowager) who not long after Dying A°. 1524 not yet weary of France she went to liue wth Marguerite Dutches of Alançon and Berry (a Lady much commended for her fauor towards good Letters but neuer enough for ye protestant Religion then in ye infancy) who was Sister to Francis the 2^d^ and was twyce marryed, first to Charles Duc of Alançon, 2^d^ to Henry ye 2^d^ King of Nauar', whose grandchilde Henry the fourth King of France and Nauarre was: from her (if I am not deceiued) she first learnte ye grounds of protestant religion, so y^t^ England may seem to owe some part of her happyness deriued from that Lady.

[d] Geffrey Bollen, a gentleman of Norfolck, Mayor of London A° 1457 marryed one of ye daughters and heyres of Thomas Lord Hoo & Hastings, by whome he had William Bullen (Knight of the Bath at Richard 3^ds^ corronation) who maryed ye Erle of Ormonds daughter (he, though of Ireland sate in ye English Parliament aboue Eng. barons) by her he had Thomas Bullen whome the Erle of Surrey, after Duc of Norfolck chose for his Son in Law; of wch marriage this Anne was borne 1507.

Which, when it came to the King's eare, he was greatly offended therewith, and therefore could no longer hyde his affection, but reuealed his whole secrette to the Cardinall, willing him to infringe the assurance made betweene the sayd Lord Percye, and Mrs. Anne. So that when the Cardinall returned from the Court to his house at Westminster, being in the Gallerye, and not forgetting the Kings commandement, called the sayd Lo: Percye unto him, *and before us his Seruants then attendinge,* saide unto him: I marueile not a little (q^d^ he) of thy folly, that thou wouldest thus attempt to assure thy selfe with a foolishe Gyrle yonder in the Court, Anne Bullen; doest thou not consider the estate, that God hath called thee unto in this world; for after thy fathers death thou art like to inherite and enioye one of the Noblest Earledomes in this kingdome, and therefore it had bene most meete and conuenient for thee to haue had thy fathers consent in this case, and to haue acquainted the Kings Matie therewith requiring his Princely fauoure, and in all such matters submitting thy proceedings unto his highenese, who would not only thankefully haue excepted thy submission, but I am assured would haue so prouided for the purpose, that hee would haue aduanced thee much more nobly and haue matched thee according to thy degree and honor; and so by thy wise behauiour mightest haue growne into his highe fauoure to thy great advancement: But now see what you haue done; through your willfulnesse you haue not only offended your father, but also your louinge Soueraigne Lorde, and matched your selfe with such a one, as neyther the King nor your father will consent unto; And hereof I put thee out of doubt, that I will send for thy father, who at his cominge shall eyther breake this unadvised bargayne or else disinherite thee for euer: The *Kings Matie will also* complayne on thee to thy father, and require no lesse then I haue sayd, because he intended to preferr Anne Bullen to another, wherein the King had allreadie trauilled, and being allmost at a poynt with one for her; though shee knewe it not, yet hath the King, like a Politique Prince, conveyed the matter in such sort, that she will bee, I doubt not, upon his Graces mention gladd and agreeable to the same. S^r^. (q^d^ the Lo: Percye weepinge) I knewe not the Kings pleasure, and am sory for it; I considered I am of good yeares, and thought meselfe able to prouide me a conuenient wife, as my fancie shoold please me, not doubting, but that my Lord and father would haue bene right well content, though shee but a simple maide, and a Knight to her father? yet is she descended of right noble bloud and parentage; for her mother is nighe of the Norfolks bloud, and her father descended of the Earle of Ormound, being one of the Earles heires generall, Why then, S^r^, should I be any thing scrupulous to match with her in regard of her estate and descent equall with myne, euen when I shall bee in most dignitie: Therefore I most humbly beseech your Graces fauoure herein, and also to entreate the Kings Matie on my behalfe for his Princely favoure in this matter, which I cannot forsake. Lo! Sirs

(quod the Cardinall to us) yee may see, what wisdome is in this willfull boyes heade; I thought, that, when thou heardest the Kings pleasure and intendem^t herein, thou wouldest haue relented, and put theself and thy voluptuous act wholly to the Kings will and pleasure, and by him to haue beene ordered, as his Grace should haue thought good. S^r. (q^d the Lo: Percye) so I would, but in this matter I haue gone soe farre before soe many worthy wittnesses, that I knowe not, how to discharge my self and my conscience. Whye (q^d the Cardinall) thinkest thou, that the King and I knowe not, what wee haue to doe in as weightie a matter as this? Yes I warrant thee; but I see no submission in thee to that purpose. Forsooth my Lord (q^d my Lo: Percye) if it please your grace I will submitte meself wholly to the King and your Grace in this matter, my conscience being discharged of the weightie burthen thereof. Well then (q^d my Lord Cardinall) I will send for your father out of the North, and he and wee shall take such order, as in the meane season I chardge thee, that thou resort no more into her Company, as thou wilt abye the Kings indignation; and soe he rose up and went into his chamber. Then was the Earle of Northumberland sent North for in the Kings name; who upon the receipt of the Kings letters made all the speede he could out of the North unto the King: Who at his first comihge made his resort to my Lord Cardinall, as commonly all other that were sent for in such sort, did; who certified them of the cause of theyr sendinge: And when the Earle was come to my Lord, he was brought unto my Lord into his Gallery, and were there a long space in secrette communication; which done, and after the drinking of a cup of wine, the Earle departed, and going his way sate downe at the Galleries end in the halfe place upon a forme, that was standing there for the wayters ease, and calling his Sonne thither said unto him to this effect. Sonne (q^d he) euen as thou hast bene and allwayes wert a proud, licentious, and unthriftie waster, so hast thou now declared thy selfe; and therefore what ioy, comfort, pleasure, or solace shall I conceaue of thee, that thus without discretion has misused thyselfe, hauing neyther regarde unto me thy naturall father, nor yet to the King thy naturall Soueraigne Lord, to whom all honest and Loyall subiects beare faithfull obedience, nor to the wealth of thy owne estate, but hast unadvisedly assured thyselfe unto her; for whom the King is with thee highly displeased, whose displeasure is intolerable for any subiect to beare: but his Grace, considering the lightnesse of thy head, and willfull qualities of thy person, his indignations were able to ruine me and my posteritie utterly; yet he being my singular good Lord and fauorable Prince, and also my Lord Cardinall my good Lord hath and doth clearely excuse me in thy lewed fact, and doe lament thy lightnes rather then maligne me for the same, and hath devised an order to be taken for thee, to whom both thou and I be more bound, then wee be able well to consider: I pray God, that this may be to thee a sufficient admonition to use thyselfe more

wisely hereafter; for that I assure thee that, if thou doest not amend thy prodigalitie, thou wilt be the last Earle of our hovse; for of thy natural inclination thou art wastfull and prodigall, and wilt consume all that thy progenitors haue with greate care and trauell gathered and keept together with honor. But the Kings Matie beinge my singular and good and gracious Lord, I assure thee I trust soe to order my succession, that you shall consume but a little thereof; for to tell thee true, I intend not to make thee my heire; for I thanke God, I haue more boyes, that I trust will proue much better then you, and use themselues more like unto wise and honest men, of whome I will choose the most likeliest to succeed me. Nowe good my Masters and Gentlemen *(q^d he unto us)* it may be, you chaunce hereafter, when I am dead to see these things, that I haue spoken to my Sonne, proue as true, as I speake them: Yet in the meane season I desire you, to be his freendes, and to tell him his faulte, when he doth amisse, wherein you schall shew yourselfe freendly unto him, and (q^d he) I take my leaue of you, and Sonne goe your wayes in to my Lord your Master, and attend uppon him according to your duetie." And soe hee went downe throughe the Hall into his Barge. Then after longe concultation about the Lord Percyes late assurance it was deuised that the same should be infringed and dissolued, and that the Lord Percye should marry one of the [a] Earles of Sherewburye's daughters which after all this he did; by meanes whereof the former contract was frustrated; wherewith M^ris Anne Bullen was greatly offended, promising, if euer it lay in her power, she would worke much displeasure to the Cardinal, as afterward she did indeed; and yet he was not in blame all together; for he did nothing, but by the Kings deuised will and commandem^t. And as my Lo: Percye was commanded to auoyd her company, soe was she dischardged of the Court, and sent home to her father for a season, whereat she smoked: for all this while she knewe nothing of the Kings intended purpose. Now began the grudge that afterwards wrought the Cardinal's ouerthrowe; After my Lord Percyes troublesome matters were brought to a good stay, and all things donne, that were deuised; M^ris Anne was reuoced to the Court, where she after florished in great estimacōn and fauoure.*

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[a] This was Mary daughter to George Erle of Shrewesbury, by whome he had no issue.

* The above account agrees in all the leading points with the account given of the same occurrence by Cavendish, in his History of Cardinal Wolsey; the one however was evidently not taken from the other. They are both originals, and in either case the narrator was an eye witness to what passed. Sir Roger Twysden married a daughter of Geotge, son to Sir Thomas Wyatt the younger. As he styles the writer of the narrative "his Uncle," we may refer it to Henry Wyatt, brother to Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder, who might, with Cavendish, have been one of Wolsey's household.

No. III.

This piece is printed from the Harleian MSS. No. 2252, not as one of any poetical merit, but as curious and interesting from its subject. It is a ballad on Anne Boleyn's death, who is designated by the Falcon. The High Mountain, means the Realm of England: the Brere with roses of Gold, the then reigning family of the House of Lancaster; the Lion is Henry the Eighth. Who the writer was, cannot be ascertained, for the piece has no signature in the MS. whence it is taken; and the leaf preceding, which seems to have been evidently connected with it, is torn out. It has so little poetical merit, we can hardly consider Wyatt to have been the writer of it; if he were, we might then suppose that he designated himself under the "Meek Mavis," who cautioned the Falcon of the danger she was incurring; and that he was the Lover "so steadfast and true" whom Anne Boleyn is described as lamenting that she had ever forsaken. But whether it was Wyatt, or some obscure rhymer that wrote the ballad, we collect from it that Anne Boleyn was generally known to have sacrificed to her ambition some person whom she had been attached to, previous to Henry's avowal of his passion. The MS. itself is so imperfect in parts that in one or two instances I have been obliged to supply a line that was wanting, and in some lines to omit a redundant word.

In a fresh morning among the flowers,
My service serving at certain hours,
The birds sweetly singing among the showers,
For the joy of good fortune;
To walk alone I did me apply;
Among the hills that were so high,
I saw a sight afore mine eye
That came by good fortune.

I marvelled much what it should be;
At last I espied a company,
That did abide all on a tree,
To seek for good fortune.
There came a Falcon fair of flight,
And set her down present in sight,
A bird, so gentle, fair and bright
Seemed worthy good fortune.

All that were able to flee with wing,
They were right joyful of her coming,
That sweetly they began to sing,
For joy of good fortune.
As around her to gaze she set her eye,
She perceived a mountain that was so high;
And she took her flight thither to fly,
So find her good fortune.

Alone on the top there growed a brere,
That bore well I wot, the rose so clear,
Which faded no time of the year:
There found she good fortune.
In the midst of the bush down did she light
Among the roses of gold so bright,
And she smil'd as she saw her joyful plight,
In prime of good fortune.

There came a Lion full lovingly,
That all the small birds it might see,
Singing, "Fair Falcon, welcome to me,
"Here is your good fortune."
The knot of love in him was fast,
And so far entered into his breast,
That her he chose of all birds the best,
Such was her good fortune.

These words then spoke this Falcon free,
And said; "Ye birds, behold, and see!
"Do not grudge for thus will it be;
Such is my good fortune.
A Mavis meek, was moved in mind,
And said; "Whoso will seek shall find!
"Beware a mist make ye not blind;
"Trust not on good fortune!"

At last came a storm and sudden thrall
That her plumage was ruffled and rent withal;
It was then too late to cry, or call
For help, on good fortune.

" I was late above, now am I under,
" All birds may marvel and greatly wonder;
" So far from love divided asunder,
" O! what is good fortune.

" Now one, now none; now weal, now woe;
" Now here, now gone; now too, now fro;
" Thus I alas! may report it so,
" Of flattering fortune.
" So friendly wooed, so dearly bought,
" So soon a Queen, so soon low brought,
" Hath not been seen; could not be thought;
" O! what is good fortune.

" As slipper as ice; as fading as snow,
" Like unto dice that a man doth throw;
" Until it arise he shall not know
" What will be his fortune."
They did her conduct to a tower of stone
Whereas she should wail and lament her alone
And condemned be, for help there was none,
Lo! such was her fortune.

She said "I came in once at this portàl
" Like a Queen to receive a crown imperiàl;
" Now I come to receive a crown immortàl;
" Lo! such is my fortune.
" For mine offences I am full woe.
" O! would I had hurt myself, and no mo';
" I had done well an' I had done so,
" But such is my fortune.

" All they that followed my line,
" And to my favour did encline,
" Well may they weep and ban the time
" That I found such fortune.
" I had a lover, stedfast and true;
" Alas! that ever I chang'd for new!
" I could not remember; full sore I rew,
" To have now this fortune.

" But though I have my time mispent,
" Yet give me not no misjudgment:
" If God be pleas'd be you content,
" Beholding my fortune.
" I trust through Him that by his Father doth sit
" I shall have a place in heaven made fit.
" I ask for grace; O! strike me not yet!
" Behold my sad fortune."

She held up her fair white hands on high;
She made her prest and ready to die;
For death to her approached nigh
To end all her fortune.
Her soul she commended into the hands of Jesù;
And where she had offended she did sore rew,
And intended all vain things to eschew:
Lo! the end of her fortune.

Consider you as though she did offend;
Consider also, how she made her end.
It is not we that can her amend,
By judging her fortune.
Let us pray God of his mercy and bliss,
To forgive her whereas she did amiss,
That He may be her's and she may be his,
And send us good fortune.

No. IV.

The following letter of Cromwell's is given, not only as it illustrates Wyatt's correspondence, but as it affords a striking proof how well Wyatt's suggestions were received at home, and how readily Cromwell adopted them. Compare what he here says of the Prince of Salerno's reception, with Wyatt's Letter, XLII. p. 416, *on the same subject.*

MASTER SECRETARY,

After my right hearty commendations; by your letter addressed unto me by the bearer, I do perceive the King's Majesty's pleasure touching the answer unto Mr. Wyatt's letters, which I received as I rode hither, and be now remitted unto you. I require you to signify unto his Majesty that I shall, according to my most bounden duty cause Mr. Pate to put himself in order, and give advertisement unto Mr. Wyatt accordingly, immediately upon the receipt of your answer to these letters. Which dispatch to Mr. Wyatt I shall stay 'till that time, upon purpose following. First, whereas his Majesty thinketh that Mr. Pate might arrive in such season as Mr. Wyatt might well accompany the Prince of Salerno hither; surely I think the same: but whether Mr. Wyatt should have his appointment to depart so soon after Mr. Pate's coming as he might well accompany the said Prince, or no, I doubt much. The time of his taking leave, and the receipt of such letters and matters as he should bring with him, not being in his arbitre or appointment. And yet I think it were not meet that he made too much haste, even at his departure, lest thereby he should lose some knowledge worthy to be related after to the King's Majesty. Again; under his Majesty's corrections, I think it were meet that Mr. Wyatt should animate the said Prince of Salerne himself to come hither, as though he had given no signification of it than that he should accompany him. Being there his Highness' Ambassador, the world, which knoweth that an Ambassador dare not undertake such a man without his Majesty's knowledge, may think otherwise of it than there is cause, seeing it shall be, no doubt of it, opened that neither he hath desired licence to come, ne yet shall be recommended by the Emperor. In my poor opinion it should be well done that some warning were sent to Calais for his entertainment if he come, and some order for the like at Dover: and as for his money, after he shall be here arrived without making any farther suits unto him in this business. Nevertheless I refer me wholly to his Majesty's pleasure as my bounded duty requireth; and shall upon your answer make the dispatch accordingly. Touching Leigh, I think the opinion good for his coming home with Mr. Wyatt which I trust shall be compassed in such wise, that he shall not stick at it: and then his Majesty may object to him his contemptuous

absence at his pleasure. And if his gracious pleasure be that I shall send the minute after it shall be devised, I shall accomplish his pleasure therein as shall appertain. Sithens the beginning of this letter, I am informed that Mr. Pate is there. I pray you help him to take his leave that he may repair hither without delay and in the mean season his letters of credence shall be prepared: but as for instructions, I think he shall better take them at Mr. Wyatt's hand, as to learn the state of things than we can advise him here: unless it shall please the King's Majesty to commit any other secret matter unto him than I know of. Thus heartily fare you well. London this Wednesday Night.

Your assured loving friend,

THOMAS CROMWELL.

To Mr. Sadler one of
the King's Majesty's Principal Secretaries.

King's MSS. 7. C. XVI.

No. V.

Cotton MSS. Vesp. C. XIV.

Account of Sir Thomas Wyatt's Expenses during the Time of his being Ambassador in Spain and France in 1537, 1538, and 1539.

THE money that I and my agents have received of Sir Brian Tuke, Kt. Treasurer of the King's Chamber from the XII. day of March, the XXVIII year of our Sovereign Lord the King, as well for my diets, post money, as other things, amounteth to . . . . . MMM, iiij, x,lb: iij,sh. viijd.

Whereof for my diets, after xli sh: by the day, beginning the x day of March, and ending the first of April in the XXIX year of our Sovereign Lord . . . . . DCC, iiij, xv,lb: viii,sh.

Item for my diets from the second day of April, the same year, to the first day of the same month a°: xxx°: after the rate of liii sh: and iiij d. by the day . . . . . DCCCC, iiij, viiilb: xv,sh.

Item for my diets from the last day March eodem an°. until the xvii day of June next ensuing . . . . . CC, xi,lb: xviii,sh.

Sum of my diets, the space I was in the King's service . . . . . M.DCCCC.lxxxxvi,lb: i,sh.

Post money laid out for the King's matters since the beginning of my embassade to my return.

First, to a servant of my Lord of Winchester for to ride the post with the tidings of Mr. Pole to my Lord his Majesty from Paris the xth of April, xij ducats, which amounteth to iij lb.

Item: to one that carried a letter for the King from me to my Lord of Winchester the xii April from Paris, ii sh.

Item: for post money for myself and one with me from Saragossa to Valladolid the iiii day of June xxxvi ducats, which amounteth ix lb.

Item: to Bartholomew Rougecroix for a dispatch from Valladolid to the King the xxiii of June cxx ducats, which amounteth xxx lb.

Item: to Anderson, the last day of June, for a dispatch from Valladolid to the King by sea, cxl ducats, xxxv lb.

Item: to Mr. Mason for a dispatch from Mountezon to the King the xvith of October, clx ducats, xl lb.

Item: the xxvi of October the xxvii year of our Sovereign Lord paid to Mr. Mantell for a dispatch from Barbastra in Arragon to the King by land, clx ducats, xl lb.

Item: to Bartholomew, the Herald, that he borrowed to come into Arragon, xx ducats, v lb.

Item: to Peter Rede, dispatched from Barcelona the xviii of January last past, c ducats, xxv lb.

Item: to Bartholomew Rougecroix from Barcelona the viith of Feb. last past, c ducats, xxv lb.

Item: to Mr. Blage, sent from Barcelona the xiii of March, cxx ducats, xxx lb.

Item: for post money for myself and other in company with me, to the number of five post horses, from Saragossa to Valladolid, xl ducats x lb.

Item: for post money for myself and other in company with me, to the number of five post horses, from Villa near to Nice, to the King, c lb.

Item: for my post money for my return with five post horses from the King's Highness to Nice to the Emperor, c lb.

Item: to Nicholas le Pelle for to seek Mr. Bryan, from Valence to Avignon by post, and his return the vth of July, xx ducats v lb.

Item: to same Nicholas to go to Montpelier from Avignon, and upon the seacoast, to enquire for the Emperor, xx ducats.

Item: for the hire of a bark to go seek the Emperor from Aquas-Mortes to the Isles of Hieres: xxx ducats vii lb. x sh.

Item: to the said Nicholas for a dispatch from Aquas-Mortes to the King the —— day of —— c ducats xxxv lb.

Item: to George Rouse for his dispatch from Barcelona, xl ducats x lb.

Item: the vi of September, to copying the Courier for a packet to Mr. Hutton. v lb.

Item: to Mr. Mason the xixth of September, for a dispatch with Nicholas the Courier, cc ducats 1 lb.

Item: to Nicholas le Pelle the ix of November, an°. 1538, for a dispatch from Toledo to the King, cxx ducats xxx lb.

Item: dispatched a post from Toledo to the Ambassador of France with a packet of letters to be conveyed to the King's Highness, the xv of January, an°. xxx° vii lb. xi sh.

Item: dispatched Mr. Blage with a packet of letters to the King's Highness, from Toledo, the xxxiiii of January, anno dicto, l lb.

Item: to Nicholas le Pelle, dispatched with a packet of letters to the King's Highness, the xiiii of February, an°. xxx°. cxx ducats xxx lb.

Item: dispatched with a merchant's Courier with letters to the King's Highness the xxiii of March, an°. dicto. xxx ducats vii lb. x s.

Item: to Nicholas le Pelle, sent with a packet of letters to the King's Highness the xxx of March, an°. dicto, cxx ducats xxx lb.

Item: to Robert Rudstone, dispatched with a packet of letters to the King's Highness from Toledo the xxiii of February an°. dicto, cxl ducats xxxv lb.

Item: to the merchants' Courier, dispatched with a packet of letters to the King's Highness the vii day of April, an°. dicto. xxx ducats vii lb. x s.

Item: to Francis the King's Courier, dispatched with a packet of letters to the King's Highness, the first day of May, an°. xxxi°. cxx ducats xxx lb.

Item: for my own coming from Toledo with vi post horses, the iii of June, an°. dicto, cc lb.

Sum of the post money. D. cccc lxxxvii lb. v sh.

Memorandum.

For my train coming after both by sea and by land, after I was out of wages, whatsoever it shall please your Lordship to appoint.

Sum total of my diets and post money amounteth ij M. dccccl xxxiij lb. viii sh. iiij d.

So remaineth in my hands, cvi lb. xv sh. iiij d.

No. VI.

The Taill of the uponlandis Mous and the burges Mous; by Robert Henryson.

[From the Harleian MSS. No. 3865.]

Esope, my autor, makis mentioun
Of twa myss; and thay wer sisteris deir;
Off quhome the eldest dwelt ane in borrowstown;
The uther wynnit up-on-land, weil neir
Sohter quhyle under busk quhile under breir,
Quhylis in the corne, and uther menis skaith,
As outlawis dois that levis on thair waith.

This rurall mouss into the winter tyde
Had hunger, cauld, and tholit gret distres;
The uthir mous that in the burgh can byde
Was gild brother, and maid ane fre burgess.
Tol-free als; but custum, mair or less,
And freedom had to ga quhair ever scho list
Amang the cheis in ark, and meill in kist.

Ane tyme quhen scho was full, and unfute sair,
Scho tuik in mynde her sister up-on-land,
And langit for to heir of hir weilfair,
To se quhat lyfe scho had under the wand:
Barefute allone, with pykstaff in hir hand,
As pure pilgrime, scho passit out of toun,
To seik hir sister, baith over daill and doun.

Furth mony wilsum wayis can scho walk,
Throw moss and mure, throw bankis, and breir,
Scho ran, cryand quhill scho came to ane balk,
Cum furth to me, my awin sister deir!
Cry peip anis; with that the mouse culd heir,
And knew her voce, as kynnisman will do
By verray kind; and furth scho came hir to.

The hartly joy, God! gyf ye had seen,
Weis kyth quhen that thie sisteris met,
And gret kindnes was schawin thame betwene
For quhylis thai leuch, and quhylis for joy thay gret;
Quhyle kissit sweit, and quhyllis in armes plet.
And thus thay fure, quhill sobirit was their meid,
Syne fute for fute unto the chalmer yeid.

As I hard say, it was ane sober wane
Of fog and farne, full febilie was maid,
Ane silly scheill under ane steid-fast stane,
Of quhilk the entres was not hie nor braid:
And in the samyn thay went but mair abaid,
Without fyre or candill burnand bricht,
For commonlie sic pykeris luifes nocht licht.

Quhen thay war lugeit thus, thir silly myis,
The yungest sister into hir butterie glide,
And brocht furth nuttis, and candill insteid of spyce;
Gif this was gude fair I do it, on thame beside.
The burges mouss prompit furth in pride,
And said, sister, is this your dailie fude?
Quhy not, quod scho, is not this meit right gude?

Na, be my saule, I think it bot ane skorne;
Madame, quod scho, ye be the mair to blame;
My moder said, sister, quhen we war borne,
That I and ye lay baith within ane wame;
I keip the custom rait and of my dame,
And of my leving into povertie,
For landis haif we nane of propertie.

My fair sister, quod scho, haif me excusit;
This rude dyat and I can not accord;
To tender meit my stomok is ay usit;
For quhilis, I fair als weil as ony lord:
Thir widderit peiss and nuttis, or thay be bord,
Will brek my teith, and mak my wame full sklender,
Quhilk was befor usit to meitis tender.

Weill, weill sister, quod the rurale mouss,
Gif it pleis yow sic thing as ye se here,
Baith meit and drink, herberie and house,
Sall be your awin will ye remane all yeir,
Ye sall it haif, with blith and mery cheir,
And that sould mak the messis that ar rude,
Amang freindis richt tender, and wonder gude.

Quhat plesure is in the feistis delicate,
The quhilk ar given with ane glowmand brow;
Ane gentill hart is better recreate
With blith courage than seith to him ane cow;
Ane *modicum* is maist for till allow,
Swa that gude-will be carver at the dais,
Than thrawin vult, and mony spyeit meis.

For all hir mery exhortatioun,
This burges mous had little will to sing,
But hevilie scho kest her browis doun,
For all the dainteis that scho culd her bring;
But at the last scho said, half in hething,
Sister, this victuall and your royell feist
May weill suffice unto ane rurale beist.

Let be this hole, and cum unto my place,
I sall to you schaw, be experience,
My *Gude Friday* is better nor your *Pase*,
My dische lickingis is wirth your haill expence;
I haif housis anew of grit defence,
Of cat, nor falltrap, I haif na dreid,
I grant, quod scho, and on togidder thay yeid.

In stubbill array throw gres and corn,
And under buskis previlie culd thay creip;
The eldest was the gide, and went beforn,
The yunger to her wayis tuik gude keip;
On nycht they ran, and on the day can sleip,
Quhill in the morning, or the Laverock sang,
Thay fand the toun, and in blythlie culd gang.

Not fer fra thine, unto ane wirthie wane,
This burges brocht thame sone quhair thay suld be.
Without God-speid, thair herberie was tane
Into ane spence, with vitteell grit plentie,
Baith cheis and butter uponn thair skelfis hie,
And flesche and fish aneuch, baith fresche and salt,
And sekkis full of meil and eik of malt.

Efter quhen thay disposit war to dyne,
Without grace they wesche and went to meit,
With all coursis that cuikis culd defyne,
Muttonn and beif strukkin in tailzeis greit;
Ane Lordis fair thus culd thay counterfeit,
Except ane thing, thay drank the water cleir
Insteid of wyne, bot yit thay maid gude cheir.

With blith upcast and merie countenance,
The eldest sister speirit at hir gest,
Gif that scho be ressoune fand differrence
Betwixt that chalmer and her sarie nest.
Ye dame, quod scho; how lang will this lest?
For evirmair I wait, and langer to.
Gif it be swa, ye ar at eise quod scho.

To eik thair cheir, ane subcharge furth scho brocht
Ane plait of grottis, and ane dische full of meil,
Thraf caikis, als I trow scho spairit nocht,
Haboundantlie about hir for to deill;
And manfulle syne scho brocht insteid of geil,
And ane quhite candill out of ane coffer stall,
Insteid of spyce, to gust thair mouth with all.

This maid thay merie, quhill thay micht na mair,
And haill *Yule!* haill! they cryit upone hie;
But efter joy oft tymes comis cair,
And troubill efter grit prosperitie:
Thus as thay sat in all thair jolitie,
The Spensar came with keyis in his hand,
Oppynnit the dur, and thame at denner fand.

They taryit not to wasche, as I suppois,
But on to ga quha that mycht formest win;
The burges had ane hoill, and in scho gois,
Her sister had na hoill to hide hir in;
To se that selie mous it was grit sin,
So desolate and will of ane gude reid,
For verray dreid scho fell in swoun, neir deid.

But as God wald, it fell ane happie case,
The Spensar had na laser for to bide,
Nouther to seik, nor serche, to skar, nor chace,
But on he went, and left the dur upwyde.
The bald burges his passing weill hes spyde,
Out of hir hoill scho come, and cryit on hie,
How! fair ye sister, cry peip, quhair ever ye be.

This rurall mous lay flatling on the ground,
And for the deith scho was full sair dreidand,
For till her hart straik mony wofull stound,
As in ane fever scho trimblit fute and hand;
And quhen hir sister ill sic ply hir fand,
For verray pietie scho began to greit;
Syne comfort hir, with wordis hinny sweit.

Quhy ly ye thus? Ryse up my sister deir,
Cum to your meit, this perrell is over-past;
The uther answerit, hir with hevie cheir,
I may nocht eit, sa sair I am agast:
I had lever this fourtie dayis fast,
With watter kail, or gnaw beinis and peis,
Than all your feist in this dreid and diseis.

With fair tretie, yit scho gart hir ryse,
And to the burde thay went, and togidder sat;
But skantlie had thay drunkin anis or twyce,
Quhen in come Gib Hunter, our jolie cat,
And bad God-speid; The burges up with that,
And till hir hoill scho went as fyre on flint;
Bawdroms the uther be the back hes hint.

Frae fute to fute she kest her to and fra,
Quhilis up, quiylis doun, als cant as ony kid;
Quhilis wald he lat her rin under the stra,
Quhilis wald he wink and play with her, buk-hid:
Thus to the selie mous grit pane he did;
Quhyle at the last, throw fortoun and gude hap,
Betwix ane burde and the wall scho crap.

Syne up in haste behind ane parraling
Scho clam, sa hie that Gilbert myght not get her;
Syne be the cluke thair craftelie can hing,
Till he was gane, her cheir was all the better.
Syne down scho lap, quhen ther was nane to let her.
And to the burges mous loud can sho cry,
Fairweill Sister; thy feist heir I defy.

Thy mangerie is mingit all with cair,
Thy guse is gude, thy gansell sour as gall;
The subscharge of thy service is bot fair:
Sa sall thou find heirefterwart na fall.
I thank yone courtyne, and yone perpall wall,
Of my defence now fra yone crewell beist;
Almichty God, keip me fra sic ane feist!

Wer I into the kith that I come fra,
For weill nor wa suld I never cum againe.
With that scho tuik her leve, and furth can ga,
Quhills throw the corne, and quhilis throw ye plane,
Quhen scho was furth and fre, scho was full fane,
And merilie merkit unto the mure,
I can not tell how weill tharefter scho fure.

Bot I hard say scho passit to hir den,
Als warme as woll, suppois it was not greit,
Full benely stuffit baith but and ben,
Of benis, and nuttis, peis, ry and quhite,
Whenever scho list scho had aneuch to eit,
In quiet and eis, withouten ony dreid,
Bot to her sisteris feist na mair scho yeid.

Moralitas.

FREINDIS, ye may find, an ye will tak heid,
Into this fable ane gud moralitie.
As fitchis myngit ar with noble seid;
Swa intermynglit is adversitie
With erdlie joy; swa that na estait is fre
Without trubill and sum vexatioun;
And namelie thay quhilk clymis up maist hie,
That ar nocht content with small possessioun.

Blissit be sempill lyfe, withouttin dreid;
Blissit be sobir feist in quietie;
Quha hes aneuch, of na mair hes he neid,
Thocht it be littill into quantitie.
Grit aboundance and blind prosperitie,
Oftymis makis ane evill conclusion;
The sweitest lyfe, thairfair, in this cuntrie,
Is sickerness, with small possessioun.

O wantoun man! that usis for to feid
Thy wambe, and makis it ane God to be,
Luik to thyself, I warne the weill, but dreid;
The Cat cummis, and to the Mouss hes ee.
Quhat vaillis than thy feist and reyaltie,
With dreidfull hart and tribulatioun?
Best thing in eird, thairfoir I say, for me,
Is blyithnes in hart, with small possessioun.

Thy awin fire, my friend, sa it be bot ane gleid,
It warmes weill, and is wirth gold to the:
And Salomon sayis, gif that thow will reid,
Under the hevin thair can not better be
Then ay be blyith, and leve in honestie;
Quhairfoir I may conclude be this ressoun,
Of eirdlie joy it beiris maist degre,
Blithness in hart, with small possessioun.

No. VII.

Satira Decima di Luigi Alamanni, à Thommaso Sertini.

Io vi dirò poi che d'udir vi cale,
Thommaso mio gentil, perch'amo, et colo
Più di tutti altri il lito Provenzale.
Et perchè qui così povero et solo,
Più tosto che'l seguir Signori et Regi
Vivo temprando 'l mio infinito duolo.
Nè ciò mi vien perch'io tra me dispregi
Quei ch'han dalla Fortuna in mano il freno
Di noi, per sangue, et per ricchezze egregi.
Ma ben è ver ch'assai gli estimo meno
Che'l vulgo, et quei ch'à ciò ch'appar di fuore
Guardan, senza veder che chiugga il seno.
Non dico già che non mi scaldi amore
Talor di gloria, ch'io non vo mentire
Con chi biasmando onor, sol cerca onore,
Ma con qual piè potrei color seguire
Che 'l mondo pregia; ch'io non so quell'arte
Di chi le scale altrui convien salire.
Io non saprei, Sertin, porre in disparte
La verità, colui lodando ogni ora
Che con più danno altrui dal ben si parte.
Non saprei reverir chi soli adora
Venere et Bacco, nè tacer saprei
Di quei che 'l vulgo falsamente onora.
Non saprei più ch' agli immortali Dei
Rendere onor con le ginocchia inchine
A più ingiusti che sian, fallaci, et rei.
Non saprei nel parlar covrir le spine
Con simulati fior, nell'opre avendo
Mele al principio, et tristo assenzio al fine.
Non saprei no, dove 'l contrario intendo,
I malvagi consigli usar per buoni,
Davanti al vero onor l'util ponendo.

Non trovare ad ogni or false cagioni
Per abbassare i giusti, alzando i pravi,
D'avarizia, et d'invidia havendo sproni.
Non sâprei dar de' mici pensier le chiavi
All'ambizion, che mi portasse in alto
Alla fucina delle colpe gravi.
Non saprei 'l cor aver di freddo smalto
Contro a pietà, talor nocendo a tale,
Ch'io più di tutti nella mente esalto.
Non di loda onorar chiara immortale
Cesare et Silla, condannando a torto
Bruto, et la schiera che più d'altra vale.
Non saprei camminar nel sentier corto
Dell'empia iniquità, lasciando quello
Che reca pace al vivo, et gloria al morto.
Io non saprei chiamar cortese et bello
Chi sia Teersite, nè figliuol d'Anchise
Chi sia di senno et di pietà rubello.
Non saprei chi più 'l cor nell'oro mise
Dirgli Alessandro, e'l pauroso et vile
Chiamarlo il forte ch'i Centauri ancise.
Dir non saprei Poeta alto et gentile
Mevio, giurando poi che tal non vide
Smirna, Manto, et Fiorenza ornato stile.
Non saprei dentro all'alte soglie infide
Per più mostrar amor, contr'a mia voglia
Imitar sempre altrui se piange, o ride.
Non saprei indovinar quel ch'altri voglia,
Nè conoscer saprei quel che più piace
Tacendo il ver che le più volte addoglia.
L'amico lusinghier, doppio et fallace
Dir non saprei gentil, nè aperto et vero
Chi sempre parli quel che più dispiace.
Non saprei l'uom crudel chiamar severo,
Nè chi lascia peccar chiamarlo pio,
Nè che 'l tiranneggiar sia giusto impero.
Io non saprei ingannar gli uomini et Dio
Con giuramenti et con promesse false,
Nè far saprei quel ch' è d'un altro, mio.

Questo è cagion che non mi cal, nè calse
Ancor giammai, di seguitar coloro,
Nè a quai Fortuna più che'l senno valse.
Questo fa che'l mio regno, e 'l mio tesoro
Son gli 'nchiostri et le carte, et piu ch'altrove
Oggi in Provenza volentier dimoro.
Qui non ho alcun, che mi domandi dove
Mi stia, nè vada, et non mi sforza alcuno
A gir pel mondo quando agghiaccia et piove.
Quand' egli è 'l ciel seren, quand' egli è bruno
Son quel medesmo, et non mi prendo affanno,
Colmo di pace, et di timor digiuno.
Non sono in Francia a sentir beffe et danno
S'io non conosco i vin, s'io non so bene
Qual vivanda è miglior di tutto l'anno.
Non nella Ispagna ove studiar conviene
Più che nell'esser poi nel ben parere,
Ove frode, et menzogna il seggio tiene.
Non in Germania ove 'l mangiare e 'l bere
M' abbia a tor l'intelletto, et darlo in preda
Al senso, in guisa di selvagge fere.
Non sono in Roma, ove chi 'n Cristo creda,
Et non sappia *falsar, nè far veneni,*
Convien ch'a casa *sospirando rieda.*
Sono in Provenza, ove quantunque pieni
Di malvagio voler ci sian gl'ngegni,
L'ignoranza e 'l timor pon loro i freni.
Che benchè sian di 'nvidia et d'odio pregni
Sempre contro i miglior per veder poco
Son nel mezzo troncati i lor disegni.
Or qui dunque mi sto, prendendo in gioco
Il lor breve saver, le lunghe voglie
Con le mie Muse in solitario loco.
Non le gran corti omai, non l'alte soglie
Mi vedran gir coi lor seguaci a schiera,
Nè di me avran troppo onorate spoglie
Avarizia, et livor, ma pace vera.

No. VIII.

This and the fifteen numbers next ensuing are all taken from No. 282 of the Harleian MSS. They form a series of Instructions sent from the King to Wyatt during his Embassy into Spain, and are highly interesting from the clear insight they give us into the views of both the English and the Spanish Courts at that period.

By the King.

HENRY REX.

Trusty and well-beloved we greet you well; letting you to weet, that whereas heretofore considering the great extremity that was like to ensue between th' Emperor and the French King by the continuation of their wars, both to the disquiet and enfeeblishing of the whole state of Christendom, to the great danger and peril of both their persons, realms, dominions and subjects; upon the entire love, zeal, and desire we bear to either prince, and have to the common quiet, and tranquillity of Christendom, we did address our letters, as well to the said Emperor as to the French King, advising them like a perfect friend to both parties to desist from the following their quarrels by such extreme and dangerous means, and to suffer the same to be finished and compounded between them by some friendly and amicable mediation: which our gentle motion and overture in that behalf neither part shewed himself at that time much inclinable to following, being both parties then in a readiness for the wars, and every of them thinking percase to achieve things that have not sithence succeeded according to their expectations; but the same notwithstanding, proceeded to their determined enterprises to the great trouble and charge of both parties with the like annoyance of their subjects and the danger and peril of all Christendom. Forasmuch as having ever in our mind the great good of peace, and joining therewithall the perfect and entire love and amity we bear to both Princes, we think none opportunity is to be passed over which might serve either to the conducing to the quiet of Christendom, or to the avoiding from our so great friends and allies the dangerous extremities and uncertainties of the wars, the time of the year now enforcing both parties to fall to a peace for a season, we have resolved eftsoons to accomplish th' offer of a good Prince and a most assured friend; that is to say, in this mean time when they shall be constrained to forbear to put in ure th' extremity of arms, to travail to conduce

and frame some good peace and final end between them: Wherefore our pleasure is that upon the receipt hereof you shall require access to th' Emperor's presence, and after our most hearty commendation to the same, ye shall declare our intent and purposes unto him in the premises, and that for the respects expressed we can be content and will be right glad to take upon us the office of a Mediator between him and the French King, for the manying of such a peace and perfect amity if they can be contented to accept this our gentle and friendly overture in this behalf, which ye may say we desire to know for his part how he shall embrace, and whether he can be contented to commit all his quarrels between them to our determination and arbitrament, supposing that the French King will do the semblable, to whom ye shall say ye doubt not but we have made motion to like purpose. And if he shall hereunto answer that he hath already committed the manying of that matter to some other person, or that he will not now leave the advantage which percase he shall alledge that he hath of his adversary; to the first part ye shall say, that ye marvel much, that seeing We have once so friendly offered to travail between him and the French King, therein he should chuse any man to have the doing of it before Us: ye may of yourself say that he could not in Christendom have chosen an arbiter of such honour as We be in one, to whom he hath more cause to shew gratuity and kindness, that he could imagine, than to us: and ye shall say, that being in that place there that ye be, it is much to your discomfort to see that we should find so little friendship and tokens of love, for whom we have done so much, that ye think, under his pardon to speak frankly unto him, he should omit none occasion wherein he should seem to have our great love, and affection heretofore declared unto him, in remembrance, and that when ye were appointed to come thither though ye knew that he had been so moved by affection to his parentage that he had not in our most just proceedings touching our matter of marriage shewed that correspondence of love that our merits towards him had deserved, yet ye thought, and verily trusted that the cause of his affection therein being removed, he would now by all means have travailed so to revive and quicken the amity that hath been between him and Us, that ye should have had a pleasant office; the doing whereof should be in your opinion much to his honour, and all the things well considered, nothing to his disadvantage, if he would justly weigh whether we or the Bishop of Rome may stand him in better stead. And if he shall answer that he will not grow to any peace, nor leave the advantage as is aforesaid that he shall percase alledge that he hath at this present, ye shall thereunto lay before his eyes the manifold mischiefs and inconveniences of the war, with the uncertainty of the victory; and thereupon of yourself dissuade him from extremity therein, and advise him rather to temper his affections, having so honourable an overture made unto him for the mediation of a Peace as this is, than to dwell in that which may bring forth in the end repentance: requiring you to set forth this matter

with all your wisdom and dexterity, and in the same so to observe the answers of th' Emperor, and his Counsellors, as we may thereby perceive th' inclination of th' Emperor towards us: for next the managing of a peace (which we chiefly desire as a thing not only beneficial to our friends but necessary to Christendom) we be much desirous to know whether he do indeed favour and love us as he pretendeth; or in words onely set a colour of his affections forth for some other his purposes. And if he shall speak anything unto you of his overture, made for the marriage of our daughter Mary, and marvel that the same hath not had further furtherance, ye shall thereunto of yourself answer that there is no fault to be arrected unto Us for that matter; for that Monsr. de Mendoza brought not with him any commission for that purpose; whereof we did much marvel, when it appeared how slenderly he was dispatched towards us, so have we marvelled yet more to see that the fault thereof hath not been sithens supplied; ye may say unto him that we proceed in our things plainly and frankly, and that when we perceive not the like in them with whom we would have any entreaty we think their doing with us to be a practice rather than a matter earnestly intended; eftsoons desiring you both to travail to fish out how th' Emperor is disposed, and to advertize us of your conference with him, and your opinion of the same with all possible diligence; and if ye shall find the said Emperor inclinable to our motion herein, ye shall say unto him, 'that in case the other party will do the like, it shall be meet, in your opinion, that every of them shall send unto us, upon a full conclusion of it, certain persons instructed to declare their rights and titles, to th' intent we know the grounds of the same: whereupon ye may say that ye doubt not but we would proceed in such upright and friendly fashion as we trust he shall be therewith contented; and to th' intent he shall give the better ear unto you, we have herewith sent unto him a letter of credence for that purpose, which we desire and pray you to deliver unto him accordingly. Given under our signature at our Manor of Hampton Court, the xth of October, the xxixth of our reign.

To our trusty and well beloved Counsellor Sir Thomas Wyatt, Knight, our Ambassador resident with th' Emperor. In haste, post, haste! Haste! cito! cito!

The King's Grace in October, by Bartholomew at Barbastra, for the Peace.

No. IX.

By the King.

HENRY REX.

Trusty and well-beloved we greet you well, letting you wite, that perceiving by the relation of our trusty and well-beloved servant Sir John Dudley, Kt. our late Ambassador unto our good Brother and Ally the Emperor, both how well and friendly he was at his being there, and how amiable words and conversations our said good Brother had with the same touching us and our affairs, with the great rejoice that he made at the birth of our dearest Son the Prince, as we do accept the same in most thankful and kind part, so for a declaration of just correspondence of like gratuity on our behalf, we have thought convenient that upon the receipt hereof ye shall take your opportune access unto his presence, and after the delivery unto him of our letters of credence which ye shall receive herewith, and the making your most hearty commendations with the same, ye shall say unto him, that we understanding by our said servant Sir John Dudley, the continuance of his good and sincere affection towards us, with his faithful earnest and assured promise to persevere our perfect friend, and in all things, and upon all occasions as touch, or may touch us in person or honour to declare and express the same by effectual deeds, do greatly thank him for his most kind and loving offers as touching the same; not doubting but he being a Prince of honour, would not have uttered in word that he thought not in heart. Whereupon ye may assure him on our party, that he shall in all things find us again towards him the semblable, and that we be no less glad that all occasions be taken away by the goodness of God which did somewhat obscure our friendship, and somewhat stayed the fruits and effects of the same, than he declared himself to be thereof joyous at this time to our said servant Sir John Dudley. And whereas upon the overture renewed unto him of the mediation of the peace, it liked him frankly to open what caused him to be so dark to you at your first mention thereof, and after did, as he said, declare unto you the whole process of the contriving of the truce; promising in the end that he would foresee that in case any peace should thereupon ensue, we should in the same be a principal contrahent; and that nothing should be therein concluded that might redound to our dishonour or discontentment, ye shall say unto him, that his gentle and friendly overture and remembrance in that point is not a little to our comfort and satisfaction, but a great deal the more pleasant

that it proceedeth from the frank and thankful mind of him, towards whom we have long sithens so fixed our love unto, that we ever trusted at length (though sundry clouds for the time did obscure and darken our antient amities and friendships) we should in th'end find him again assured unto us in all friendship and kindness. And hereupon ye shall on your behalf desire and pray him conformably to his said words and promises, like our very faithful, assured, and entire friend to foresee in his treaties with all men that he agree not to any thing that may be prejudicial to us, or to the amities between us and him; but that in concluding of this, or any other treaty he will express by article therein that they shall not be prejudicial to any amities, peaces, and confederations already made and convented between us, according to the former premises and bonds, ne upon any report, suggestion, or persuasion he do not conceive any sinister opinion of our proceedings, which undoubtedly upon just and indifferent examination shall be found always agreeable to truth and upright dealing: for ye may say unto him, that we neither have done, ne shall do at any time any thing that may not be quadrant with the word of God, and the observation of all our peaces and treaties with him and all others. And yet because we know that some men do travail for their glory to deface our said proceedings, and will, as time and opportunity may serve them impugn the same, having his most friendly offer, that is to say, to enter into this new amity as a principal contrahent, and that made by his mouth whose friendship we do no less esteem than the consideration of the same doth require, we do embrace it most thankfully, and desire him likewise to express it both in the conclusion of peace, if any ensue in this truce, and in all other things where he may have occasion to shew and declare the loving affection that long sithens hath been mutually conceived between us. And for your furniture to all events, that ye may as well, if they mean directly, satisfy the purpose of our entry into the place of a principal contrahent in this treaty; as in case they mean otherwise decypher their determinations and practises, we have herewith sent you a commission, authorizing you to convene and conclude with them in such things as be to be determined for our part at their said treaty; the like whereof we have also sent to our Ambassador with the French King, whose counsel ye may use in your proceedings accordingly. And to instruct you fully of our mind and purpose touching the using of this conclusion you shall understand our pleasure is that you require of the Emperor; First, that according to the antient amities and leagues between us concluded he shall declare by express acts, in this or any other treaty of peace hereafter to be concluded, that it, nor they, shall not be prejudicial or hurtful to our antient amities and conventments already concluded, but that these antient amities and pacts shall still stand firm and stable to all intents: which obtained, ye shall by virtue of our said commission condescend to join us in this treaty with them as a principal contrahent: so

that ye will give us space of six months, or four at the least, to declare our self whether it may stand with our honour to enter or not after we be perfectly instructed of the specialities of the same: further willing you to foresee, that we be not bound by this league to agree to any thing that shall be prejudicial to our former leagues and treaties passed with them, or against our honour or the commonwealth of our realms. And further, if you be much pressed by the Emperor, or his council for aid against the Turk, ye shall then say unto our good brother, that forasmuch as by sundry communications had with his ambassadors here resident, it appeareth unto us that he being much desirous to extend and enlarge the dominion of Christendom, and to propel and repress that common enemy the Turk, hath for that purpose much desired our aid and assistance by some contribution, like as we have ever much approved and commended in our heart this determination in that party, so we have no less good-will and desire to help him therein than himself can desire the same of us. And therefore you shall on our behalf assure him, that in case we may be so used at this time that his proceedings shall declare as much friendship toward us, as his good word to you and Sir John Dudley have implied, we shall not refuse in such a liberal sort to contribute with him for that purpose as he shall have cause to say, considering soundly the situation of our dominions, and the compass of the same, that we have no less that matter to heart than our zeal towards God, and the advancement of his cause doth require; nevertheless, as we shall be assured that the money to be contributed by us, may be employed only to that use and purpose.

And forasmuch as it is divulged and spoken abroad, and that also the Emperor in his conference with you and Sir John Dudley seemed to confirm the same, that it should be agreed between him, the Bishop of Rome and the Venetians, that the conciliable or assembly indicted heretofore by the said Bishop, should now be kept at Vicenza the first of May next ensuing, you shall, in our behalf, say unto our good brother, that having relation thereof made unto us, albeit there is no Christian Prince that more desireth a free Christian Council than we do, knowing how necessary it were that many abuses in the Church were christianly and charitably reformed, yet knowing by whom this assembly is indicted, and to what place, we cannot chuse, but for the great love we have to our good brother's honour, with the like desire that there might be such a Council indeed called, which might work the benefit of a good Christian Council to the good, quiet, and unity of the state of the whole Christendom, we can no less for the zeal we bear to the same but to advertise him both what prejudice, and if it might so be called, what dishonour would ensue to him, and to all Emperors and Kings of Christendom by the precedent thereof; and how far it shall indeed vary from the right name and just authority of a general Council, being thus called, and not consented unto by a great part of Christendom. Wherefore we think their Council not wor-

thy to be called a general Council, and think that he, against whom in the Council greatest objections shall be laid, if it were free and general, is not a meet party to call it. Wherefore eftsoons we heartily desire our good brother to regard his honour, and also the honour of other Princes and Potestates, and to take example of his antient predecessors which neither did nor would suffer any such injury of any Bishop or Prelate of the world, but did according to their rooms with the assent of other Princes and Potestates call the Council themselves, which evidently doth appear by the four holiest Councils that ever were in Christendom; as the Holy Council of Nice was called by Constantine the Emperor; and the Council of Constantinople was called by the Emperor Theodosius the elder, the Council of Ephesus was called by the Emperor Theodosius the younger, the Council of Chalcedon was convoked by Marciane the Emperor; which four Councils called by Emperors be authorised to be maintained, received, observed and kept even as the Holy Evangil of Christ: and the Council of Toletane besides that, and sundry other small Councils as it appeareth, were called by the authority of Princes and Emperors, in as much as the Bishops of Rome, and the Bishops of all other provinces, be bound thereby to yield an account to Emperors and Princes in the Councils so assembled of their faith and living. Now if our good brother, knowing by those former precedents the pre-eminence and right that belongeth to him, would now negligently suffer the Bishop of Rome to usurp and challenge, as it were of right appertaining only to him, the indiction of the general Councils, and so suffer it which was wont to be called only by Emperors and Kings to whom of duty it belongeth as the very chief ministers under God, we think our good brother not so well counselled as we would he were; and till we see expressly to the contrary, cannot esteem or think his honour, courage, wisdom, and goodness to be such that he would do so great injury both to himself and to all other Christian Princes for the satisfaction of one man which would usurp the power by Christ to Princes only given, and by the same take upon him the rule, order, and monarchy of all the world, which claimeth not only to call Councils but also to give and dispose at his pleasure all Princes, realms, and dominions, much contrary to the gift of Christ in many parts of Scripture, of whom as Head, Princes hold only. Wherefore, yet once again, we heartily desire him to consider the premises, and how much it would be to his honour and eternal fame to have the Church in his time, and by his mean reformed to the antient rites and due order of the same, and the great abuses in the same to be totally extinguished and put out, should he illustrate and advance thereby the glory of God, when the Emperors and Kings being restored to their due honour, office, and pre-eminence in the Church of Christ, every state should be better kept in the same place and authority. And all this may ye say he may much help to bring shortly to pass, if he will at this time stay his appearance and assent to this conciliable or assembly called by the Bishops of Rome to such a place, as if there were nothing

in it, were sufficient to cause a great part of the Princes of Christendom to forbear their repair into it. For first, the place now appointed, and all places heretofore appointed by the Bishops of Rome, taking upon themselves to indict Councils, is, and have ever been of late either within their own dominions, or so near to the same, that thereby they have assured themselves to be both judges and parties in all things that may in any thing touch them or their usurped authority; and that further, the great number of persons therein assembled have, and be, for the most part, either sworn or assured unto them: wherefore it is no marvel though all things therein have been wrought at their will. And besides this, being the place so remote from us, and from all the Basse-parties of Christendom how can we, or any other Christian Prince and other state thereof repair thither without notable peril of our bodies, the distance of the way, and the dangerous journey thither well considered: wherefore worthily and by all laws we may all refuse to repair unto it as not sure, tute, or indifferent place for such a purpose. But if our good brother would stay his presence and assent from this intended assembly and deliver himself by his authority with the consent of us, and other the Princes of Christendom to indict a Council at Cambray, or such like indifferent place whereunto both we and all other princes might have sure access without any notable danger; and hereto ye may assure him he shall find us as ready and willing to concur with him in it as the goodness of the thing doth at this time specially require; where we doubt not but all things should be determined by God's law and according to charity; and by the same and like as he and all Princes should be restored thereby to their due honour, so should his Low Countries take thereby no hurt, but great advantage, and he by the same increase towards him the love of the multitude of his friends and his dominions; and if he should follow the Bishop of Rome's will, in his repair to Vicenza, which may be well justified to be a place neither sure nor indifferent for us nor for many of the Princes or states mentioned, it should minister unto us a just occasion to think unkindness, in that he would less esteem us, being his allies and confederates than the accomplishing of one priest's pleasure that in his act doth him also injury and great dishonour. You may therefore desire and pray our good brother at the contemplation of the love and amity between us, to weigh and consider these things not by his Council only, but by his own discretion and consideration that so highly touch his honour, and the honour of all other Kings and Princes of Christendom; for you may say unto him that as well for the love we bear unto him, as also for the more ample signification of our mind in this matter of the Council, as of some other things of great weight and importance we shall very shortly address unto him certain personages, learned and of such honest gravity and judgment as we doubt not but he hearing benignly what they shall say in our behalf to him, and with himself deeply weighing the same, which you shall desire him most heartily for our sake to grant to do at their arrival, not adhibiting, or

giving too much credence without his own examination of the matter, to them that be dedicate to the contrary party, he shall so finally weigh these things as the same shall both redound to his great honour, but also to the great corroboration of the amity between us, and to the great benefit, comfort, unity and concord of all Christendom accordingly.

Finally, we send unto you herewith certain papers in French, containing the doubles of the latter part of these our letters touching the Council, which our pleasure is that you shall at the first declaration hereof take occasion as of yourself to premise, to deliver to the Emperor and, likewise to Grandvela, or to such other of his Council as you shall think meet, upon a zeal and desire you shall seem to have, that they may well consider the same, and taking a small time for a countenance as it were to translate it into French, you shall make deliverance thereof unto them, that they may be the better prepared against the coming of these that shall shortly be thither dispatched as before is mentioned; and if it should chance our good Brother the Emperor to seem to marvel that he shall not have heard from us for so long time as it is since the departure from him of our said servant Sir John Dudley, you may declare unto him how that on his return he was at Lyons staid twelve days by the Cardinal of Turnon, wherewith the French King shewed himself much displeased; which detainder was the only cause that he heard no sooner from us. And now we desire and pray you according to the trust we put in you, to use all your wisdom and dexterity, that by your next letters we may perceive what is to be certainly trusted unto on this side, which we desire and pray you also to signify unto us with all possible diligence accordingly.

Given under our Signet at our Manor of Greenwich the xxiii. day of December the xxix year of our Reign.

No. X.

By the King.

Henry Rex.

Trusty and right well beloved, we greet you well, letting you know, that sithens the dispatch of our last post unto you, by whom we signified our mind and purpose upon the relation of our trusty and well beloved servant Sir John Dudley made unto us at his return out of those parties, we have with more deliberation resolved and digested the right hearty, gentle and friendly behaviour of our good Brother the Emperor in the entertainment of the said Sir John Dudley, and in such discourse as you twain had with the same, and with his Council

touching such points as whereof we wrote in our last letters unto you, for the which we desire and pray you as occasion shall serve, earnestly to thank our said good Brother, assuring him that he shall find as of semblable sort again towards him, and specially you shall desire him on our part, to perform his promise touching the joining of us in this league between him and France as a principal contrahent; and likewise of his promise touching their Council; but in any wise you shall so solicit that matter of the comprehension forasmuch as shall concern the observation of all leagues, pacts and treaties between him, us and France as it be in no wise pretermitted. And for as much as we have conceived that he doth bear unto us a most hearty and sincere affection, we have not only much suppressed all remembrance of such old things as have interrupted of late days our amity, but also the same hath revived in us such a love again towards him, that we should be right glad to embrace an occasion to express and declare the same. Whereupon, devising with ourself it came to our remembrance, that being how the purposed marriage between the Dutchess of Milan, and the Son of the Duke of Cleve and Juliers stayed, it might percase come to pass that we might honour the said Dutchess by marriage, her virtue, qualities and behaviour being reported to be such as is worthy to be much advanced; and to the intent there might be an occasion thereof ministered unto us, we have thought good to signify unto you that our pleasure is, that as opportunity shall serve you either with the Emperor himself, or Monsieur Grandvela, or Mons. Cobus, you shall not only of yourself seem to commend and rejoice in our good affection towards the Emperor, but also you shall likewise, as it proceeded of your own head, wish that we might join in marriage on that side, and so advise them to set forth some overture of the said Dutchess of Milan for that purpose, to the intent we may have that occasion thereby ministred that may give us commodity to enter further into communication of the same: which matters we desire and pray you to handle with no less dexterity than diligence, that we may with speed hear from you what is to be looked for touching the same. Given under our Signet, at our Palace of Westminster, the xxii of January, and the xxix year of our Reign.

To our trusty and right well beloved Counsellor Sir Thomas Wyatt, Knt. our Ambassador resident with the Emperor. In haste, post. Cito, cito, haste, haste.

The King's Grace by Bonvise' man, received the ixth of February of the xxvi. of January.

No. XI.

By the King.

HENRY REX.

Trusty and right well-beloved we greet you well, letting you wite, that by your letters of the xviii of the last month, addressed to our right trusty and well-beloved Counsellor, the Lord Privy Seal, which we have seen and perused, we do right well perceive the good zeal and affection which our good brother the Emperor hath conveyed towards us, as well as in the friendly usage and entreatment of you being our Ambassador there resident with him, as in the confirmation of his promises both to have joined us as a principal contrahent, if the peace had succeeded between him and the French King, and touching the staying of his consent to any thing that in the Council indicted by the Bishop of Rome, if the same take place, might be set forth in any wise prejudicial to us or to our Realm, which his gratuity and thankfulness of mind towards us we take in most thankful part; so for a declaration of our acceptation thereof to our said good Brother our pleasure is, that upon the receipt hereof ye shall make your access to his presence; and after our most hearty commendation, with declaration of our letters which ye shall receive herewith, ye shall say unto him, that perceiving both by the relation of Sir John Dudley at his return lately from him, and by your last letters before mentioned, that he shewed himself every day more and more desirous to gratify us, and to renew the old amities between us, our progenitors, our realms, countries, and dominions of long continuance, having, both in his conference with the said Sir John Dudley and you together, and now afterwards with you alone, declared by himself and his Council, for an argument of his assured good will and friendship towards us both, that he would have joined us with him as a principal Contrahent if the peace had succeeded, and that in the Council he would agree to nothing that should be prejudicial to us or to our realms, as we do right heartily thank him for his great humanity and gentleness shewed in that behalf; so, nothing doubting of his good perseverance, ye shall assure him he shall find us again so ready to shew correspondence as he shall have good cause to think his gratuity herein well employed, and that this mutual knot shall bring forth honour, quiet, and repose to our own persons, and singular benefit and commodity to our realms, countries, dominions, and subjects, and consequently to the whole estate of Christendom, the miserable and painful ruin whereof, when we do remember and consider therewithall both how the same took his commencement, and hath his continuance by the intestine wars among Christian Princes, we do not a little lament the same

both for that such way is most displeasant before God, and that the common enemy of Christendom, the Turk, is daily thereby continually advanced, his dominion encreased and augmented, and the poor Christian men bordering upon him every day, brought more and more into the most miserable yoke of his bound servitude; which damage and imminent danger to all parties of Christendom might be redubbed and eschewed, if the Emperor and the French King would be content to compound their matters in some amicable sort, and so joining themselves unto us, and other princes and estates of Christendom, would convert their forces upon that most pestiferous and noisome enemy, which we do most earnestly desire for the great good of the thing (which nevertheless is to be preferred before other respects, being the same God's cause, and a common cause to all Christian men) then, we would gladly travail to bring it to pass for the entire love and affection which we bear to those Princes, being they both our friends, allies, and confederates, upon which grounds, respects, and considerations, we did heretofore set overtures to become a mediator of the Peace between them; and at our last overture made for that purpose it was said unto us, that the matter of the Peace should have been secretly handled between the Emperor and the French King, without arbiters, which caused us to desist for that time: but seeing the same hath not taken effect, we cannot forbear eftsoons to renew our enterprise therein, and again to offer to travail in the same, if they can be content to commit their matters to our arbitrament, order and determination; whereunto, if they shall condescend, and refer wholly unto us the manying of the said peace, we shall employ thereto all our wisdom and dexterity to conduce it to such an end as shall be honourable to all parties. Now, if they can conform themselves thus to compound and finish their matters, they shall have both an honourable end and exchue, whereby innumerable mischiefs that follow of such intestine wars, wherein their own persons be never without danger, besides the great effusion of innocent blood, the rapines, spoils and oppressions, waste, consumption, and destruction of all things which come of the same, to the great enfoiblissment of the body of Christendom, and to the like advancement of the courage, fortune, and estate of that most pestiferous common enemy the Turk, whereby they shall to their great honour, shew themselves studious more to prepare medicine for the common sore, than desirous to avenge their private injuries. But in case of the committing of this matter to our judgment, they may not give any authority therein to the Bishop of Rome, whom we refuse, not so much for that he is our manifest and notorious enemy, as for that in case he should have any thing to do in it we could hope for none other effect than hath ensued of like things handled of his predecessor in like cases, whose practices have ever been to make themselves means to knit up the amities of Princes, not for any zeal they bear to the good of peace, but for that they had ever an occasion to encroach upon

them, and to confirm and establish their own glory. As now, for example, how shall he be an indifferent arbitrer in any matter that should touch the Dutchy of Milan, when he pretendeth an interest to Parma, Placenza, and to the county of Novarra, being a great part of the same. And besides that, whenever there hath been quiet in Christendom, whereby Princes living in rest might have taken some occasion to have seen their abuses, it hath been their most certain and common practice, either directly or indirectly, to set forth one bug or other, whereby they have brought the estate of the same, or at the least some of them, into trouble and business; and undoubtedly if he might now get into his hands the mediation of this peace, it should rather bring forth a greater war, if he might set it forward, than that Christian peace and quiet that is to be desired; the like whereof may chance in his Court, if he may rule the same, as of necessity he must do, being the same kept in the place whereunto it is called: and therefore a great party of Princes and Estates of Christendom, seeing the place neither mete, nor indifferent for their access unto it, neither the parties sufficiently authorised thereunto that taketh upon him the indiction of it, have resolved not to consent to it, nor to agree to any thing that shall be therein treated and concluded, which shall drive it to be at the most of none other authority than a Council Provincial that would so take it. But if our good Brother, seeing this before, would at the least prorogue the Council to a further time (which he may well seeing it appeareth by the relation of his Council that he hath not yet agreed upon the place) and indict the same to Cambray, or some other such place indifferent, as where he may make assurance to all men that shall resort thither for his safe conduct for their safe going and returning without peril, which if he would do by the consent of other Princes, he should do an act much honourable to himself and much profitable to all Christendom; for by such a Council should things grow to some honest reformation that be now abused, the abuses whereof shall in the other be rather increased than diminished or conveyed to any moderation. To such a Council, where some good effect might be hoped, would we gladly consent, and procure all others as much in us were to do the semblable. And finally, to declare unto our good Brother that we be most desirous to help the establishment of an unity and quiet in Christendom, ye shall say unto him, that being ourself at liberty from marriage, and having a Prince and two daughters, we can be content to make connection and alliance with us all, to be bestowed on either part as upon just consideration shall be thought for the purpose most expedient. And for as much as the same hath no great obstacle but the Dutchy of Milan, seeing our good Brother the Emperor hath already offered it with a restraint of a little time for the conclusion of a certain end, if he could be content to refer the moderation of that matter unto us, as he be assured that we shall weigh all parts with a most just weight of indifference, and so bestow it with his consent also as shall be most to his honour and the benefit of Christendom, so

the same shall give us good esperance to conduce all other things to a perfect conclusion. And for a further demonstration of our most perfect desire to enter a fruitful travail in this behalf, in case our good Brother will condescend to our purpose herein, we shall in other his desires concerning the Turk impart with him as liberally in any expedition to be made to that purpose as he himself can reasonably desire of us: as the world shall say we do as much desire the suppression of that common enemy as he doth, having a just consideration what we may depart withal, without too great injury to our policy here at home. And if our good Brother shall reply to the overtures of marriage, and shew himself desirous to know the speciality how the same should be appointed, ye may in that case of yourself desire him to declare unto you how he would himself wish the same to be ordered; assuring him that ye know from sundry of our Council here that they cannot be denied after any reasonable part that the same may be demanded. And if he shall any thing reply to the young and tender age of our Son, ye may thereto answer that we will be bound that at the years of the consent he shall marry that person, if God send them life together, to whom he should in this conclusion be promised. All which things we desire and pray you to set forth with your accustomed dexterity, and even to desire our good Brother, in his answers to the same, to use like frankness of stomach as we do use towards him, which we trust should the sooner work things to some good frame.

Given under our signet, at our Palace of Westminster, the xvth of February, [1538.]

Received by Francisco, the xxiii of the same, at Barcelona.

No. XII.

By the King.

HENRY REX.

Trusty and right welbeloved we greet you well, letting you weet, that since the dispatch of our letters of the 14th of this present, the Ambassadors of the Emperor here resident have had access unto our person; whom after discourse made of the Emperor's good inclination, now are discussed sundry other communications touching such matters as might advance the renouvellment of our amity, being all things passed over in most quiet and amicable conference with such honourable entertainment, as they seemed well contented and pleased withal.

It was agreed that within two days thence following, they should meet with certain commissioners appointed with our authority for the same more liberally and certainly to confer upon all things, that on either party should be proposed: according to which appointment all the said Commissioners on both sides meeting together have at good length debated not only all such points and matters, as were mentioned in the last discourse between the Emperor and you, which you signified in your letters of the 2d of this instant, but also all such other points, touching alliances, as were contained in the letters in cipher, lately addressed unto you from our Counsellor the Lord Privy Seal; and the said Ambassadors had neither commission, nor instruction, sufficient to conclude certainly upon the party of the King moved, they have now as they say written to the Emperor, as well for the obtaining sufficient power and auctority to go through and conclude in all things, upon reasonable conditions, as to advise and require him to stay himself both from taking any end with France, and from consenting to the Bishop of Rome's counsel: which he may well do, considering that he hath not yet consented to the place, until such time, upon the sending hither of the same commission and instructions now written for, some resolution may be here taken, concerning the matter in overture between us, and to advertise you of the specialities of all things as they have been on either part proposed, in what terms they do now remain: to the intent that having the knowledge thereof, ye may the better speak for the conducting of the things to our purpose.

Ye shall understand first the said ambassadors, after much pressing, to have had us hearken to some mean to be taken between us and the Bishop of Rome, upon our most constant refusal thereof of the same, have upon good and substantial reasons alleged by our said Commissioners for our opinion resolved no further to press us in that point, albeit they were in the same very earnest: and therefore if the Emperor shall in any communication with you renew the matter of Rome, ye may make him answer, that by letters from hence you perceive that the same hath been here so answered to his Ambassadors, as you trust they have signified it in such sort that he will no further press us therein: for you may say ye be assured, that all labour and travail to be made should be therein taken in vain: which considered, and that the rest of things moved between us in good terms, that ye hope of a certain conclusion to follow, unless they stay, and empechement proceed from their party ye would be sorry that by his sticking in that point he should lose this goodly opportunity, which being taken may bring forth so many great effects and notable benefits both to himself and all Christendom. For ye may say, ye know assuredly, that no advice, counsel, motion, or respect shall induce us at any time to give ear to that point: and would be loth therefore to have it so interweaved that it should hinder the rest.

Second, where our Commissioners desired of the same Ambassadors, that in

case the Emperor should propose to go through with these things with us, he will neither grow to any further counsel with the French King till our treaties be finished with the same, nor after take any end with the same, but with our express consent and knowledge: and further, considering he hath not yet condescended upon the place for the Council, that he will in any wise suspend his consent and repair to that Council, now by the Bishop of Rome indicted to Vincenza, which must needs be a place neither trusty, sure, nor indifferent, until we may upon the renouvelment of this amity, further devise and resolve for (a) place to be appointed, meet for the celebrating of such a Christian free Council as may heal the diseases reigning in the Church, and bring forth the good fruits desired of the same; whereunto albeit their commission gave them no full authority to condescend in form of certain promises, yet they granted that they would earnestly solicit to the Emperor the agreement to these two points, and shewed a certain hope that he would apply to our desire in the same. Wherefore seeing he hath already granted, when there was no great likelihood of any such renouvellance of amity to ensue between us, that he would take no peace but we should be in the same a principal contrahent; and also that he would agree unto nothing in any Council that might be prejudicial to us, or to our realm, our pleasure is, that taking your occasion to remember those his promises unto him, ye shall of yourself, by way of friendly advice, for your own discharge, lest full credit should not be given to your rude and bare writing, as earnestly labour that for a demonstration and assurance of his hearty good will towards us in that same he woll withsave by his familiar letter, signed with his own hand to be sent unto us, to express and signify that he would observe these promises made unto us, which in case ye can by any good means induce him to, write unto us in some dispatch.

Ye shall before the dispatch, travail that ye may see the minute of his letters to the intent they may be couched plainly, with the same words with the promises by him, and his Council made; which matter ye shall solicit with such wisdom, dexterity, and discreet attemperance as to it may be attained, without instillation of any opinion that it should be desired of any mistrust of the Emperor's faith: but as a thing by you devised upon a good zeal for your own discharge, and for a furtherance of the rest of the purposes in treaty between us, knowing that the same shall much conduce to the framing of things to that end which shall redound to both our honours, with the great good of our realms, dominions and subjects, and consequently of whole Christendom.

Third, as concerning the overture of the Dutchess of Milan, they shewed themselves very desirous that the same might take effect: and likewise in the overture of marriage between our Daughter Mary, and the Infant Don Louis of Portugal: and after some disputation, shewed themselves also contented to take her in the state and terms that we woll give her: that is to say, to succeed only in case of

default of all other lawful issue male or female already, or to be born of any other lawful venter; and likewise they were content to take for her dote in such marriage an 100,000 crowns, which in case the Emperor should give investiture of the Dutchy of Milan, should be a great help for his Grace's establishment. And whereas in the discourse of the matter, touching the Dutchess of Milan, our said Commissioners made overture that the Regent of Flanders, with the said Dutchess of Milan, and Don Louis, might all at convenient time and leisure come to Calais, there to meet with us for the more speedy conclusion of all things now moved between us and the said Emperor; and in case at our arrival together every part should so like, and favour should be to every of their satisfactions, the same Ambassadors have promised earnestly to solicit the accomplishment also of the overture, and seemed not to doubt but that part thereof, touching the Regent and the Dutchess, should be granted and take effect very shortly; albeit they did put some difficulty, lest Don Louis, being further off, could not so soon conveniently repair thither as the other might, being at hand.

Further, they seemed with most hearty good will desirous to embrace the overtures, touching the Prince to one of the Emperor's Daughters, and of our Daughter Elizabeth to one of the King of Roman's Sons, or to one of the Sons of Savoy, and to take her in such estate also as we may by our laws give her, in so much that as they made a most humble suit that they might see the Prince, which at time convenient we have granted they shall do accordingly.

Now ye see by this how far we have here proceeded, and in what terms we rest at this present, if our good Brother the Emperor shall now shew himself earnestly to desire this amity, we be of that inclination for our part that we doubt not but every thing shall succeed between us without any great stay or difficulty. Nevertheless ye shall, on our behalf, desire and most heartily pray him, that seeing we have here been so frank and open with his orators in these conferences, he will again shew like frankness both to you there, and to his Ambassadors here, by his letters and instructions to be sent with their commission as they may, without long tract, condescend to such honourable and reasonable conditions in all things as may be embraced; in which case ye may say ye doubt not but he shall both for contribution against the Turk, as after such reasonable rate as it may be borne; and in all other things to be done on our part find us so conformable as he shall have no just cause to put any lack in that behalf. And specially we desire and pray you to handle the matter of the obtaining his letters for the two points mentioned, of the Peace, and Council, after such an earnest temperance, and discreet sort, as we may in the same be satisfied: and likewise to get inserted in the said letters that he will not proceed in any conclusion with the French King, till we shall have finished this our purposed treaty, if the same may be in anywise obtained: soliciting a speedy answer to be made to his Ambassadors, and advertising us of all your

discourses with him, or any of his Council, touching all these matters after such a certain and plain sort, as by the same we may gather what shall in effect follow between us.

Given under our signet at our palace of Westminster the xxii of Feb. 1538.

No. XIII.

By the King.

HENRY REX,

Trusty and right well beloved we greet you well; letting you weet that upon the receipt of your letters of the 13th of the last month, and the arrival of others with the same addressed from the Emperor to his Ambassadors here resident, which we supposed should have brought his full resolutions on the overtures of alliances and such other things as before had been proposed in conference both here and there between us; we appointed certain of our Council, as our Commissioners, with commission sufficient to treat with the said Ambassadors for the conclusion of all the said alliances, renovation of all former treaties, and all other things that might tend to the establishment of our mutual amity. Whereupon, being a day of meeting appointed between them, which was within two or three days after the arrival of the said letters, after that our Commissioners had declared how that upon such overtures as the said Ambassadors had before made unto us, on the Emperor's behalf (which principally touched two marriages, with the points and conditions depending upon the same) we resolved, in respect of the old amity that hath been between us and the Emperor and between our progenitors, and that for there appeared by their words a great zeal and desire in the Emperor to win and knit himself in perfit amity with us, to enter communication with them, and roundly to conclude if they would condescend upon conditions reasonable and honourable; desiring the said Ambassadors to shew in semblable manner their commission, whereby it might appear they had sufficient power to talk and conclude in those matters, without the which their conferences and meetings should be but in vain, and to small effect or purpose. Whereupon the said Ambassadors wanting such power, were forced to confess that they had no manner of commission to commune of those matters, being the same also the chief and principal that was upon the marriage between us and the Dutchess of Milan. Nevertheless, forasmuch as the said Ambassadors made great asseverations of the Emperor's most

hearty and earnest desire to join with us, and offered themselves to be bound upon their lives, that in case we would vouchsafe to enter communication upon both marriages, the Emperor should confirm and ratify all things to be determined between us, promising also to proceed so reasonably that they trusted a good effect should undoubtedly ensue of the same. Albeit as it is before declared they had no commission, and that, as we think, hath not been seen that a Prince in his own realm would commune upon a marriage for his own person to be joined with a stranger, with such Commissaries as had no power in fine to conclude therein with him: yet, reposing in the Emperor's honour, and in their faithful assurances, obtestations, and promises, we were content both to enter communication with them, and also to conclude if they would come to such points and conditions as might be honourable, and reasonable to be embraced. Thus much gentleness we shewed at the beginning, which we take to be of that sort as had been worthy to be regarded, and to have been entertained with like frankness, towardness, and reasonable conformity. But, contrary to our expectation, when upon this our most friendly determination, our Commissaries came again to conference and began like men that intended not to merchant, but to go roundly through, to enter into the specialities of the conditions, they could neither be brought in manner to any speciality, nor yet induced to hearken to any reason; insomuch as it was more than apparent to us and to all our Council, that in all their gay words they meant nothing less than to satisfy the office of friendship; but rather to continue us in suspense for want of commission, as the best is to be taken, and durst not therefore to enter too far without authority before had in that behoof. Or else it must needs be granted that they meant by practise to work their own benefit, and indeed intended nothing less than to conclude with us, as they pretended. But yet we cannot think that the Emperor, being a Prince of honour, would so use us, being his friend, but rather impute the fault to the lack of commission and authority, by virtue whereof his Ambassadors might have proceeded; not a little marvelling nevertheless, that sithens they have sent so often for commission, and knew that without that no man would conclude with them, it was yet sent so slender for the one, and for the other none at all.

First, when they proposed two overtures of marriage, the one between us and the Dutchess of Milan, the other between our Daughter the Lady Mary, and Don Lewis the Infant of Portugal; for the matter of our marriage we demanded, how, and with what dote they would offer her unto us; whereunto they first answered they would give her the sum of 100,000 crowns in money and 15,000 crowns of yearly rent.

Then it was demanded why they should not give her with all her rights in Milan, due by the force of her marriage there, but limit unto her 15,000 crowns only: and here it was alleged, what dishonour it should be to us by our part to put her from her right and dienty whatsoever it were.

They granted then that she should have dower there, and required for that to know how the issue between us and her should be provided for. It was answered, that albeit we have a Prince which we trust in God shall live and reign after us, yet we be not without provision of ordinary Dukedoms within our Realm for our younger sons, as York, Gloucester, Somerset, and other, so as that issue could not be without certain living to furnish them in their degree, which have been always by all our Progenitors applied to those uses, the least whereof is worth 15,000 ducats, or thereabouts by estimation.

Then was it demanded what assurance should be made for the payment of that dowry; and also how the money should be paid.

To the money they answered generally that there should be good assurance put in for it; but as to the dowry they said it should be paid of the revenues of the Dutchy: but to assurance they could say nothing.

Well! it was further demanded by us, what assurance we should have, in case the Dutchy should hereafter come to any other hands; as to the French King's hands or some other strangers: and whether the Emperor could be content to receive that dowry himself and to pay us so much as it should amount unto, by levies in his Low Parties, giving bond of some towns there for the same.

They would neither answer to this point for assurance, ne yet for the overture for the assignment of payment of the dower to be made in the Low Parties, but said plainly they had no commission to speak further of those matters.

Then came we to the point of her inheritance for Denmark which Covos and Grandvela told you, as appeareth by your letters in express terms, that th' Emperor would cause Duke Frederick Count Palatine to resign wholly unto us for th' interest that he hath in the same by his wife, being the elder sister of the said Dutchess: and asked of them, whether th' Emperor would promise to compass that matter according to their saying, and also whether he would aid us in the recovery thereof, as the said Covos and Grandvela said unto you that he would.

To this they answered with a flat denial that any such words had been spoken, saying that they doubted not but you took them amiss. Marry! they came to the point that she should have her part of her father's patrimony; and that the Emperor should travel with Duke Frederick to resign his interest in Denmark and those parties, upon a reasonable recompense at the Emperor's arbitre: and as for aid, they would express no certainty: but said the Emperor would aid us, in like sort as we should aid him again in another case. We asked what her part of her father's patrimony is, besides the kingdom, and how it should be levied: and what recompense they would demand for Frederick?

To the point of her Father's Patrimony, they could neither answer what it was, ne tell how it might be levied and assured.

And, as touching Duke Frederick's recompence, they would not speak of it, but

would have it referred absolutely to the Emperor's arbitre to give him what he would, and where he would assign it, so as by that party it might have been at his liberty to have laid him in the midst of our realm of England, which doth well declare, by the iniquity of it, that they meant not to proceed with us as they pretended; seeing that all the rest that she hath is already due unto her, and that the Emperor shall shew neither to her nor to us, any other gratuity for her preferment but only in the bringing to her of the whole title in Denmark, and the helping to the recovery of the same.

We asked them further, what burthen Duke Frederick would bear towards the recovery of Denmark, in case he should have a portion after the same: they would make thereunto no manner of answer.

For the traduction of the Dutchess they granted it should be at the Emperor's charge, and for a reciproque demanded of us that we should transport our daughter into Portugal, the long time and distance whereof hath none equality.

Then, albeit we had, as you may perceive in these matters before touched received no manner of direct or reasonable answer whereupon any man might reasonably and honourably join in any certainty, yet we proceeded to the matter of our daughter the Lady Mary and offered, first, with her 100,000 crowns, according to their demand, at the first breaking of their matter, and to put her in condition to inherit our Realm, if it should please God to call us hence not leaving behind us any other issue male or female of any lawful marriage; requiring to know what dower they would again give unto her for the same, and what inheritance should descend to the issue of her and Don Louis.

To this they answered now, notwithstanding their first demand, that they found the dote too little, and therefore would require us to be therein more large: when we stack nevertheless upon it, thinking that large enough for our daughter, when they promised nothing to us being a King in possession, but that whereunto the party is already entitled, and instanced their answer in the whole question.

They said first, that for 100,000 crowns in dote, they would give her a dower of 5000 crowns by year, which is the 20th part, and that she should have the fourth part of his goods.

It was demanded by us, what they would promise that fourth part of goods should amount unto: whereunto they said they could make no answer.

Then was it told them, that their offer of the 20th part seemed rather a mock than any thing else; for we said we could bestow her in our own Realm to mo than 1000 l. or 1000 marks by year for a quarter of the money, where this whole sum of 100,000 crowns would purchase as much land as they offered in dowry for

term of life; alleging that the dote and dower must agree and concur by all laws, civil and others, as by a common usage in all realms in an equality of proportion; and that commonly where the dote is but 20,000 crowns, the dower is 5000, which is the fourth part, and surely in this part we took it not a little to heart, that they should seem to set so little by our daughter to offer her so exile and tenuous a living that she might rather think herself married to misery, than advanced according to her estate and degree, having both such a sum of money in dote, and such a possibility depending over her: but forasmuch as they seemed to think the dote too little, to the intent our good will to have joined unto them might the better appear, we told them that if the Emperor would prefer him to Milan whereof once they made half an overture, or to any other convenient honour, or assign unto him and her, and their posterity, as much yearly rent as the late Duke of Richmond our only bastard son had of our gift within this our realm, and appoint her thereof a convenient dowry, we would augment the dote, and give her proportion after the rate that was given with our sister Mary the late Queen of France.

They answered plainly, that they could neither speak of any such preferment to be given unto him, ne yet could they tell us what inheritance should descend to their children: but still they stack firmly that they would not exceed their proportion of the 20th part; so that for 200,000 crowns, if we should have come so far, they would have offered 10,000 crowns in dowry, which we think all the world would judge too far under the foot, and must think such manner of proceeding strange; and yet would have us to have given as large a dower as ever was given in this realm to any Queen.

It was further by us demanded of them, what aid the Emperor would give us for the recovery of our pensions in France, in case the French King should upon this agreement allege the treaty of the perpetual peace broken, and so deny the payment of the said pensions.

They made answer they had no condition to entreat of any such matter.

It was by us asked of them, whether they could not be content to conclude the marriage with us; wherein, percase, we might rest much in the Emperor's honour, and leave th' other till a further consultation with thé Emperor.

They refused it; and said they would not meddle in the one without the other.

It was of us asked of them, because they have before-time spoken much of renovation of amities, whether they would treat any thing in that part.

They refused that also, unless they might first conclude the marriage as they would; neither having commission nor yet coming to any manner of reason or certainty in the points of the same.

Now if our good brother the Emperor, do but half so much esteem our amity as he hath in words pretended, he may see that we have used more frankness towards him than we suppose any Prince would in such a case have used to another: and that his orators here have in the other part proceeded more coldly, and much more perversely, than was in any part answerable to their good words, many times before uttered.

Wherefore you shall on our behalf desire our good Brother, in case he do mind any such amity with us, not only to consider our demands, and to make such reasonable answers to them, as we may with our honour embrace, but also to send hither sufficient commission for the conclusion of such things as shall be agreed upon between us, in which case he shall find as friendly a conformity in us, to all things reasonable and honourable, as he hath pretended an earnest zeal towards the same. In which case (of his conformity to come to reason and to send such commission) it shall be most convenient, considering the distance between us and Spain, that he send absolute power to the Lady Regent to resolve, and conclude in all things that may touch those purposes, or renovation or increase of our amities, or any of them; unless he will wholly trust the men here in that business giving them sufficient commission and power also, which they have ever lacked to conclude in the same; or else we cannot think he meaneth uprightly as one good friend should to another: for it were time for us to know whereunto to trust, and not thus to delay the wealth of our realm in hearkening always and not concluding.

All which things before specified we desire and pray you to set forth, with an earnest dexterity; keeping therein such an attemperance as it neither appear that we would not be content yet to hearken to reasonable overtures; ne that we be so desirous again, on the other, to enter there alliances, as in the conclusion of the same we would omit any circumstance that for our honour and surety our wisdom would we should foresee and consider: that we have yet gone no further the fault is in them, as you may well conceive and declare. They may redouble it if they will: if not, we shall repose in the Emperor's former promises of the joining us with him as a principal contrahent, and the consenting to nothing in the Council, that may be prejudicial or dishonourable to us or our realm; which points we require you to remember as of yourself, and to bind him, as you may, upon his honour, for the accomplishment of the same, getting it if you can possibly in writing: for all the Emperor's saying unto you, his answers have not hitherto declared anything of the same unto us, nor yet to our Council: advertising us with all diligence possible what answer shall be made to all the premises accordingly.

And if the Emperor shall chance, upon the arrival of the letters of his Ambas-

sadors (which not being ready at the dispatch hereof shall be conveyed with diligence by two of our learned Council, whom we purpose shortly in post to send thither) to labour to excuse himself or his orators of this breaking off, without any conclusion, and to impute the fault of this stay unto us, you may thereunto answer, that like as from the first speaking of these matters between us, both before the coming of Don Diego and sithens, we could get nothing of his orators in speciality but only in general words, that for all our admonishment they never hitherto had yet ample and full commission: so you may ascertain him that at the last congress that was between our Council and his said Ambassadors, before the sending hither of their last letters, the same promised to obtain sufficient commission considering and confessing their lack thereof before: and also in such wise to write that they might be so specially instructed as they doubted not to receive all things so clear, that nothing more could be required: which not succeeding according to their promise, it must needs appear that the fault thereof resteth on that part; which also is so evident and manifest, that if the Emperor desire to go forward it shall be a nearer way to proceed directly therein, than to enter a defence for that which is past: and for your desire in that behalf, you may take ground enough of the articles before specified.

Given under our Signet at our Palace of Westminster, the vth of April, the 30th year of our Reign.

The King's Majesty, of the vth of April, received the xiith of the same at Barselona, by Fransesco.

No. XIV.

Instructions given by the King's Highness to his trusty and well-beloved Servant and Counsellor Sir Thomas Wyatt, Knt. his Grace's Ambassador with the Emperor.

HENRY REX.

Whereas the said Sir Thomas Wyatt, the King's Highness Ambassador resident with the Emperor, hath lately, at the said Emperor's special request and desire, made his repair by post to his Majesty for the declaration of certain points and overtures, which the said Emperor in certain conferences with him hath desired to have signified to his Highness, bringing with him the said Emperor's Letters of Credence written with his own hand, for the more faith to be given unto him in the declaration of the same, his Majesty having at length heard all such things as the said Sir Thomas Wyatt had in charge of the Emperor to declare unto him, and by good advice considered and digested the discourse and special points thereof; for signification of his answer thereunto, and to the intent the said Sir Thomas Wyatt may remain and continue in the Court of the said Emperor as his Grace's Ambassador there resident according to the commission he had afore for that purpose, his Highness hath thought meet eftsoons to dispatch him to the Emperor. Wherefore his pleasure is, that the said Sir Thomas Wyatt, taking with him all such letters, instructions, and writings as be prepared for his dispatch, shall, with all convenient diligence, address himself again by post to the place where the said Emperor shall chance to lie; and that at his arrival with the same, he shall in all things hereafter do as hereafter shall be declared. And to the intent the said Sir Thomas Wyatt may the more perfectly know the mind and pleasure of the King's Majesty, that he may thereupon so proceed as may be to his Grace's contentment and to the advancement of his affairs, his Majesty's commandment is that the said Sir Thomas Wyatt shall, in his journey towards the Emperor, confer with Sir Francis Bryan, and making him privy of his instructions, he shall of the same learn of the state of his Majesty's affairs in France, to this end and purpose; that in case he shall of him know that the French King hath embraced such overtures as have been lately sent unto him, then the said Sir Thomas Wyatt shall only set forth to the Emperor the first part of this instruction, which containeth the causes why his Majesty doth not at this time send his commission according to the Emperor's desire, with such general words of Friendship as be contained in the same, without speaking any thing of the second part, with touching the sending hither of a com-

mission for further entreaty in these matters. And if he shall by him understand that those affairs with France be not at a point to take that effect that is desired, then he shall open the whole instruction to the Emperor, in such sort and form as is herein contained.

First, the said Sir Thomas Wyatt, at his repair to the Emperor, after delivery unto him of the King's Majesty's Letters of Credence with his most hearty and affectious commendations, shall signify unto him how that according to his desire he hath opened and declared unto the King's Majesty all such credence as he hath in charge on his behalf to express unto him, which his Highness hath heard at good length, and well considering the same, hath given in commandment to the said Sir Thomas Wyatt to make thereto such answer as followeth. And before his entry into further specialty, he shall say unto the said Emperor that albeit the King's Majesty taketh all his overtures, and especially his overture for Milan in most thankful part, yet, forasmuch as the Emperor's Ambassadors here resident have from the first motion in these matters proceeded in the same so coldly and so generally, that whatsoever good words they have at large uttered, they would in no wise descend to any manner of specialty, insomuch as notwithstanding that the King's Majesty upon such communication as was between his Grace's Council and them in Lent, wherein his Grace shewed so much towardness and desire to grow to some end and conclusion in these matters, that he was content upon their earnest words to commune with them, knowing before that they had no manner of commission to conclude, did thereupon write the specialities of the whole conference in articles unto the said Sir Thomas Wyatt which he declared unto the Emperor, there is yet no certain answer made unto any of the same, no, not in this last conference whereat the said Sir Thomas Wyatt was present, albeit the King's Majesty did eftsoons articulately prepone them, but the said Ambassadors, resting only in generalities of the Emperor's inclination, shewed beside such strangeness in refusing to read sundry points of their letters to the Privy Council appointed to commune with them, as they made sundry of the Privy Council to marvel whereupon it rose that they should have been so mistrusted, his Majesty would have been right glad that at this time such answer should have been made to their former articles as there might have remained the less matter to have been considered for the full conclusion and satisfaction of all things to be herein desired; but neither would they say any thing in speciality touching any capitulation concerning the Bishop of Rome, or concerning the points of the mutual aid, neither of the remuneration of the Lady Mary, of the matters of dote and dower, of the assignment of the Dutchess to be made in the low parties, of the assurance thereof, of the matter of the title of the Dutchess of Denmark, nor of any other thing that was treated and so long before spoken of. Nevertheless, to descend to

the special points of the said Sir Thomas Wyatt's credence, whereas great piece of the same consisted in an overture of the Dutchy of Milan which the said Emperor offered to give in marriage with the Infant of Portugal and the Lady Mary, his Grace's daughter, his Majesty doth take the said overture as is aforesaid in most thankful part: but like as his Highness considereth that having his Grace heretofore interponed himself upon the zeal which he beareth to the unity and quiet of Christendom to the mediation of a peace, it could not have a good construction, if even now, when there is a solemn communication and meeting for an agreement, his Majesty, by the acceptation of any overture, should without both their consents take the grounds of their contention to his own order and commodity, which could not but continue debate in Christendom, whereof beside the damage that might ensue of the same, his Highness, from a maintainer of Christian quiet, might be noted to his dishonour as a disturber of the common unity, and an author of war: so, for as much by the rapport of the said Sir Thomas Wyatt it appeareth that the Emperor's great desire is to have a commission sent thither with all diligence for the conclusion of that and such other purposes as have been moved between them, his Highness wisely seeth that he cannot in that request presently satisfy him without much danger of too great inconvenience, not only for that the conditions joined thereto be not so indifferent as reason shall enforce them, but also for that his Grace hath at this time no man in those parties of such practice and knowledge in conveyance of treaties as to whom he will commit any such matter of so great importance, and to express frankly to the Emperor the grounds and causes that move his Grace to stay the sending of his commission in respect of the conditions, and other things convenient in matter of such weight to be advisedly considered before he shall fall to any such sudden conclusion.

The first is the condition of aid that is wyned to the overture of the Dutchy, extending to all wars offensives, as well as defence; which hath in it no manner of egality, considering the present state of both Princes, with the compass and limits of either their dominions, and scite with the standing of the same. For the King's Majesty is in peace with all men, the Emperor is already in war; many of his dominions join so upon France and firm land with other Princes, or be so inhabited by men that after a sort claim a large title, that is very like to have continual war either with his open enemies, or with some of them whom he calleth his subjects, so that if the King's Majesty should enter into such a party with him, the said Emperor might keep his Grace in a continual war at his own will and pleasure, which with friendship cannot (without a much further and greater consideration, and respect than for such alliance) be desired. Wherefore the said Sir Thomas Wyatt shall require the said Emperor, with his wisdom to weigh and consider this point;

and then he shall perceive that the King's Majesty cannot without too great an inconvenient agree to the same.

The second is, the conditions of the marriage for the King's Highness own person, wherein his Majesty findeth also great causes of some longer delay before it could grow to any certain end and conclusion; not only for that his Grace prudently considering how that marriage is a bargain of such nature as may endure for the whole life of man, and a thing whereof the pleasure and quiet, or the displeasure and torment of the man's mind doth much depend, thinketh it to be much necessary both for himself and the party with whom it shall please God to join him in marriage, that the one might see the other before the time they should be so affianced, as they might not without dishonour or further inconvenience break off, which point his Highness hath largely set forth heretofore, and also at this last conference to the said Emperor's Ambassadors; but also, because there appeareth a great charge, and no less difficulty of obtaining her inheritance in Denmark, which at the first setting forth of the overture of that marriage was alleged as a special mean to cause his Majesty to look towards her: for, by the treaty of her marriage with the late Duke of Milan, she renounced, and was bound to renounce, all her right and title of Denmark, with all the parties of the same to her elder sister, wife to Duke Frederick Count Palatine; so that the whole interesse there remaining by that pact in the said Duke Frederick's wife, if the King's Majesty should mind any title thereto, he must in that case agree to the whole with the said Duke Frederick: and when he shall have agreed with him for it, yet it would not be obtained without great aid, charge, adventure, and difficulty, which, before any conclusion should be taken, ought to be well weighed and considered, and would require a time of good deliberation, specially considering, that if his Grace should enter into any war for the recovery thereof, being the matters of all other Princes before compounded, he might also be noted a new beginner of the wars of Christendom, which would redound to his dishonour; which enforceth his Majesty with a longer time so to counsel thereupon as might bring forth a more certain and perfect conclusion, than the demeure here of the said Sir Thomas Wyatt, returning in such diligence by the Emperor's desire, will permit and suffer; so that unless his Grace will send his commission so rawly forth; and to such raw men for such a purpose as no Prince of wisdom and experience would, his Majesty could not at this present time satisfy the Emperor in that behalf.

Wherefore, to descend to the second part of these Instructions, which the said Sir Thomas Wyatt shall express, if the affairs of France do not proceed sufficiently forward, (or else in case they grow to conclusion he shall retain it unspoken) the said Sir Thomas Wyatt shall in that case further say to the said Emperor, that if it shall like him to send Commission to his Orators here, with instructions

frankly to confer, and so to conclude upon all points and articles of this Treaty, and thereupon to send authority to the Lady Regent of Flanders, or to such others as he shall think convenient, to meet with the King's Majesty at Calais for the ratification of the said articles, his Grace will be content in that case to meet with them, and to confirm the same accordingly; and the said Sir Thomas Wyatt shall, in such gentle sort, make this answer to the said Emperor, as he may perceive how much his Majesty tendereth his amity; how thankfully his Highness taketh his overtures made by the said Sir Thomas Wyatt; upon what reasonable grounds his Grace fleeth from the sending any Commission at this present to conclude upon the same; how glad his Majesty will be, nevertheless, to entreat again with him thereupon with all diligence; and how well assured he may be, that his Majesty will not only observe all pacts and treaties already passed between them if these things take effect, but also shew himself conformable in such wise to requite his friendly declaration of his good will towards him, as he shall have cause both to account his Majesty his assured Friend, and such a Prince as towards whom no good office, gentleness, or friendly dealing can in any wise be evil employed.

No. XV.

By the King.

HENRY REX.

Trusty and right well beloved we greet you well, letting you weet, that sending at this time our trusty and right well beloved Chaplain and Counsellors Mr. Doctor Haynes and Mr. Doctor Bonner, to our good brother the Emperor to declare unto the same certain things which we be desirous to have opened unto him, as before we have written unto you, like as we have appointed them to participate their instructions unto you, and to confer with you upon their proceedings, so we desire and pray you at their first access to the Emperor's presence to signify unto him that they be the very same persons whom according to your former advertisement we determined to send unto him, and to require him according to his promise then made to hear them favourably at length, wherein he shall do unto us much pleasure, and to himself no little commodity. And as for the specialty of their charge we refer you to their instructions which our pleasure is that ye shall

advance in every point of the same to your best accordingly. Given under our signet, at our Palace of Westminster, the vii of April the xxix year of our Reign.

To our trusty and right well beloved Counsellor Sir Thomas Wyat Kt. our Ambassador resident in the Emperor's Country.

The King's Majesty's of the viith of April by Mr. Haynes and Mr. Bonner received the xth of May, at Nice.

No. XVI.

By the King.

HENRY REX.

Trusty and right well beloved we greet you well letting you weet, that sithens the departure of Master Haynes and Master Bonner towards our good brother the Emperor we be advertized from the Bishop of Winchester our Ambassador, resident with our good Brother the French King, that the said French King hath set forth with own mouth with the said Bishop, an overture for a marriage to be had between the Duke of Orleans and our daughter the Lady Mary, conformably whereunto he hath also written to his Ambassadors here resident, declaring he doth much desire it as a most certain mean both to the attaining of his purpose in Milan and the conclusion of an universal Peace, supposing that the Emperor will be as well content to give the Dutchy with our said daughter (considering how near of blood she is to him, and how much he hath seemed to esteem her) as with the daughter of his brother the King of the Romans, which should keep the matter of a Peace in suspence for certain years, where this marriage should make a parfite and undelayed Peace, which he allegeth the Emperor cannot refuse if he doth mind the unity of Christendom as much as he pretendeth; sending also commission to his Ambassadors here, to entreat further upon that matter with us. Which overture well weighed, and considering how much we do before all other things mind the quiet and tranquillity of Christendom (for the advancement whereof we can be well content both to travail and to employ, and bestow ourselves and our children in any such sort as without our dishonour

might serve to that purpose) we have made to the said Ambassador this answer following.

First, we told him that having with good deliberation resolved in our mind the desire made by our good brother the King his master for this marriage, we did in the debating of the same with ourself consider specially two things; the one was the state of Christendom, the trouble and tumult whereof hath engendered in us a good desire to see a good unity and concord established among the Princes of the same, considering whereof, we would be well content to employ ourself and all our children: the other was, the great love and entire zeal we bear to our said good brother the French King, in whose contemplation we would undoubtedly do all we might do commodious for the advancing of his affairs, not offending the Commonwealth of the whole state of Christendom nor emburthening ourself with too importunate charge, which we trusted our good brother would not require of us; further declaring thereunto that there were two other things also which we much noted in this overture. The first was, that we might think that they desire our daughter rather for the getting that thing by her mean which they should not per case get without the stroke of the sword, the hazard and adventure whereof might be much danger both of great damage and high dishonour, if perchance the victory succeeded not to his desire, than for any estimation we could perceive they had of our said daughter, either in respect of us or of any thing that is in her. The second thing that we noted was, that albeit we could persuade to ourself certainly that they made this overture upon a real friendship, yet it appeared strange that our good brother would now meet with the Bishop of Rome to whose hands he hath as we may be informed committed the whole manying of all matters in controversy between him and the Emperor; which Bishop of Rome reputeth and calleth us by the name of his enemy, as our brother the French King best knoweth, and as the letters of you our Ambassadors with the Emperor do purport and testify. We told him we could not condescend to any such marriage, whereas the said Bishop should be a mean to entreat and conclude any matter or marriage that should so much touch us, but we said unto him that in case our good brother minded as earnestly the conclusion of this marriage as it was earnestly set forth in overture unto us, it should be expedient that when this should be treated, both he and the Emperor should withdraw them in the doing thereof from the Bishop of Rome, and treat and conclude it only between us, the Emperor and him, and so between ourselves to be brought to a conclusion; for we told him that we could not condescend that the said Bishop should be a medler or a moderator in any treaty whereunto we should be a party he being our enemy and so evil disposed and affected towards us; we yet agree that he should be a principal contrahent in this manner of marriage.

After this conference had with the said Ambassadors arrived here, the commission being amply conveyed both for the conclusion of the matrimony and of a treaty, *arctioris amicitiæ*, whereupon appointing Commissioners to enter upon the communication with him they had the first day of their meeting this discourse following.

First, where it is desired that we should signify unto the Emperor that we could be content to have the marriage concluded between the Lady Mary our daughter and the Duke of Orleans, so as the Emperor should condescend that the said Duke shall have thereby in possession the Dutchy of Milan.

It was answered thereto, that partly for the great zeal we have to the universal quiet of Christendom, which were very like to be established by that marriage; partly for the entire love and affection which we do bear to our good brother the French King, we could be content upon convenient reciproque, that in case the French King, or his agents, would set forth to the Emperor in presence of our orators resident with the said Emperor, ye should both intimate our good inclination thereunto upon the zeal before expressed, and also advance it to the said Emperor as much as could be conveniently desired; which way, or mean towards the opening of our good inclination towards the said overture, though the said Ambassador of France did embrace it, yet he said that he would gladly have had more if he could have gotten it; that is to say, that he would rather it should be set forth, first by our orators, than in their presence, as is before devised: and as to the points of the reciproque demanded of them, he made answer that he had neither commission, nor instruction special to grant us any such thing, requiring therefore a bill of articles of those and all other points to be remembered, with promise to send it over with such speed, as he doubted not to receive answer again within ten days. Wherefore, weighing what dishonour it should be to ourself, the world percase fantazing us to be an interturber of the peace, rather than an indifferent mediator of it, if the thing being thus broken by the French King's party in the presence of our orators should not take effect; what dishonour to our Daughter, in case she should be openly rejected and repudiate upon the making of the said overture; what unkindness the Emperor might conceive thereby towards us if this should be thus set forth without the said Emperor's knowledge; and what displeasure might beside grow to us thereby, if we should adventure all these things without assurance of any reciproque, we have heretofore thought it most expedient that this overture should not be set forth by any our Ambassadors, or in their presence as before, unless the French King would first capitulate, and by treaty bind himself for reciproque, that he should take no peace at this time, nor any time hereafter, with the Emperor, but he shall with the same join us with him as a principal con-

trahent; and also, that he shall in no wise assent, or consent, to the Council now indicted by the Bishop of Rome, or at any Council to be indicted hereafter by him, or any of his successors, or by any their authorities, or by any other authority, without our express consent first had and obtained to the same according to certain his letters of his own hand sent heretofore unto us; which reciproque we caused to be proponed to the French Ambassador here resident, who could not deny the same to be reasonable, promising to write the whole discourse of the same conferences between him and our counsellors here to his Majesty: so, in case the French King would first capitulate the two points with our Ambassadors resident with him, we have appointed them to signify the same unto you by present conference, if ye shall be in place together, or else by letters if ye shall be absent by any chance or disappointment of the meeting: and if the French King will not condescend to this reciproque of the two points before expressed, then we have resolved that the overture should in no wise be set forth by any our orators, or that they should affirm in any presence that we be agreeable that it should be proponed. All which discourse before written we have thought fit to signify unto you for your better instruction and ripening in the whole matter to the intent you may the more prudently and circumspectly set the overture forth to the Emperor, if our Ambassador with the French King shall conclude with him upon the reciproque before specified: in which case our pleasure is, that after conference had with our said Ambassador resident with the said French King, with whom ye shall confer immediately upon the avowal of the Emperor, both touching this matter, and all other occurrents, ye shall propone the said overture unto the Emperor, according to our said promise made on that behalf. Nevertheless, if ye shall have knowledge that the Emperor hath granted and condescended to such conditions, touching the matter in consideration between us, as shall conduce the same to a conclusion, ye shall in that case set it forth but coldly and temperately, rather that the French King may see that we keep our promise therein, than with any such earnest fashion as might declare us to be so desirous of it as we be of the alliance to be made with his side. But on the other part, if ye shall perceive that the Emperor hath answered us, touching those matters, in such generality of words, as there is no certain hope that things between us should take effect, ye shall then set it forth in a more earnest fashion, and to advance it upon our zeal for the quiet of Christendom, as the French King may perceive that the stay thereof resteth only in the Emperor. And if it should chance that the French King would not condescend to the reciproque, by reason whereof the overture of marriage shall not be proponed to the Emperor by our consent; and ye shall hear thereof by the mouth of the Emperor, or some of his Council by way of overture,

ye shall in that case for our declaration, touching the first motion of it, declare how the overture hath been here set forth by the Frenchmen, how earnestly they have followed it; and that notwithstanding our zeal to the common quiet is such as for the conducing of an universal peace, we could have been contented to have condescended to it, yet considering that we had already entered some communication of marriage for our said Daughter with the Emperor, and that the same Emperor may also in this thing, if it should take effect, be a third party, we would in no wise conclude any thing therein, but refer it wholly unto the knowledge of his mind and determination, whereof ye may assure him, whatsoever should be said to the contrary; willing you in case you should fortune thus to open it for a declaration of the state of the measure, to advertise us with all possible diligence, how and after what sort ye shall have proceeded, and in what temper ye shall find the Emperor touching the same. Given under our signet at our manor of Hampton Court the iiii^th. of May, the xxx^th. year of our reign.

To our trusty and right well beloved Counsellors, Sir Thomas Wyatt, Kt. Gentleman of our Chamber, Doctor Haynes, Dean of Exeter, and Doctor Bonner, Arch Deacon of Leicester, our Ambassadors with the Emperor.

Received upon Friday, viz. xvii°. die Maii, 1538.

No. XVII.

Instructions given by the King's Highness to his trusty and well beloved Counsellors Sir Thomas Wyatt, Kt. and Philip Hobby, one of his Grace's Privy Chamber, to be declared unto the Emperor the XVI *day of October, the* XXX *year of his Grace's most noble Reign.*

HENRY REX.

Whereas his Majesty hath appointed his trusty servant Philip Hobby one of his Grace's Privy Chamber, to resort in post with all convenient diligence to Sir Thomas Wyatt, Kt. his Grace's Ambassador in the Emperor's Court, the said Hobby taking with him these instructions with the King's letters in his own hand-writing, and such other things as be prepared for his dispatch, shall with

celerity take his journey and speedy resort thither; first of all to the said Wyatt, and deliver unto him such letters as he hath addressed unto him, and these present instructions, which they shall use and make themselves ripe and perfect in the tenor of the same, and therewith cause the arrival of the said Hobby to be signified unto him with requisition of access to deliver such the King's letters as they have unto him, and time appointed for the declaration of their charge; the which being assigned unto them, they shall both together resort to the Emperor's presence, and jointly together with most hearty and affectuous commendations deliver his Grace's letters, declaring therewith his Highness' good health and prosperity, with vehement desire to hear the like of the said Emperor, which shall be much to his joy and consolation. And so coming to the declaration of their credence they shall on his Highness' behalf require of the Emperor that both he shall take the overture in good part, proceeding of so friendly a part; and also promise on the word of a Prince, that he shall not disclose them to none but to such of his Secret Council as shall be sworn to the secrecy of the same. Which promise obtained, they shall first express that his Highness hearing that the Emperor upon a goodly purpose to prosecute his enterprise against the Turk, enemies of our Christian faith, doth intend for the ampliation and magnification of Christ's glory the next year to set upon them in his own person with a great army; although his Grace thinketh that the Emperor of his high wisdom and discretion will afore his departure not only consider all things to be considered for the establishment and assurance of his estate and prosperity, or that he will put his own person in such danger, specially in a matter of such difficulty and so high an enterprise, from the which nevertheless his Grace (though he should be sorry that the Emperor should expose his own person in any such jeopardy) will not attempt to divert his affixed purpose being Christ's cause, at whose calling we be all, and of whose hand and providence we do all depend; yet he thought it the part of a very friend now to put him in remembrance so to dispose all things before his departure as the Prince of Spain his son which is but young yet, may, whatsoever chance fortune escape the dangers that might sundry ways happen to him, unless they were wisely foreseen and provided for thereafter. His Grace further and of very friendship and pure amity taketh boldness thus to do, thinking that a friend seeth sometime in his friend's causes when they consist in diversity of matters, more peradventure, than he to whom the matter toucheth near; for he thinketh the Emperor's courage so great, and so fully bent upon his high enterprise, that his mind being occupied with infinite things appertaining thereto, might peradventure pretermit this, which to his Grace's judgement is most necessary, and therefore hath thought it convenient to open unto his Majesty his friendly opinion and advice, how in all casualties his Highness judgeth that the Emperor's estates and prosperity may be so established as, whatsoever shall chance,

they may continue, stand, and prosper; whosoever would attempt the contrary; whereof his Grace would be most joyous; and for that intent doth now open plainly his mind.

His Highness first thinketh and feareth that unless it be better provided for than he knoweth of yet, or by any outward intelligence can perceive (though most part of Christendom in affairs doth practise with him) that the Emperor's son and King of Spain is slenderly yet furnished of trusty friends; for he heareth of none that is joined with him that may in his minority stand him in friendly stead, which truly he lamenteth.

Secondly, his Highness doubteth not but the Emperor considereth very well, that if it should please God to call him to his mercy in this his intended enterprise, or by any other means, that the imperial dignity is elective, and not likely to descend to his heirs by succession, for that the Almains will be loth to have the Spanish nation to be their superior.

Thirdly, that Milan taketh investiture of the Empire, and that in some cases it is confiscable, as we understand his chief claim is now, or else the Frenchmen's claim by inheritance should serve them; wherefore upon these foundations is no sure building for his son's surety, friendship, or aid.

Fourthly, that the Emperor may well consider that in case of disfortune in that enterprise what sedition and disquiet by some evil-disposed persons might rise and be spread in Spain, Queen Joan his mother being yet alive, of whose right and title the Crown of Spain dependeth, and his son being of small age, the people always being much dedicate to novelties, specially when they like; as by example in our time it hath been seen by the said Emperor's father King Philip, whom if the King had not aided by colour of Mamborship, the King Fernando of Arragon had kept him from his rightful possession; and yet for all that found such means, as it was said, that he soon after died.*

Fifthly, it is considered, that albeit the Emperor shall leave his son a great Prince, lord of sundry great realms and ample dominions, yet a great incommodity there is that they do not lie together, but far asunder one from another; Naples and Sicily far from Spain; Flanders and other his Low Countries in another part far asunder from them both, and so other dominions dispersed and separate one from another.

Sixthly, it is to be weighed, that his Uncle, King of the Romans, from whom he shall have the chief help, succour and comfort, is far distant, and his countries standing very unhandsomely, to get present aid and speedy assistance if need were. Whereupon the King's Highness not doubting but the Emperor can and will better

* This seems plainly to intimate that Henry considered Philip to have died of poison.

ponder and weigh these things with his wise Council, being admonished of the same by his trusty friend, before the embracing of any such high and difficult enterprise, remitteth the discreet ordering and pulling away of those doubts to his and their wisdom, trusting that the Emperor and his Council will take his frank kindness in good part: whereof his Grace desireth, and would be glad to be advertized with diligence.

Furthermore, if the Emperor be desirous to know his Grace's opinion how to remedy these, his pleasure is, that the said Sir Thomas Wyatt and Hobby shall declare the same, whereby the Emperor may well perceive what hearty and unfeigned good will his Highness beareth unto him.

First, touching to establish his Son and succession with assured friendship; his Grace thinketh that the Emperor ought, without affection, upon apparent reasons and likelihoods so to choose them, as all men of wit and knowledge could not disapprove them, and specially above all things to regard that they should be such as both be of ability, and not pretending titles to any such dominions as he intendeth to leave to his Son. Besides that, considering his dominions be so dispersed, to make friends in divers parts, by whose means the Prince his son shall the better defend his right. As by example; to leave the Dutchy of Milan to Don Lohis of Portugal, who is nigh of kin to his foresaid Son, which bindeth him by nature to be assured to him: and his Grace thinketh, and somewhat therein knoweth, that the Potentates of Italy had lever, (if they durst be a-known of it) to have one amongst them there, than that the Emperor should detain it still in his own custody; for as long as he detaineth it, they are always in fear that he pretendeth the Monarchy of all Italy, which above all things they detest and fear; wherefore his Grace's opinion is, that the giving it to Don Louis shall indeed be as good to the Emperor, and as much for his surety and succession as if he kept it for himself; for if it please him he may have it as much at his commandment, furnished with his soldiers, as it is now, or else it were pity of his life, being bred up at the Emperor's hand as he hath been, and as yet having little or nothing else but what he shall have of him.

Further, his Grace thinketh, that if it would please the Emperor to wyne alliances and friendships, putting (upon some good likelihoods) confidence in some of the Potentates of Italy, as the Duke of Ferrara, Mantua, or Florence, and so with amity, kindness, and alliance to allure them, that it should make to him a perfect assurance of all his dominions on that part of Italy; and so between Don Lodovic and him, he and his should ever be assured of those parts, for these pretend to no part of any of his dominions, and shall ever hope by his assistance to enjoy their

own, the Emperor and his succession being mutually bound with them and their's for the defence of each other's dominions.

As concerning Spain within itself, the said Sir Thomas Wyatt and Hobby may say, that if the King's Highness were as well acquainted, as his Grace hath been in time past, his Majesty could and would give some counsel in that behalf: but, surely his Highness hath had no practice in those affairs these many years, wherefore his Grace remitteth wholly that to his Majesty and his discreet Council, which can a thousand times better determine that than his Highness: yet his Grace will not, when occasion shall serve, pretermit the office of a perfect Friend in shewing his advice, though it be but slender, as, before he hath done, and in other things hereafter following intendeth to do, trusting that the Emperor will take it as proceeding out of the sincere heart of an old assured friend. But as for outward friendship, both of Spain and France, his Grace trusteth (if the Emperor taketh it so), that his Highness and his poor Island may, and would stand him in as good stead as any outward Prince or realm in Christendom; and if it will please him as sincerely of his part to go forth with these amities and alliances already begun, and now yet in communication, as his Majesty of his side shall, it is not to be doubted but it shall be a perdurable knot between their Majesties and posterities, and a perfect union and surety for both their realms and dominions; whereof the King for his part shall greatly rejoice, trusting that the Emperor will do the same. And for that purpose the said Sir Thomas Wyatt and Hobby shall, most heartily desire his Majesty, that for avoiding of delays, which be always suspicious, he will either send to my Lady Regent his Sister, full and unreserved power briefly to delegate Ministers to commune and conclude the same upon reasonable conditions, or else with diligence to send Grandvela or Covos into Flanders, fully instructed of the bottom of his stomach for the performing of this indissoluble knot between their Majesties and posterities; for the performing whereof they may assure him on the King's behalf, that there shall neither lack good will nor speedy expedition, so that his Grace find the semblable correspondence in the Emperor; and that it shall not stand by his Highness for lack of condescending to a reasonable aid for Milan, so that, as reason would, his Grace may have a reasonable reciproque for it.

Furthermore they may declare unto the Emperor, if in communication any slackness be laid unto his Grace, that it were no marvel although his Highness did delay; for his Grace was but strangely handled by his agents with unjust and unreasonable demands, and unlike to proceed out of a willing heart to conclude; and beside that, who would be glad to put his foot in the brere and take the whole burthen upon his neck, these weighty causes afore rehearsed not being otherwise,

that his Grace knoweth, provided for. Also, this new reconciled amity of old enemies now entire friends, blew so strange a blast in his Grace's ears, so far from the surety of the Emperor's succession, that it had been enough alone to discourage his Highness from wyning there; considering, that besides the title of Milan, there be so many other titles depending still between them, as Naples, the Sovereignty of Flanders, Genes, and Piedmont, with Nice also. These things well considered, his Grace reporteth himself both to the Emperor and his Council, whether he hath not had cause both to slack, and occasion to think, that he and his agents did but dissemble with his Majesty for winning of time, which ways being far from a sincere Friend's demeanour, his Highness heartily requireth him to cause his Commissioners no longer to use with his Majesty, but sincerely henceforth to proceed, as undoubtedly the King will do, omitting all by past quarrels, and endeavouring their Majesties on both parts to recompence them with perfect love and kindness.

No. XVIII.

By the King.

HENRY REX.

Trusty and right well beloved we greet you well. And whereas by your letters of the 9th of this present (the secret sending whereof with your diligence used in the same, we take in good part) ye signify unto us that our dear Brother the Emperor hath taken in acceptable part our friendly monitions and advices, and thereupon shewed unto you the estate and terms he standeth in, whose declaration ye referred to the coming of our servant Hoby; albeit we can think no otherwise but the Emperor indeed taketh the same in good part as he hath good cause and reason to do, insomuch as the same proceeded of the singular good zeal and fervent affection we bear unto him, and the good success of his affairs; yet nevertheless we marvel much now to see his cold proceedings concerning the marriage of our Daughter the Lady Mary and the Infant Don Lodovic of Portugal: whereupon although he made unto us offer and overture from Villa Franca by your own mouth, and by both his Ambassadors here then resident, to give Milan to the said Don Lodovic, as ye remember right well, and that after the truce taken, and his meeting with the French King at Aquas Mortes, after his departure thence being in his galleys upon the sea ready to sail, he affirmed unto you that he was conti-

nually of that good inclination towards us, and at his free liberty (notwithstanding the truce taken with the French King, and their solemn meeting together) to perform and fulfil his overtures and offers unto us by you and his Ambassadors made; and after his arrival at Barcelona he confirmed the same, and promised that for the concluding of the alliance and straighter amity offered he would and had sent a commission to the Lady Regent the Queen of Hungary; the same notwithstanding now, as you write, he and his Council do answer unto you that the occasion to give Milan to the said Don Lodovic is passed, and that they be (as they in words and outward countenance do shew) full sorry thereof, we cannot perceive how his said sayings unto you in the galleys at his departure from Aquas Mortes, and again at his arrival at Barcelona can agree with the answer they give now; but be (as contrary purposes) far discrepant one from another. How can they say for any thing they have done apparent to the world, that then they were free and at liberty, and that now the occasion is past, considering that our amity was the chief ground, as we took it, why they made the said offers, which are for our part no less desired now than it was then. We think the same to be strange answers.

Wherefore upon the receipt hereof our pleasure is, that obtaining access and audience of the said Emperor, ye shall declare and say unto him, that upon the knowledge of his promise made unto you, that he should send a commission and power to the said Regent to intreat upon the offers of straighter amity and alliances offered, and upon his advertisement given to us of the receipt thereof we did send about Michaelmas last our trusty and well beloved Counsellor, Thomas Wriothesley, one of our Secretaries, and two other our Commissioners, to treat with her upon the same alliance and straighter amity with confidence that the overtures and offers should be no less frankly set forth by the said Regent, than they were by the Emperor and his Ambassadors, at your being here. But whereas our said Commissioners were first remitted to treat after the meeting of the said Regent with the French King at Compeign, when after five or six weeks tarrying without any conference or communications, at the last they have entred treaties with them, to our no little marvel they find that the commission and power sent to the said Regent is very general, being she alone in the commission, and that without express power by the same to substitute any Commissioners under her in that behalf. She hath appointed Commissioners for her part the Duke of Arscot, Monsieur de Hoghstrate, and de Lykirke, and a Doctor of Law, called Score, with whom our said Commissioners, nevertheless were content to have conferences; but they have found them very cold. For, whereas upon communication of the marriage between the said Don Lodovic and our Daughter the Lady Mary, our said Commissioners did freely and frankly open their minds; first, requiring Milan to be given accord-

ing to the offer and overture made by the Emperor from Villa Franca, confirmed again in his galleys departing from Aquas Mortuas, and yet again ratified at Barcelona. To this the said Duke, and other her substitutes, have answered that they knew no such thing to have been offered by the mouth of you, our Ambassador: and that if it were offered it was not accepted in time, and that thereupon they could give no answer until they knew further the Emperor's pleasure.

Second, they found very strange our requisition that our said Daughter should be taken in that degree and naturality she is in already by the laws of our realm; and that she should not succeed as long as there shall be any heirs male or females by any other our lawful marriage: whereunto likewise they said they could not perceive that the Emperor would accept it, though it were but for the honour of Don Lodovic, and they could do nothing therein without the Emperor's advice.

And, thirdly, for the requisition of the oath to be given to the said Don Lodovic, that in case he should happen to succeed he would observe and keep inviolate all the laws of this realm without any infraction or abrogation thereof; they said, that there was no such oath accustomed to be given aforehand, nor ever such things treated, and that they marvelled the same should be demanded.

By the which their answers, it appeareth a great coldness both in them and the Emperor that sent such a Commissioner, without any instruction of those three points which were already or by his offer granted, as the state of Milan to be given to Don Lodovic aforesaid; or else assented unto by Mr. Chappuis, and specially by Diego de Mendoza, his Ambassadors here, upon conference of the said marriage; signantly by Don Diego, who was expressly sent hither for the entreaty of the same. Whereby, seeing that the Emperor would not, according to his offer, depart with Milan to the said Don Lodovic, and that they stick upon these two other points aforesaid, it appeareth unto us, and we can no otherwise interpretate and conjecture, but that he hath changed his mind, and liketh not now the said marriage of our Daughter the Lady Mary and the Infant Don Lodovic, to our great marvel. Whereupon you shall say to him, that seeing his untowardness concerning Milan to be given to the said Don Lodovic for the same, and for the great zeal that we have to the common peace of Christendom, and that we would be loth the same giving of Milan should stir any dissention or war, we intend no further to instant or press him thereof, but evermore continuing our good mind and affection to join with him (his said untowardness and coldness in that behalf notwithstanding) we would be content upon honourable and reasonable conditions to enter with him in alliance for the marriage of our own person with the Dutchess Dowager of Milan, with straighter amity between us to be concluded; so that the

said Emperor would consent, among other things, to provide that the Dutchess may have her dote paid, and her dower well assigned upon some such good place as his principal towns and cities, as Antwerp, Ghent, Brussels, Bruges, Mecklin, in the Low Countries, which may be content to become bound for the true payment of the same; or else to make assurance with sufficient surety of bankers for the true payment thereof, the which shall be so much to his honour that we think he will of his own mind devise upon it, and assent thereunto: for loth we would be to marry such a Lady, but she should be assured of her right. Not that we regard greatly any advantage therein, but that like a Prince of honour we would not that it might be said, that through our negligence she should be disappointed of her right. Further, declaring unto him that we think, seeing that he giveth nothing with her but that which now of right is her own, and cannot be taken from her without her sufferance or assent, he can none other way see with his honour, but of his own mind devize how she may be well assigned for her payment upon such sure places, as she may be yearly answered and truly paid of her dower as appointed. And, granting the same with other honourable conditions, we shall assign unto her such honourable dowry in our realm as other Queens of the same have usually had heretofore.

And as for the straighter amity, we for our part will be content to enter such straight league of amity with him as to denounce to all the world, both inward and outward demeanour, that whosoever is or shall be enemy to the Emperor, of what dignity soever he be, is and shall be enemy to us; and that we shall not aid, directly nor indirectly any such person in making war against the Emperor, so that they be bound for reciproque likewise under the self-same form and condition towards us. And also we will be contented, that in case any invasion shall be made by any manner of person or persons upon the Earldom of Flanders, Holland, Zealand, Brabant, Henault, Artois, and Namur, and other the Emperor's dominions nigh to them adjoining, which he had in his possession at the time of the making of our last amities at Cambray, to be bound for the defence of them according to the amity there made for both parties (heading us with the last French King's gain only except) and also to aid, help, and assist him to the defence of his foresaid dominions except before excepted, with the number of 5,000 footmen, archers, and soldiers by land well arrayed and in order, and 1500 or 2000 soldiers well equipped and furnished for the sea at our charges for three months, so that he will again likewise at his charges help, aid, defend, and assist us with the number of 1200 men of arms, every man of arms furnished with three good and sufficient horses and men of defence upon them, well arrayed and in order for the land, and 1500 or 2000 soldiers likewise well equipped and furnished for the sea, in case any invasion

should be made upon our realm, or other dominions which we had in our possession, at the time of our said last treaty at Cambray: so that the Emperor, in all his treaties with France, shall comprehend us and our pension; also in the denial thereof shall aid us, as is above rehearsed.

And further, considering that their countries be large and great, and also like often to be invaded, and ours strong and straight for entry, so that these articles may seem much more to their advantage than ours, we cannot persuade to ourselves but that they minding our amity will fairly condescend and agree to the same. And further, we will be contented in no wise to treat nor conclude any thing with any outward Prince or Potentate, of what degree soever he be, without the said Emperor's knowledge and assent so that he be bound to do the like towards us. And further, that we being once in war with him which is also his declared enemy, shall take no peace with him, but the said Emperor shall therein be a principal contrahent; and also, not accept any conditions with him that might in anywise sound to the detriment of his dignity, jurisdiction, or estate: so that he will be bound to do us the like.

Furthermore, for the establishing perpetual amity between his Low Countries and our dominions, we shall be content to be bound with our heirs, nobles, cities, and towns, for the aid afore by us offered. So that the Emperor, his heirs and successors, with their nobles, cities, and towns, will be bound to the rest of our former demands for reciproque.

And as for the marriage of the Lady Mary our daughter, seeing that he is not disposed nor liketh it, as aforesaid that she should be married to Don Lodovic with Milan, we trust, nevertheless, forasmuch as she is near cousin and kinswoman, he will help to devise and invent some convenient place, where she may be well bestowed somewhere else.

Whereupon, as of yourself, ye shall require the said Emperor to devise and study what he shall think best, and that for your party, you will do the like against the next day, desiring him that then he will grant that ye may wait upon him to know his advice, and to tell him yours, not doubting but we shall take his so doing, and specially proceeding of himself in right good and thankful part. And so, having his advice and mind thereupon, at the next day you may say unto him, that you have studied for your part as much as you might; and that for your advice she might well be bestowed with the young Duke of Cleves and Juliers; or else with the now Duke of Urbin, and that either of these two Princes should be the most meet that you can devise for her. Upon the which your saying ye shall note his answer and countenance, to the intent, that by you we may be advertised thereof, and so thereby conjecture and know, what mind and affection he is of, and

whether he would be glad to have us to wyne with any of them. And if he thinketh them not to be meet, but shall name to you some others, then, as of yourself, you may desire him to advertise us thereof; not doubting but we shall take his good advice in right acceptable part. As for giving estate to our said daughter and to Don Lodovic within our realm, assigning him 30,000 or 25,000 crowns a year, we doubt not but they would content to suade and exhort us so to do, and that we would receive him within this our realm with that entertainment, but our Council, for sundry great causes and reasons of importance, hath dissuaded us thereof, and shewed manifestly unto us how the same should be in no wise commodious neither to the said Infant Don Lodovic, nor for us, nor also expedient for our realm. Wherefore we will not that ye shall give them any ear thereunto, nor that in any wise they should by any your hearkening thereunto, think that we will do the same.

Given under our Signet, at our Manor of Hampton Court, the xxviii day November, the 30th Year of our reign.

No. XIX.

By the King.

HENRY REX.

Trusty and right well beloved, we greet you well; and albeit by your letters sent unto us in cipher by Tarbes post, as also more expressly by your other letters dated the 2d of this present month, and brought by our courier Nicholas, we perceive on that side daily more and more delays, remissions, and such cold proceedings, after their vehemency shewed outwardly by appearance that as after so whote a summer we saw never so cold a winter, whereby it appeareth like as ye have right prudently objected unto them, that they seek friends for their need, and that thinking themselves escaped their hands, they do but little regard their friends, which is not the true rule to knit a stedfast and certain amity, they do far unlike to the good turns we have shewed unto them, not at our need but at theirs. But as for that we let it pass, and intend not to reproach it unto them, but rather in the mean time to content ourselves in the honest virtue of our benefits shewed for perfect love and amity; seeing that between the sundry qualities of him and his two Counsel, the mixtion whereof in the end is but a cold frost. We can have no

certain answer, but be referred to two uncertain contingents: the one is declared unto yourself by the Emperor, to Duke Frederick's advice at his coming into Spain unto the Emperor's Court; the other contingent long to come is, as appeareth by the effect of the Emperor's letters lately sent unto the Lady Regent by way of instruction (as the Chancellor of her Court hath declared unto our Ambassadors there) that concerning the alliance between us and the Dutchess, the said Frederick should at his return into Flanders from Spain bring shortly resolution. Whereupon what they will do we cannot guess; but the same nevertheless, for to shew ourself firm, constant, and steadfast in a good affection once thoroughly printed in our heart, we will once essay whether they will change their disposition; and therefore forasmuch as one party is in Flanders, and our Ambassadors have been there by the space of xvi weeks or thereabouts, and the Emperor said of his mere mind that he would send instructions ample and sufficient unto the Lady Regent of Flanders, and the purpose opened there, although to small purpose as yet, ye shall require the Emperor for the same; and also because we intend not to treat upon one matter in two places now so far distantly from us, it may like him therefore, according to his offer and very promise, to send full instructions, as he hath oftentimes affirmed and affirmed again to have, when indeed the said Lady denieth to have received any such thing, but we ready (as constrained of necessity) to send upon any point purposed in post to that country; and yet when any such returned unto her, the answer is such that she must as yet tarry for another from the said Emperor, and that in a matter of such importance unto us as the matter of our marriage, wherein for the effect of succession, time and age be of marvellous high importance; and whereby the nobles and estates of this realm do much press us, as it were of urgent necessity that we no longer defer to be at point with some one or other, they care not greatly where, so that we may have increase of issue. Whereupon ye shall eftsoons require him, as he will shew himself zealous of our antient fraternal amity, that he will without further protract and dilation of time, observe and fulfil his whole promise in sending those instructions: and that in case he should not intend to wyne with us, that then as it appeareth to honesty, honour, and the word of a Prince, according to our amities he will plainly and frankly declare unto us his mind, with a flat refusal, and Nay, rather than so knitting one delay to the tail of another, to keep us longer in balance and suspence, and at last give us occasion to say, that whereas upon alliance offered unto us we have sought increase of amity, after long and constant continuance we have found for conclusion so cold proceeding as to be ever so unkindly delayed, or else to have a flat, Nay, which the Emperor's discretion may well think and foresee to be a thing

much contrary and unlike to his imperial estate, and to the high degree wherein he is collocate, and to the correspondence of the very amity that we looked to find in him.

And in case in any conference there shall be any motion made unto you concerning assistance for the recovery of Guelders, ye shall give no ear thereto, but answer that ye have no instruction of us in that matter, and allege that it were too much to be desired of or moved unto us, and that ye referred the same to the conference to be had in Flanders, for we intend not to treat in two places so far from us, as is afore said.

As touching Cameryn upon occasion whereof ye much harp [that] we have, and shall take opportunity to do things, ye shall understand that we have and do know our right occasion, and take your advertisement therein in good and thankful part: signifying unto you, that by the advice of our Council in the same and other things, we shall not neglect nor pass over any opportune occasion, finding good towardness in the parties, and forwardness in the matter. Wherefore ye shall declare unto his Secretary there, that ye perceive upon your advertisement such good inclination in us towards that family; and that we know so well the Bishop of Rome's ambition and cruelty, where he may obtain the upper hand upon the Princes of Christendom, whose powers he ever practiseth to usurpate; and that (seen our good disposition) ye can think none otherwise, but be assured that if the Duke his Majesty shall require us as appertaineth, and shew the justice of his cause, we shall not fail to have regard to the honour of God, the support of Princes, and such respect to the amity and affection we bear, and have borne to that family, as they shall have cause to be contented. Wherefore exhorting ye him to write to the Duke his Majesty thereupon, and to use all celerity convenient ye shall advise him as of yourself, that he shall also counsel to the said Duke that he shall also use all possible diligence in sending a man unto us: trusting assuredly that he is like for the reasons before mentioned to have good answer, and find subvention and support at our hand if he shall duly require, and shew his right unto us.

As for those barking preachers so slanderously defaming us in so celebre a place, which ought rather to be called false prophets and sheep-cloathed wolves, we pray you to continue your instant requisition to the Emperor and his Council with your objections to their unreasonable answers, as ye have done hitherto, much to our contentment and thankful acceptation; alleging unto him that ye much marvel that they proceed none otherways to stay such false and utter slanders against us, being a King, seeing that of late at Rome, where a grey friar slandered us, he was constrained to recant, and in plain pulpit to withdraw his words, and to declare

that he had belied us and our nation, and that therefore he cryed God, us, and our nation mercy, and that done, yet he was reserved in prison to further punishment.

As for your return hither in March next, we have deferred it until April, by all the which month another shall return in your stead, requiring you to take it in so good and patient part, as at your return we may have for the same, among your other good merits, to thank you heartily, and look upon the same hereafter; not failing from time to time, as ye have of good custom used, diligently to advertise us of all your proceedings, occurrents, and doings there, as well concerning our own matters as others, of Italy, of the Emperor's voyage, and of French practices with him, and of all other things worthy knowledge.

This day is arrived to us some advertisement from Rome, wherein it is mentioned, that it was commonly spoken at Rome, that the Ambassador of England, being in Spain, hath made large promises unto the Duke of Urbane's secretary. We cannot think but that like as they meant by you, so they have for some purpose bruited and set forth this rumour abroad for their advantage, and that although ye have put him in some comfort, yet ye have not been so large as to offer any thing unto them without our advice and pleasure. We trust your fidelity and discretion better than so. Yet nevertheless we have thought thereupon to warn you that ye shall beware to speak so largely unto them, but with good sobriety and temperance as we have before written, for like as doubtless we would be glad to help the truth and right of Princes, specially against the enemy of Princes the Bishop of Rome, so should we be loth to incur the name and renown of a setter forth, cherisher, and maintainer of dissension and war in Christendom, when indeed we love peace, union, and amity; except only that we fear no suspicion where we be compelled against the enemies of God, and ours, and against the adversary general of Princes. Given under our Signet, at our Palace of Westminster, the xix of January, the xxxth year of our reign.

To our trusty and right well-beloved Counsellor
Sir Thomas Wyatt, Kt. one of the Gentlemen of the King's Chamber, and his Grace's Ambassador resident with the Emperor.

By Francisco at Toledo.

No. XX.

By the King.

HENRY REX.

Trusty and right well-beloved, we greet you well: and whereas of late sithens the dispatch of Nicholas our courier with our letters unto you, and afore his arrival here as well with your letters of the xvth of January last, as also by the declaration of such things as ye committed to the charge of our trusty servant Blage, who arrived to us the ixth of this present, we be informed of sundry occurrents there in such manner as by the same, and other your proceedings, we cannot but much praise and commend your diligent activity and good zeal and affection with the dexterity which ye have and do employ to satisfy our desire, and fulfil the office of a good and true Ambassador; for the which we give unto you our very hearty and condign thanks, requiring you to continue still the same.

First, ye shall solicit to have the Emperor's final answer and resolution upon such points as we wrote unto you by the said Nicholas, who we doubt not is arrived unto you by this. And we think assuredly that ye have already set forth the purport and tenor of our letters, wherein we pray you to use your diligence, and with celerity, to advertise us of your proceedings in that behalf, wherein we have been balanced, protracted, and delayed longer, as ye know, than reason and antient amity towards him requireth.

Second: upon the receipt hereof ye shall resort unto the Emperor, and like as ye have done already of yourself, so shall ye now in our name, not only declare unto him that we have been credibly informed that our rebel and traitor is coming towards him, as sent Legate from the Bishop of Rome, but also that forasmuch as the said Pole is by the laws of our realm found manifestly to be our rebel and cankered traitor against our crown royal and the Majesty of the same, ye shall in our name require him, that in case the said Pole be not as yet arrived within this his realm and dominions, that then he shall not only forbid unto him the entry and access unto the same, but also command his officers and subjects in no wise to admit and suffer him to be or remain there, but to expel him out thereof if he shall be entered therein. And in case the said Pole be arrived already to the Emperor's court, then ye shall require the Emperor in that case that he will not only forbear all manner of conference and communication with him, and in no wise to give ear unto his words, nor honourably recueil, nor entertain him, but rather to despise and contemn him like a rank traitor; and according to the

treaties and alliances between us confirmed at Cambray, (the copy whereof, as much as concerneth this point, ye shall receive for your better instruction) to shew unto him no manner of favour nor support, but command him out as a rebel and traitor unto us his antient ally and friend, and cause him incontinent to depart out of his dominions, and in no wise to come, abide, or return unto the same or any part thereof. And in case the Emperor shall answer unto you that the said Pole is sent thither rather for our good and a common quiet in Christendom, than to perform any thing against us, then shall you answer thereto, that the said Pole having once traitorously persisted against us, (who not only made his whole family of nought, but enhanced them to so high nobility and honour as they have been, so long as they were true and fidele unto us, but also amongst other specially favoured and gave honest exhibition out of our own coffers to the said Pole, and maintained him to the study), hath proved himself so lewed and extremely ingrate, that no Prince, knowing his temerity and offences against us his sovereign Lord and Prince, should esteem him worthy to be spoken with, nor to give him any credence nor audience.

And in case the said Pole shall have had audience of the Emperor before the receipt hereof, then ye shall say that under his correction it had been more consonant to antient amity and alliance between him and us, to have set the said Pole aside, and not to have given him audience, and to have advertised us by his letters of the same, before he had perceived upon what points his commission was, and so to have proceeded upon our answer thereunto, thereafter. Who would believe that out of so cankered and malicious a stomach, proud heart, and mind as his is of, there could come out or proceed any goodness or sincerity, specially being sent from such a place as he is. His words (as such deceitful traitors be commonly hypocrites) may be, might fortune, fair and pleasant; but howsoever the head thereof be resolved, the tail thereof is always black and full of poison; and so shall find them any man that shall give them ear.

And if the Emperor shall answer unto you that Pole cometh unto him as a public and not a private man, and that, *De Jure Gentium*, Ambassadors have and owe to have special privilege to be admitted and in no wise thus rejected as we have required, then shall you persist in the words of the Treaty, which be general; and to his reason *de Jure Gentium* and other that he could make to you, ye shall reply and answer yea, and reply and confute the same upon such reasons and allegations as upon the said Pole's arrival into France and the Low Countries, were made to the French King and the Lady Regent, the summary whereof for your better information ye shall also receive herewith. In your conferences hereupon with the Emperor, ye shall ever inculcate the ingratitude of the Poles, the benignity we ever used towards them, who by the council of the Cardinal, his Brother Montagu and

the Marquis of Exeter, and their adherents, had conspired not only divers seditions within, but also imagined the way to destroy us and our dearest Son the Prince, with the Lady Mary and the Lady Elizabeth our Daughters, for to take unto them the whole rule, whereunto the Marquis had fixed his mind, and sought his opportune occasion these ten years and practised to have conduced that mischief to his intent, had not God favoured us, and we been ware in all things of such practices, and taken heed thereunto.

All these things have been disclosed by Sir Geoffry Pole, Montagu's own brother, and proved before their face, and by the law convicted thereof; yea, and the mischief after their conviction, declared by sundry their letters found, and by the same knowen that Sir Nicholas Carew was one of the chief and principal of that faction. Ye shall obsecrate the Emperor that he would remember the antient amity between us, and have in memory his solemn oath and sacrament to observe the Treaties of Cambray, and how oaths and promises of Princes ought to be observed; and require him to consider the effect thereof, and to ponder how odious and detestable traitors ought to be unto Princes; how they ought not to be suffered in any good company, but banished out of the same, declaring unto him what fruit doth commonly succeed of conferences, and communication with traitors; whereupon of late there is a pretty book printed within our realm, which ye shall receive herewith.

We be about to provide some meet person to reside in your stead, trusting so to speed him that he may be there with you by March, or half April, at the which time we shall willingly will you to take your leave thence, and so to return hither to do to us such other service as ye shall be meet for, that shall be less to your charge and with our good favour.

By the treaties it seemeth that we should have written to the Emperor concerning the said Pole, the which nevertheless (albeit the said letters were already conceived) we have stayed for this time. We send you herewith the copy thereof, requiring you to peruse it and to send your advice thereupon; and afterward, if we shall see cause, we will send them unto you. In the mean season, if the Emperor shall object unto you that we should have written the letter unto him, ye shall answer it is not requisite, and that we trust so much upon the amity and alliance between us, that having received heretofore letters of credence unto you, he shall be contented for this time to allow the same as part of your credence, and give no less faith unto your declaration and requisition than if he had received our letters thereupon. Ye may add thereunto, if ye see cause, that the fault we wrote not is, to your judgment, to be imputed to the negligence of the Secretary, who gave us no warning thereof.

Given under our Signet at our Palace of Westminster, the xiiith day of February, the xxxth year of our reign.

To our trusty and right well-beloved Counsellor Sir Thomas Wyatt, Knight, our Ambassador resident with the Emperor.

No. XXI.

By the King.

HENRY REX.

Trusty and right well-beloved we greet you well, and declare unto you that we do take and accept agreeably the great diligence, dexterity and activity, that ye have used to bring the affairs of the traitor Pole that he might depart miscontented from thence; and to have such plain conference with the Emperor, Covos and Grandvela his Counsellors, as ye have had, and in attaining the true knowledge, as appeareth ye have done by the tenor of your letters of the xxiii of this last month; for the same we thank you full heartily and will remember your good service accordingly, willing you, as soon as you can upon the receipt hereof, to get your access and audience of the Emperor. At the first entry whereof with our right affectious commendations, thanking him for the good purpose he is in to keep and observe the treaties and alliances between us entirely, and in every point as a Prince of honour regarding his oath and promise, and to shew all friendship and amity; ye shall shew unto him that we do very thankfully accept him of the refuse he hath made unto the traitor Pole, and his refuse to condescend unto the inique censures and requisitions of the Bishop of Rome lately pronounced unjustly against us and our subjects, and that the miscontentment of our said rebel Pole at his departure is much to our contentment, as whereby we may have a demonstration that the Emperor hath fulfilled in deed the same that his friendly words unto you did report; which, as ye shall declare plainly unto him, be far discrepant from the doings of his officers and subjects in the Low Countries, where of late we have found a marvellous strangeness, our Ambassadors and Mer-

chants also. For upon Ash Wednesday, by a general proclamation made at Antwerp and elsewhere in the Emperor's name, all our ships with the goods therein (as they were ready to return from the market) have been arrested, and for colour, as we understand, ships of other nations have been arrested withall. Sithens for any suit that our Ambassadors could do as yet, our ships with all the merchandises be detained there, under the pretence that the Emperor lacketh mariners for his navy to go against the Turk, as the saying is. There was wyned thereto such sudden strangeness shewed unto our Ambassadors, as whereas the day afore they were much made of, the next day or second beyond man's expectation skant in the Regent's Court any man would speak or make any countenance towards them, nor direct them to shew where they should attend upon the Regent, at whose hand they found marvellous strange countenance and skantiness of words, and, to comprehend, they were never so well entertained as they have at the beginning been in deed. But sithens Lent began, as for a penance, their entertainment hath been marvellous strange; yea, and stranger than we will rehearse: strangeness, in having audience with long delay both at the Queen's hands and other her chief counsellors: strangeness, in answer and fashion. Also, our Ambassadors have been sithens that constrained to pay the excise there, which no Ambassador of England paid in any man's remembrance. They be the first that ever paid it. The taske thereof is xviii d. on every barrel of beer, above the price of the brewer. They have shewed it and complained to the Queen, but nevertheless they must pay it, or lack drink.

Besides this, through all the said Low Countries incontinently rose a bruit among all manner of men, which was published through the High Almayne and other parts, that the Emperor and French King, and other Princes of Christendom, at their exhortation, and by the Bishop of Rome's provocation and procurement, should forthwith have war against us: and that the Emperor's navy was only addressed for that purpose, to invade us suddenly afore any full preparation.

The conjectures written to us from Almayne, Spain, and other parts were, that known it was every where that the Emperor hath broken his intended journey against the infidels, and that therefore that navy must be for another purpose. Not against the Lutherans, for the ships will not serve there: nor also for the custody of Guelders, being the contention before the Princes Electors. Then concluded they, that it was against Denmark, or against us; but for as much as his treaties with Denmark doth last yet for a year and an half, the conclusion remained, that it was against us as a common confederacy to disquiet us and our subjects.

It seemeth to us by all report, there was never a bruit and rumor so suddenly spread, so constantly affirmed, and so spitefully uttered in all peoples mouths, in the most vehemency whereof Monsieur Chappuis, the Emperor's ambassador, without any

ostentation of letters, but only, as he said, the Queen's commandment required in the mean time, (where the most fire and fervor of the said bruit was), leave and licence to depart; and instanced us, and our Council very much. We shewed unto him the said bruits and rumors, and that if he should depart at that time the suspicion and bruit should increase; and that he was the Emperor's ambassador and not the Queen's, by such letters of commission as he brought unto us at his coming hither; and that the custom was never between Princes to revoke their Ambassador's resident without Letters, unless they should send some other in his stead to supply his room after him; and that we thought not meet for the Emperor's service, nor for the expedition of our common affairs, that he should depart hence and no man succeed in his stead. And yet, nevertheless (that we knowing it should be the Emperor's pleasure signified unto us that he should depart) not only we would not detain him, but gave him kindly leave, and liberally rewarded him as appertained.

These rumors and bruits of war against us, the arrestment of our ships, the strangeness shewed unto our ministers there, that navy and army in a readiness for the Emperor, the requisition for the said Chappuis to depart, ran abroad this our realm and almost every where. Whereupon our merchants complained sore unto us, and in such wise, that for their indemnity we have been constrained to arrest the ships of the Emperor's countries, as well of Flanders as of Spain. For, assuredly in Spain our subjects be marvellously in sundry parts of the sea coast evil entreated, arrested, and put to great trouble, molestation, and losses, through the means of certain slanderous preachers subornate thereto by the Bishop of Rome and his adherents, and suffered by the Emperor, but not as we think in any wise by his commandment or consent. Wherefore, after declaration of those things, ye shall require him to shew you his mind plainly and roundly, and that like as we have found the same proceedings in the Low Countries and in the Coasts of Spain, very strange unto us, so he ought not to marvel that we have made the same arrest upon his ships, but consider how much more he would have done if he had been in our case; assuring him, that upon the delivery of our ships, all his shall, without any loss or damage, be likewise delivered. We do not write unto you the rumors half so spiteful, and the entertainment half so strange as it hath been. I think never such a thing was heard of, and specially after treaty of marriage, such a banket, without any manner of cause given unto them.

We have well noted, seen, and perused the answer given unto you in writing, concerning the treaty of straighter amity, and the alliance with the Dutchess of Milan, that they will not proceed thereto without the Bishop of Rome's dispensa-

tion, &c. Ye shall shew unto the Emperor that he may well perceive that we and the Bishop of Rome be at such terms, that there is on neither part such motion to be made. Being that therefore, we look no longer to treat thereupon. We had been glad to increase our amity and alliance with him that way, and should be yet, were it not that age cometh on apace upon us, and that we be daily instanced and importunately called on by all our Nobles not to defer our marriage so long, and that the loss of time in that behalf is irreparable; requiring us, that for more assurance of succession we shall protract the time no longer. Wherefore ye shall require him, sithens we cannot go thorough with him, that he shall not think strange that we shall otherwise provide for us, and seek elsewhere, as we intend to do, that alliance that we could not have with him: and that he may be assured that the amity and alliance for our part shall be no less observed and kept, than the tenor of our treaties doth purport, and that he shall ever find in us correspondence of the old and antient amity.

We purpose, according to the tenor of our Letters sent heretofore unto you, to send shortly thither our trusty and well-beloved servant Richard Tate, to succeed there in your place and stead; and according to your desire, give unto you our favourable leave to return hither. In the mean time we pray you to be as ye have always, vigilant and diligent in seeking knowledge of the dispositions and minds there, as far as ye can; and also of all other occurrents to advertize us with celerity, wherein we shall take your doings in thankful part.

Given under our signet, at our Palace of Westminster, the xth of March, the xxx^th^ of our Reign.

To our trusty and right well-beloved Counsellor, Sir Thomas Wyatt, one of the Gentlemen of our Chamber, and our Ambassador resident with the Emperor.

By Nicholas, the Courier to Toledo.

No. XXII.

By the King.

HENRY REX.

Trusty and right well beloved, we greet you well; and whereas according to our letters we do send at this time our trusty and right well-beloved Counsellor Richard Tate, to succeed our Ambassador in your place there, giving you by these our letters leave and licence to return unto us; and for the same purpose we have written unto our dearest and best beloved Brother, Cousin, and Ally, the Emperor, to permit you so to do. Wherefore we will, that not only ye shall take your leave of him, in the honourable fashion accustomed, but also that afore your departure thence, ye shall communicate and confer with the said Tate the state of our affairs there, and make him accointed with such persons as ye shall think necessary and expedient, giving unto him your best instruction in all points, as we doubt not your gentle disposition will do amply and in the best manner; further, willing and requiring you that all such stuff as ye have of our's, as ye can spare, if the said Tate shall desire to have any part, ye shall by warrant hereof deliver unto him the same, be it plate or other; taking a bill of the delivery and receipt thereof, by an indenture between you both to be made for the same. And also, if ye have any of your own stuff meet for him that ye can spare, we pray you to grant that he may have it of you, upon a reasonable price to be made between you; and, that the same done, ye shall resort to us with such convenient diligence as ye shall think best and most opportune for you to endure; for ye can never so come to us, as we be desirous to see you and hear of you that, whereof ye have written in your letters of the xviiith of the last passed. Wherefore, as ye would do us pleasure, so use your celerity to return to us in post as soon as you can, not doubting of our thankful acceptation and condign thanks for the same.

Given under our Signet at the Manor of Greenwich the xiith of April, the xxxth year of our Reign.

To our trusty and right well-beloved Counsellor, Sir Thomas Wyatt, Knt. our Ambassador resident with the Emperor.

From the King's Majesty, by Mr. Tate, the xiith of April, to Toledo.

No. XXIII.

Instructions given by the King's Highness to his trusty and well-beloved Counsellor Sir Thomas Wyatt, K^t^., whom his Majesty sendeth at this time unto the Parties off beyond the sea, for the purposes ensuing. [*November*, 1539.]

HENRY REX.

The said Sir Thomas Wyatt taking with him all such letters, writings and instructions as be proposed for his dispatch, shall with all convenient speed address himself by post to such place where he shall hear and understand the Emperor and the French King shall meet, and there joining himself in house and company with my Lord Elect of London, his Majesty's Ambassador resident with the French King, and also with Mr. Tate, Ambassador with the Emperor, if he shall also be there present, as it is thought he shall not be so soon come, he shall to the same participate the effect of these instructions; and when they shall have consulted together upon the same, and of all other occurrents, they shall further do as ensueth.

First; they shall bend, and use all their wisdoms and dexterities to ensearch and investigate by all ways and means to them possible, how things do stand, and shall proceed between the Emperor and the French King: how every of them intendeth to employ himself after this interview shall be finished; and by what means the said Princes have been brought at this time together, giving of every branch hereof, as they may of the same attain any knowledge, speedy advertisement to the King's Majesty, to the intent that his Grace having notice of their proceedings and purposes, may the better direct his affairs, as the case shall require; either continuing for the time in house together, or dividing themselves apart, as for this purpose their wisdoms shall think most convenient.

And for as much as the Ambassadors of France, and the Emperor here present, have jointly in the names of, and by the commandments of their Majesties, have intimated the said interview to the King's Highness, shewing much rejoicing that these two great Princes be so conjoined together in amity, as though they conceived that peace should ensue by the same, great quiet, and tranquillity to all Christendom; to the intent the King's Majesty may likewise by his orators there shew his good affection and congratulation in the same thing, his Majesty's pleasure is, that the said Sir Thomas Wyatt and Master Tate (if the said Tate shall be arrived) shall procure audience of the Emperor as soon as they may obtain the same after

the arrival of the said Sir Thomas Wyatt; and after his Highness' most hearty and affectious commendations made on his Grace's behalf to the said Emperor by Sir Thomas Wyatt and Tate (or Sir Thomas Wyatt alone, if Tate should not be come) the same shall declare to the Emperor, how (being that the interview and meeting between him and the French King signified unto him by their Ambassadors here resident with a remembrance of the great good and quiet that by this communication is like to grow to all Christendom, being the said Princes, as they declared, bent to peace and quiet, and intending to keep their leagues and amities firmly with his Highness and all other Princes) his Majesty minding at this time to revoke his Ambassador now attendant upon the Emperor to have the use of his service here, and in his place to plant the said Sir Thomas Wyatt, hath thought convenient that the same at his first access, after his Majesty's most hearty commendations, should for a correspondence of amity and friendship, and a signification on the King's Highness' part that his Grace is much joyful of that their concord and agreement, intimate and declare unto them that his Majesty, considering how acceptable unity, peace, and concord is to Almighty God, and how necessary and commodious the same is to men (and specially to Princes, upon whom as there depend great multitudes of people and countries, so their discord, variance, and disagreement cannot but bring forth immeasurable and monstrous inconveniences, sometime to the great danger of ruin to them who think themselves most potent and strong, and thereby seek quarrel, being the end and victory not in the multitude and potency, but in the hand of God) cannot a little rejoice to see those two Princes, being both his friends, allies and confederates, so happy both towards themselves and toward the public weal of Christendom as they seem to be, and as his Grace trusts they shall in effects shew themselves by this their perfect reconciliations and agreements; whereof the said Sir Thomas Wyatt and Master Tate, (or the said Mr. Wyatt alone, if Tate chance to be absent) shall by all good demonstrations and countenances express and shew themselves also most glad and joyful; deeply impressing and noting the words, manner of speech and countenances of the said Emperor, to the intent they may make the more perfect signification thereof to the King's Majesty as shall appertain. And this being done, the said Mr. Tate, if he be there at the doing of it, or when he shall fortune to come after this first access of the said Master Wyatt, shall take his leave of the said Emperor, and make his return homewards; and the said Sir Thomas Wyatt shall supply his room, and attend upon the said Emperor from place to place as the King's Ambassador, resident about the same accordingly, using all his wisdom and vigilance from time to time to attain and get knowledge of all occurrents, and thereof with diligence to advertise as shall appertain.

The like of which discourse afore mentioned, the said Elect of London, and the aforesaid Sir Thomas Wyatt, shall jointly declare to the French King in as affable and gentle sort as they can, in like manner observing and noting his answer, words, countenance and gesture, and thereof giving advertisement accordingly.

And his Majesty requireth both the said Elect, and the said Sir Thomas Wyatt to use all their wisdoms and dexterities as is aforesaid from time to time to advertise from either part, as the same shall require.

Finally, the King's Majesty's pleasure is, that in case the said Elect shall fortune to be out of the way, when the said Sir Thomas Wyatt shall arrive at the place where the French King shall be, in that case the said Sir Thomas Wyatt shall repair alone to said French King, and supply the parts of both in manner and form before expressed, making thereupon a dispatch to the King's Majesty, declaring the whole process of his doing with said French King, with all convenient diligence.

No. XXIV.

Sir Thomas Wyatt's Memorial of his Letter to the King, upon the Interview had with the Emperor, in company with Sir John Dudley, November 1537.

After the recommendations and the letters delivered and read, the answer that he made in effect was, greatly rejoicing the good news, for the which he thanked heartily God with the King, his good Brother; and that although he would have been glad that the benefit might have been to one of his own blood, yet nevertheless he rejoiced in it as much as if it had been by his Aunt, laying his hand on his breast and swearing on his faith.

Item, that he said he had ever since the King took this wife, hoped for some good thing unto the King, and that he trusted this should be it: whereof by his truth he rejoced as much as he did of this his own that God sent him now last, and prayed God send him good life, long to the great comfort of his father.

Item, that he trusted the conclusion of the things betwixt him and the King should be the better by this.

Item, that like as he rejoiced in this last marriage, so was he as it were cloyed with t'other, and that he never looked for good end thereof.

Item, that when Mr. Dudley (after good and long rejoicing and laughing, which I never saw in him so heartily nor so pleasantly) told him that he had also in charge to have spoken of the peace between the French King and him, but that I had advertised him already of the answer, there I took the word; That I thought the thing so far gone by Velie's means (although I would have wished that his Majesty had trusted the King in it), that the King should be delivered of the travail of a mediation in that, and that now upon this peace I thought more meet to learn of his Majesty what he intended of this Council, that the Bishop of Rome pretendeth, and when and where, and how it should be kept.

Mem. This was but as a spur, for that I knew the peace far enough off.

Item, His answer to this was of these points, the form of the practices of Velie, first of the truce in Flanders by his Sister; then of Cornelius, and his coming thorough France, by whom the French King sent word he would intend to the peace. Like answer by them sent he again, passing into Flanders; upon which Velie came.

Mem. that here he said that he would more frankly open his matter to me than he did the last time, and that he would tell me why.

Item, that Velie would have driven a truce for the rescuing of Turin, under colour of the Great Master to hearken to this truce, which the Emperor would not but intend to the peace whilst Turin were pressed or rescued.

Item, the cause why the Emperor was so dark with me in his last conference of his promise to Velie.

Item, why he promised the Secretaries, because they said unto him that he sought his advantage by advertisements of his friends and allies.

Item, that now he was plain with me, and because the day was past which was the 5th of this month he should return with answer.

Item, the news that Sir John told him of the French army.

Item, the answer thereof.

Item, the returning to the purpose of the Council, the promising to have in that, and in every thing, a vigilant eye that the King shall take no prejudice at his faithful friend.

N. B. here read my letter, sent by Anderson, of conference with Grandvela.

The proroguing thereof till Spring.

Item, that the Venetians have granted Vincenza for the Council.

Item, that the Council, or some other way, should be expedient for to make more strong this league against the Turk with more Princes.

Item, that there we took occasion to say, that I feared me the receiving of the Bishop of Rome might be occasion of excluding of the King, as he knew the pike betwixt.

Item, his answer to that with his chere and his countenance, that he thought he would dream such a way to reconcile all those things, if the King would.

Item, that we replied that though the King would, we thought the error so discovered that the people would never return to the yoke. Yea, and much less the King, and that that mediation should be but vain.

Item, his answer was, that yet if the King have his purpose, what hurt were it, having his purpose to have a friend rather than an enemy.

Item, that he said a sick man may not be cured all at once.

Item, that we replied, we felt as if not sick, but rather of a long sickness now whole. No, quoth he, I mean the King is the physician; I speak unto you but in general, but I will I promise you effectually and faithfully to serve the King my brother's turn to my power.

Item, my request for the particulars.

Item, his answer; Let me alone, I would give order in this enterprize.

Item, how he thought his cousin Mary delivered of a great burthen, and how glad he was that all these clouds were cleared by these goodly news.

Item, the next day our conferences with Grandvela, his hearty expressing his affection toward the King.

Item, our overture of those things that we had passed with the Emperor, where we desired, inasmuch as we found such frankness in the Emperor both in this peace, in this Council, and in this mediation, in which mediation (although we thought it but vain to speak of that) and in the other points to have some particulars and thereof to advertize our Master that he may as well perceive these as general words. This was the substance.

Item, his answer with many affectionate and friendly protestations, repetitions of things afore certified, and earnestly set forth to the shew of his Master's plainness, of his few ceremonies, of his few words, and such things, was in effect that he would upon these things commune with the Emperor, &c.

Item, the next day we report by him of this effect, that first the Emperor protested to not meddle between the Bishop and the King, but to the contentation and to the effect of the King's will, and as of himself, and with as great secretness as he would for his life. In which things ye must remember the points that he spake of, anates, indulgences, exactions, and mediate power; all which thing the Emperor

would attempt, toward the Bishop, to justify with great reason the King's doing, and qualify the things under such sort as the King will; if he will; or else hush'd, and no word. Which thing in no wise to be opened unto the King, unless we thought the King would take it of a very friend; for that the Emperor would not have him mistake no overture that he maketh; and that his intent is to get the King friends rather than to hold him in suspence with discords and jarrs, as other men would; and that the stablishment of things with accord in the King's time should not be the worst, inasmuch as his succession this way might enjoy the things that he had done; where every man is subject to the alteration of time.

Item, how we thought, though this overture be vain, that yet the King, of such high wisdom to take well every friendly notion: and we take all our things so well stablished (and that with the consent of God's word) that we thought little need of the rest.

Item, he replied; what hurt if they might pass with allowing, and capitulation both of the Bishop and other; and that he thought the King, like as he hath not divided himself from the faith of the common Church, so would he not utterly divide himself from the Council and company of Christian Princes.

Item, of these things, a little our reasoning.

Item, in this talk how the Emperor willed him to open unto us, that if he pretended not friendly these matters, for what purpose should he move them; for what purpose should he do that, that he can not do with no man; dissemble with the King. For the first; if he meant not like a friend, it were better for him to do as the Frenchmen do: hold the King their friend with other men's jars, and suspects. To dissemble with *him*, what should he gain by it? For neither seeketh he title nor inheritance of the King; neither is there quarrel nor grudge between them since all clouds, and occasions been taken away; and that the Emperor more now desireth his friendship, than ever he did: and that these things of my Lady Maria, should be more favourable than ever they were.

Hereupon our reasoning for their Ambassador's commission. He shewed us the minute of the commission dated in May.

As touching the Council he answered as they had done before.

Item, he added that the Emperor intended nothing in the Council, but the foundation and the stablishing of the accord of the points of our Faith, against the open heresies; and that though the Pope would debate for his authority, the Emperor would not linger the time about the furnishing of his pleasure.

Item, that the King should believe that the Emperor would not see him take prejudice, where he might prevail.

Item, as for the Peace, by cause that since our speaking with the Emperor Velie's Cousin was comen with news of Velie's coming, the Emperor would that you should tarry to know the particulars which he would participate with the King; how well that he thought he brought but to make fair weather.

Item, that he said the Emperor bade him say what peace, what conclusion so ever were likely to follow the King should be advertised, nor nothing should be done without his knowledge; and that there should not be left room for him to enter if he list, but that he should be chief contrahent in it; with full provision that nothing in it redowned to his prejudice. Upon these points you tarried.

Item, the sending of Chasteau; the excusing of the personage: by the safe conduit; that there was none other, &c.

Item, upon our pressing and spurring how he offered that if he could shew any point wherein the King found himself grieved, that he would make clear the matter unto us, that there should be no scruple in their doings.

Mem. That all this was afore the news of Italy; so that we could not impute it to their evil successes.

Item. In this mean time came Velie, on Wednesday last the [ ] day of October, toward night, and that same night spake to the Emperor. The next day, and the next day they practised together, that is to say, Covos and Grandvela as for the Emperor, and Velie for the French King. So was it Saturday afore we could come to light of any thing.

Mem. Here what conjectures, &c. and what doubts we made: namely, when Velie's cousin and the Spaniards that came last from the camp, were both together dispatched the Saturday in the morning thorough France.

Item. How we were sent for, and with what mind we went to Grandvela.

Mem. The excusing of Grandvela, how he had delayed our audience, to the end ye should not go with half a tale, and be fain to have sent another dispatch within a day for the rest.

Item. His declaring of this practising for the truce, and the conclusion thereof, that is to say, for three months surceasing of arms, to be published in both the camps, from the xxviith of this month of November: with which both those couriers were dispatched, with letters open.

Item, the power that Velie brought for the same, to treat for two months or more, as they should accord, largely.

Item, the foundation of this treating declared upon the requests of the Bishop of Rome, the King, and other Princes of Christendom.

Item, that in this treaty is accorded that Covos and Grandvela, on the Em-

peror's part, shall be at Perpignan, the xviith of the next month; and at the same time the Great Master and the Cardinal of Lorrain, at Narbona.

Item, the Emperor to be at Barcelona within the month of December, and the French King at Montpellier likewise.

Item, that there should comen the Embassadors as well the Nuntio, as the Kings and other Princes confederates, to solicit their Master's indemnity.

Item, that the King should advertize, and be advertised, and provided for as if he were the King of Romans, and that when any thing should come to purpose, the King's Embassadors should have it communicated with him, and that the King should send power for him in that behalf.

No. XXV.

The Letter from Henry the VIIIth to the Emperor Charles the Vth, alluded to in the Appendix, No. XX.

Très haut, très excellent, et très puissant Prince, notre très cher et très aimé frère, cousin, et perpetual allié, tant affecteusement et de si bon cœur que faire pouvons, à vous nous recommandons. Ayant puisnagueres en credible advertisement que le Cardinal Pole, a pris son chemin pour aller vers vous, la cause pourquoi est, ainsi qu'entendons, pour nul bien, mais pour semer discorde et dissention, en amitié et concorde. Est sa nature, ainsi qu'avons eprouvé, si très ingrate qu'il n'en pourroit sortir aucun bien; en pleurant larmes de crocodile, il épandira s'il peut le venin de sa nature viperine. Non seulement nous vous avons par ces presentes voulu vous signifier qu'il nous est très ingrat, rebelle, et traître; et que depuis qu'il a reçu le chapeau rouge, et devant, il a avec plusieurs autres traîtres de son alliance conspiré la destruction de notre personne, de Prince Edward notre fils, et de Dame Maria, et Dame Elizabeth nos filles, comme de ça il a eté par les loix de notre Royaume indicté et trouvé coupable, mais aussi par celles, nos lettres nous prions et requirons que, vu que pour certain il nous est ingrat, rebelle, et traître, vous ne lui faites ni montrer aucune faveur, support, ni confort; ains que comme personne à tous Princes contageuse, selon que l'ancienne amitié et alliances d'entre nous, et les traitées de Paix le requirent, vous le lui veuillez

refuser; ains, l'envoyer et banir hors de vos dominions, et autrement traiter comme notre traître, accordant auxquelles traitées, et comme vous voudriez au pareil cas nous fissions pour vous. Nous avons donné charge à notre féal et très aimé Conseiller Sir Thomas Wyatt notre Ambassadeur chez vous resident, de vous signifier et declarer ce que dessus, vous prier, et requérir de ainsi le faire, et, si ainsi le requirez, de vous declarer son ingratitude, et les conspirations que contre notre personne, et enfans il avoit practiqué avec ses complices. Il vous plaira de considerer, et montrer par effet, mutuelle correspondence de bonne affection, de vraie amitié, vers nous, ainsi que espérons vous le voudriez faire, qu'il nous sera très acceptable plaisir d'entendre. Lequel et autres en tout ce que sçaurons vous faire plaisir, gratitude, et honneur nous employerons à reconnoître de très bon cœur; comme connoit notre béni Createur qui vous ait, très haut, très excellent, et très puissant Prince, notre très cher et très aimé frere, cousin, et perpetual allié, en sa très saine, et très digne garde. Ecrite à notre Palais de Westminster le xiii de Febrier L'an de notre Seigneur M. D. XXXviii. et de notre Regne le xxxme.

No. XXVI.

14 *June*, 32 *Henry VIII.*

Deed of Exchange between the King and Sir Thomas Wyatt.

Sir Thomas conveyed to the King,

Kent.	Bayneshurst	The manor.
Kent.	Chalke	All his lands, &c. there.
Kent.	Denton.....	All his lands, &c. there.
Kent.	Danomt	
Kent.	Higham	All his lands, &c. there.
Kent.	Melton.....	The manor and advowson, with the appurtenances, except certain premises there.
Kent.	Maidston.....	The profits of a fair, and sundry premises there.
Kent.	Okington.....	The manor.
Kent.	Pole	The manor, with its appurtenances.

Kent.	Rundell	The manor.
Kent.	Shales-Court	The manor, with its appurtenances.
Kent.	Shame	All his lands, &c. there.
Kent.	Southfleet	
Kent.	Stone	
Kent.	Swaynescombe	
Kent.	Timberwood	The manor, with its appurtenances.

In consideration whereof the King granted to Sir Thomas Wyatt,

Kent.	Aylesford.....	Premises called Thome, and Thomland's parcel of the monastery of Malling; rent to the Crown 9*s.*
Kent.	Boxley.....	The manor and lordship, and the scite of the monastery; rent to the Crown £11 14*s.* 0½*d.*
Kent.	Bilsington	Three marshes, eight acres of woodland, and the tythes, parcel of Boxley monastery; rent for the same, and lands in Middle, 7*s.* 6*d.*
Surry.	Camberwell.....	The glebe and chauntry lands, sundry premises, and a fee farm rent, parcel of the monastery of St. Mary Overy; rent to the Crown 4*s.*
Kent.	Chart-Great	The advowson, parcel of the priory of Christ Church, Canterbury.
Kent.	Higham.....	A water mill, and a meadow called Middingham, parcel of Boxley monastery.
Kent.	Hoo	The lordship and tithe; rent to the Crown 48*s.* 2*d.*
Kent.	Twade.....	Swans-down pasture and other lands; rent to the Crown 4*s.*
Surry.	Lambeth	Sundry premises, and a fee farm rent, parcel of the monastery of St. Mary Overy.
City.	London	The scite of the priory of the Cross Fryers, and a yearly payment of 5*s.* out of a house adjoining to the priory; rent to the Crown 10*s.*

Kent.	Middle.....	Sundry premises, with the tithe rent to the Crown for the same, with lands in Bilsington, 7*s.* 6*d.*
Surry.	Milkwell	The manor, parcel of the monastery of St. Mary Overy; rent to the Crown 10*s.* 9*d.*
Kent.	Newneham	The lordship, with its appurtenances; rent to the Crown 20*s.*
Kent.	Newington	Clayhill marsh, parcel of the monastery of Grace, near the Tower of London; rent to the Crown 4*s.*
Kent.	Windhull	The manor, parcel of the monastery of Reading, with all lands, &c. in Stoke and Halstow, appurtenances to the said manor; rent to the Crown £3. 8*s.*

No. XXVII.

20 *November*, 33 *Henry VIII.*

Deed of Exchange between the King and Sir Thomas Wyatt.

Sir Thomas conveyed to the King,

Middlesex.	St. Andrew, Holbourn.	Sundry premises.
Kent.	Blackmanston.....	The manor, and all his estates there.
	Bilsington	
	Bapthill.....	All his estates there.
	Borden	
	Bobbing	
	Bredgare.....	All his estates there, late Ralph Fane's.
	Bukenore	
Kent.	Cheatham	All his estates there.
Kent.	Dunstale	All his estates there.
Kent.	Frogenhale	The manor, &c.
Kent.	Gillingham.....	All his estates there.

Kent.	Ivechurch	All his estates there.
Kent.	Keryalls	The manor, &c.
Kent.	Lyme	All his estates there.
Kent.	Lynsted	
Kent.	St. Mary Church	All his estates there.
Kent.	Newchurch	All his estates there.
Kent.	Otterpool	The manor.
Kent.	Ostinhanger	All his estates there.
Kent.	Ospringe	
Kent.	Raynham	All his estates.
Kent.	Shave	The manor, and all his estates there.
Kent.	Selling	All his estates there.
Kent.	Sittingborne	All his estates there.
Kent.	Swanton Court	The manor, late Ralph Fane's.
Kent.	Twydale	The manor, &c.
Kent.	Tenham	All his estates there.
Kent.	Tonge	
Kent.	Wittresham	Sundry premises.
Kent.	Warehorne	The manor, and all his estates there.
Kent.	Wormsele	All his estates there, late Ralph Fane's.

In consideration whereof the King granted to Sir Thomas Wyatt,

Kent.	Aylesford	The scite of the priory, and sundry premises; rent to the Crown 10*s.* 3*d.*
Somerset.	Barcary	All estates there, parcel of Montague priory.
Somerset.	Crech-Which	The manor, and all estates there, parcel of Montague priory; rent to the Crown £17. 7*s.* 1*d.*
Dorset.	Crafford	All estates there, parcel of the monastery of Tarrant.
Kent.	Cromebrooke	A messuage, parcel of the estate of Thomas Cromwell, late Earl of Essex, attainted.
Somerset.	Henton	Sundry premises, parcel of the priory of Henton.
Somerset.	Higham	The advowson, parcel of Glastonbury abby.

Somerset.	Montague	The scite of the priory, the manor, borough, and sundry premises; rent to the Crown £12 15s. 3d.
Somerset.	Montague Borough ... Montague Forensecus..	The manor.
Kent.	Maytham.....	The manor, parcel of the estate of Sir Nicholas Carew, attainted.
Somerset.	Norton.....	Sundry premises of Henton priory.
Somerset.	Oysterhampton	All estates there, parcel of Montague priory.
Somerset.	Odcombe.....	The advowson, parcel of Montague priory.
Somerset.	Tittenhule	The manor, and all estates there, parcel of Montague priory; rent to the Crown £15 4s. 2d.
Dorset.	Tarrant	The scite of the monastery, and demesne lands; rent to the Crown 42s. 7d.
Dorset.	Tarrant, Kingston	The manor, advowson, and all estates there, parcel of the monastery of Tarrant; rent to the Crown £8.

No. XXVIII.

A DITTY, NAMED BLAME NOT MY LUTE,

Which under that title toucheth, replieth, and rebuketh the wicked state and enormities of most people in these present miserable days.

Blame not my Lute though it do sound
The rebuke of your wicked sin;
But rather seek as ye are bound,
To know what case that ye are in;
And though this song do some confute,
And sharply wickedness rebuke,
Blame not my Lute!

My Lute and I sith truth we tell,
Meaning no good man to offend;
Methink of right none should refel
The godliness that we intend;
But much rather if they have grace
They will our good counsel embrace:
Then blame not my Lute.

Although my Lute with sentence plain
Rebuke all such as feign and gloze
With flatterers and liars vain
That truth to falsehood can transpose;
Yea! though we sharply speak and sing
Against false and crafty winning,
Blame not my Lute.

And if my Lute sound in your ear
The privy hate and mock of love;
And how ye should slander forbear
Sith God's word doth ill tongues reprove;
Though as St James we do express
The same, a world of wickedness,
Blame not my Lute.

Though my Lute do express and shew
That prayer and holy fasting,
Is turned now with high and low,
To unclean talk and banqueting;
Although we say that chastity
Be gone, and in place lechery,
Blame not my lute.

Though with their own few be content
Chastely to live with one good make;
But rather the most part be bent,
Their constant vow for to forsake;

Though some in Sodom rather bide
Than honest marriage to provide,
Blame not my Lute.

If my Lute blame the covetise,
The gluttons, and the drunkards vile;
The proud disdain of worldly wise,
And how falsehood doth truth exile;
Though vice and sin be now in place
Instead of virtue and of grace,
Blame not my Lute.

Though wrong in justice place be set
Committing great iniquity;
Though hypocrites be counted great
That maintain still idolatry;
Though some set more by things of nought,
Than by the Lord that all hath wrought,
Blame not my Lute.

Although each man find fault with other,
And no man will himself accuse;
But each man blameth his brother,
Though he himself as great fault use;
Though we see none their own fault find,
Nor call repentance unto mind,
Blame not my Lute.

Though my Lute say that such as preach
And should men lead in ways direct,
Do live amiss, though truth they teach,
Which causeth truth to be suspect;
Though my Lute say such cause offence,
Through their great sloth and negligence,
Blame not my Lute.

Though some God's word do still despise
For beggarly traditions,
Advancing highly feigned lies
Of men's imaginations;
Although my Lute do such accuse
As by errors God's word abuse,
Blame not my Lute.

Although we see the clergy slack,
Wrong ways by right for to redress;
Though some do go rather back
Than proceed forth in righteousness;
Although we say that avarice
Doth stop the mouth, and choke the wise,
Blame not my Lute.

Though offenders be borne withal,
Although the wolves in corners lurk,
That have and will the lambs make thrall,
And daily do their false feats work;
Though whispering treason in the ear
Burst out sometime without all fear,
Blame not my Lute.

Though some also abuse the Lute
With sinful songs of letchery;
Though some go forth as beastès brute,
In false treason and treachery;
Though at each sermon we may see
God's holy word scorned to be,
Blame not my Lute.

Blame not my Lute I you require,
But blame the cause that we thus play;
For burning heat blame not the fire,
But him that blow'th the coal alway;

Blame ye the cause, blame ye not us;
That we men's faults have touched thus
Blame not my Lute.

Blame not my Lute, nor blame not me,
Although it sound against your sin;
But rather seek for to be free
From such abuse as ye are in;
Although we warn you to repent,
Which grant you God omnipotent.
Blame not my Lute.

The Court of Virtue, containing many holy or spiritual Songs, Sonnets, Psalms, Ballads, and short Sentences, as well of holy Scripture as others, with musical Notes. By J(ohn) H(all.) Printed by Thomas Marsh, 1565. fol. 74. ii.

No. XXIX.

A SONG OF THE LUTE

In the praise of God, and dispraise of Idolatry.

My Lute, awake! and praise the Lord;
My heart and hands thereto accord,
Agreeing, as we have begun
To sing out of God's holy word,
And so proceed till we have done.

Praise we the Lord in this our song,
And sing it Christian men among
That in a godly race do run;
The which, altho' it be not long
Shall be right good, or it be done.

This pleasant song shall not sung be
To the goddess of letchery,
Nor to nothing under the sun,
But praising of the Almighty,
My Lute and I, till we have done.

This teacheth us David the King,
With harp and lute give God praising
All men that in this world do wonne;
To God therefore give praise, and sing
As my Lute and I have begun.

This Lord first made all things of nought;
And when against his law we wrought,
From Heaven he sent down his Son,
Which with his Gospel us all taught,
After the which we have not done.

Although in man were nothing good,
Him to redeem Christ shed his blood;
With thorns the Jews our Lord did crown:
He suffered death upon the rood,
Lo! thus our saving health was done.

On this therefore we fix our faith
That Jesus Christ, as Scripture saith,
Is only our salvation,
Upon this rock whoso him stayeth,
Thus saith the Lord; "it is well done."

But one thing sore my heart doth grieve,
That hypocrites made us believe
In idols both of wood and stone;
From Christ our rock they did us drive,
Woe be to them! what have they done?

Which canker still within their hearts
Doth yet remain, and few converts;
For at God's word they fret and frown,
Therefore, my Lute, it is our parts
Them to rebuke, as we have done.

God sent his Word unto this end
That we our sinful lives should mend,
And yet repenteth few or none,
My Lute, therefore, let us intend
To say the truth till we have done.

If in our song we should recite
How each estate doth not upright,
Which will be their confusion
Which know the truth, and do not right,
My Lute! when should our song be done?

But to be short, my heart's intent
Is to praise God omnipotent,
Who of our health the thread hath spun,
And hath his Word to us now sent,
To mend our lives till we have done.

Man's soul to save, Christ died therefore,
Who of us men doth ask no more
But this lesson to learn and con,
With love to keep his holy lore,
In which all perfect works are done.

Lord, grant us to thy word to cleave,
That no man other to deceive,
And in that zeal that I begun
Lauding our Lord God here I leave.
Be still, my Lute! my song is done.

The Court of Virtue, fol. 76. ii. 1565.

END OF THE APPENDIX.

NOTES,

&c.

NOTES TO WYATT'S POEMS.

SONNET I.

The long love that in my thought doth harbour. page 1.

This sonnet is here printed from the Harington MS. N° I. p. 3. It also occurs in N° II. fol. 63. It is a translation from Petrarch.

Amor, che nel pensier mio vive, e regna,
E 'l suo seggio maggior nel mio cor tene,
Talor' armato ne'la fronta vene;
Ivi si loca, ed ivi pon sua insegna.
Quella ch' amare, e sofferir ne 'nsegna,
E vol che 'l gran desio, l' accessa spene
Ragion, vergogna, e reverenza affrene,
Di nostro ardir fra sè stesa si sdegna.
Onde Amor paventoso fugge al core
Lassando ogni sua impresa, e piagne, e trema;
Ivi s' asconde, e non appar più fore.
Che poss' io far, temendo il mio signore,
Se non star seco infin' all' ora estrema?
Che bel fin fa, chi ben' amando more. *Son.* 109.

Wyatt's translation exhibits all the peculiarities of his first style. The lines must be read rhythmically, with a regular cæsura in the middle; and a strong accent is to be thrown on the last syllable, without which the rhyme itself cannot in many instances be preserved. The verses are very unequal in length: some have eleven, others only nine syllables. It is a piece of little merit, and is much inferior to Surrey's translation of the same sonnet. See Vol. I. p. 16. and Notes, p. 274.

Line 4.—*And therein campeth, &c.*] In Tottel's Songs and Sonnets the line is read thus,

And there campeth displaying his banner.

I conceive this to have been a licentious alteration made by the publisher to reduce the line to a regular Iambic decasyllable: a licence which he has taken in many other passages. The line as it stands written by Wyatt is rhythmical, and is easily reduced to harmony by the Cæsura, and making the first syllable of the second hemistich of the value of two.

And therein campeth ‖ spread|ing his bannèr.

Line 9.—*Unto the hearts forest he fleèth.*] This circumstance, of which I do not see the propriety or elegance, is an addition of Wyatt's. Petrarch says simply "fugge al core."

SONNET II.

Was I never yet of your love grieved. page 2.

From the Harington M.S. N° I. p. 17. It occurs also in the MS. N° II. fol. 63. It is a translation from Petrarch:

Io non fu' d' amar voi lassato unquanco.
Madonna, nè sarò, mentre ch' io viva:
Ma d' odiar me medesmo giunto a riva
E del continuo lagrimar son stanco.
E voglio anzi un sepolcro bello e bianco,
Che 'l vostro nome a mio danno si scriva
In alcun marmo, ove di spirto priva
Sia la mia carne, che può star seco anco.
Però, s' un cor pien d' amorosa fede
Può contentarvi senza farne strazio
Piacciavi omai di questo aver mercede:
Se 'n altro modo cerca d' esser sazio
Vostro sdegno, erra; e non fia quel che crede;
Di che Amor', e me stesso assai ringrazio.
Son. 61.

Wyatt, in the second quattrain and the last line, departs a little from his original.

Line 8.—*From th' unhappy bones.*] The word "*bones*," is here used as in several passages of Surrey's poems for limbs generally, in the same sense in which the Latins used the word "*artus*—dum spiritus hos regit artus." See Surrey's poems.

A new blood then o'er-spreads my bones. *p. 64. l. 19.*

Line 10.—*May content you, &c.*] This is altered arbitrarily by the editor of Tottel's Songs and Sonnets, thus,

Content your mind without-en doing grief. *p. 52.*

but there was no necessity for the alteration. The line read with a double breathing on the first syllable is perfectly in measure,

May ‖ content you without doing grief.

See *Surrey's Poems, p.* 47. and, *Dissertation, p. cclx.*

SONNET III.

There was never file half so well filed. page 2.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 24. It occurs also in the Harington MS. N° II. fol. 62. and again at page 65. The copy at fol. 65 agrees exactly with that of MS. N° I. the copy at fol. 62 agrees without any variation with Tottel's edition. This coincidence strengthens the conjecture advanced in the preface to the late edition of Tottel's Songs and Sonnets; that the Harington MS. altered by the editor to reduce as much as possible the lines to the Iambic measurement of five equal feet, supplied the text for Tottel's publication.

SONNET IV.

The lively sparks that issue from those eyes. page 3.

Harington MS. N° I. p. 58. It occurs also in the Harington MS. N° II. fol. 67. The first line is borrowed from Petrarch,

Vive faville uscian de' duo bei lumi. *Son.* 220.

Line 10.—*Erring here and there.* Tottel's edition reads,

Blind with the stroke, and crying here and there.

which affords no sense whatever. *p.* 53.

Line 11.—*I n'ot when, &c.*] Selden proposes to read, "I wot when ne where." The emendation is not necessary: "n'ot" for "ne wot" was a very common contraction formerly. Wyatt uses it again at the last line of the next sonnet. See Chaucer, Cant. Tales, *l.* 286. *l.* 3668. and *l.* 10656. In like manner, "n'is" frequently occurs for "ne is;" "n'olde" for "ne wolde;" "n'ath" for "ne hath."

Line 14.—*Of deadly "nay" hear I, &c.*] Tottel's edition reads

Of deadly noise hear I the fearful thunder. *p.* 53.

The meaning of the whole passage requires that the line should be printed as given in the text.

SONNET V.

Such vain thought as wonted to mislead me. page 4.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 69 It occurs also in the MS. N° II. at fol. 67. The sonnet is borrowed from Petrarch.

Pien d' un vago pensier che mi desvia.
Da tutti gli altri, e fammi al mondo ir solo,
Ad or' ad or' a me stesso m' involvo
Pur lei cercando, che fuggir devria,
E veggiola passar sì dolce e ria
Che l'alma trema per levarsi a volo;
Tal d'armati sospir conduce un stuolo
Questa bella d' Amor nemica, e mia.
Ben, s'io non erro di pietate un raggio
Scorgo fra 'l nubiloso altero ciglio;
Che 'n parte rasserena il cor doglioso.
Allor raccolgo l' alma; e poi ch' i' aggio
Di scovrirle il mio mal preso consiglio,
Tanto le ho a dir che incominciar non oso.
Son. 136.

Line 12.—*And there withal bolded, &c.*] To bold, to embolden, like to dark, to mercy, to new, was one of those verbs which were formerly much used, though they are now of rare occurrence. *See Notes on Surrey's Poems, p.* 278.

Line 14.—*I not how to begin.*] "I know not how to begin." See note to *l.* 11. of the preceding sonnet. "*Not,*" is I believe universally admitted to be a contraction of "*ne wot:* to wote, or wite, as the word was indifferently used, signifying to understand. It might almost seem, however, that the original word was *ot,* at least it occurs sometimes so spelt in passages where it does not appear that any contraction could have been intended. Thus in a song written in the 13th century,

Hit is mony day go that he was here
Ich ot of his ernde he n'ath nout y-sped.

See Ritson's Antient Songs, p. 36: and again, p. 37,

This mon hereth me nout, thah ich to him cry
Ich ot the cherl be def; the d'el him to draw.

"N'ot" certainly would be a more obvious contraction of ne' ot than of "ne wot," as "n'is" of "ne is."

SONNET VI.

Unstable dream! according to the place. page 4.

Harington MS. N° I. p. 107. It occurs in the MS. N° II. fol. 67.

Line 6.—*Tossing mew.*] A mew was, strictly speaking I believe, a place for keeping hawks: whence it was applied to any place where animals generally were kept. Here it must be taken to mean the bed, as a place of retirement. Wyatt calls it a "tossing mew," because he found it a place of restlessness. It was this uncommon use of the word, probably, that led Tottel to adopt the reading of the passage given in his Songs and Sonnets, though that evidently could not be the proper reading, for the second and third lines of the second quattrain ought to rhyme with the second and third lines of the first. The lines stands in Tottel's edition thus,

By good respect in such a dangerous case
Thou broughtest her not into *these tossing seas.*
But madest my sprite *to live my care to' increase*
My body in tempest her delight *to' embrace.*
p. 54.

It ought to be observed that Chaucer uses the word in the Squire's Tale in a sense that seems to imply cage, or place to rest in:

And by her beddès head she made a mew,
And covered it with velouèttès new. *l.* 10957.

"To hide in mew," meant generally to keep a thing secret. *Troil. and Cress. B. I. l.* 382.

SONNET VII.

You that in love find luck and abundance. page 5.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 126. It occurs in MS. N° II. fol. 67. I am not aware of its being a translation. On the contrary it seems to have been written by Wyatt, on some particular occasion, when an unfortunate attachment has brought him within peril of his life. It has been referred to, as having relation to Wyatt's romantic attachment to Anne Boleyn. See Wyatt's Memoirs, p. xviii; and, p. xxiv. note [2].

Line 4.—*Do May some observance.*] This seems to have been a sort of stated form of expression. It occurs frequently in Chaucer. Troil. and Cress. B. II. l. 110.

> *Do way* your book! rise up and let us dance!
> And let us *doon to May some observance.*

See also Cant. T. *l.* 1047. and *l.* 1502. Turberville had an eye to this passage of Wyatt,

> You that in May have bath'd in bliss,
> And found a salve to ease your sore;
> Do May observance, reason is
> That May should honour'd be therefore.
> *p.* 634. *Ed.* 1810.

Line 8.—*As one whom, &c.*] From Chaucer:

> ——— He may go on the dance
> Of them, whom love list feebly to advance.
> *T. and C. B. I. l.* 518.

Line 9.—*Sephane said true.*] All the printed copies read Stephan. Who the person alluded to was I have not been able to discover. He probably was a celebrated astrologer in those days. We have seen that Surrey was a believer in judicial astrology. Vol. I. Memoirs, p. xxx. and note [b]. and Mem. of Earl of Northampton, Vol. II. p. 428. The same folly may be pardoned in Wyatt.

Line 18.—*In May my wealth, &c.*] It ought to be remembered that Anne Boleyn was disgraced on May day 1536; that she was tried the twelfth, and executed the nineteenth of the same month; and that during the whole of that time, inquiries were going forward to see who might be implicated in her supposed guilt.

SONNET VIII.

If waker care, if sudden pale colour, page 6.

From the Harington M.S. N° I. p. 130. It occurs also in the MS. N° II. fo. 68. Puttenham quotes this Sonnet with commendation. *Art. of Eng. Poet. p.* 147; but is mistaken in calling it a translation from a sonnet of Petrarch. The first six lines only are imitated from him. They are taken from the following lines in Petrarch's 188th Sonnet.

> S'una fede amorosa, un cor non finto
> Un languir dolce, un desiar cortese
> . . . . . .
> Se nella fronte ogni pensier dipinto
> Od in voci interrotte appena intese;
> Or da paura, or da vergogna offese
> S'un pallor di viola, e d' amor tinto
> . . . . . .
> Son le cagion ch' amando i' mi distempre
> Vostro, Donna, l' peccato, e mio fia 'l danno.

Turberville has imitated this sonnet of Wyatt's in a little ballad, which begins

> If banished sleep, and watchful care. *p.* 101. *ut sup.*

It seems also to have been evidently imitated by Daniel in his ninth Sonnet.

> If this belove, to draw a weary breath.
> *Works, Vol. II. p.* 398.

Line 1.—*If waker care.*] "*Waker,*" for wakeful is of frequent occurrence. See Chaucer. Urry's ed. p. 416. v. 358. and Surrey's Poems, *p.* 76, *l.* 19.

Line 8.—*In such a roar.*] Chaucer *Troil. and Cress, B. V. l.* 45. "Why n'ile I bring all Troy upon a roar." Who Brunet and Phyllis were we have no means of ascertaining They were real persons, and persons of consequence. The line stood originally thus "Her that did set our country in a roar." The alteration which is in Wyatt's own hand was made probably that the person intended might not appear too clearly designated. Compare this with the Sonnet immediately foregoing, and with that at p. 147, which begins "Whoso list to hunt."

SONNET IX.

Cæsar when that the traitor of Egypt. page 6.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 2. It occurs also in the Nugæ Antiquæ Vol. I. p. 197. It is translated from Petrarch

> Cesare, poi che 'l traditor d' Egitto
> Li fece il don dell' onorata testa,
> Celando l' allegrezza manifesta
> Pianse per gle occhi fuor, siccome è scritto.
> Ed Annibál, quand all' imperio afflitto
> Vide farsi Fortuna sì molesta
> Rise fra gente lagrimosa e mesta
> Per isfogare il suo acerbo despitto.
> E così avven, che l' animo ciascuna
> Sua passion sotto 'l contrario manto
> Ricopre con la vista or chiara, or bruna.
> Però, s'alcuna volta i' rido, o canto,
> Fácciol perch' i' non ho se non quest' una
> Via da celare il mio angoscioso pianto. *Son.* 81.

Line 5.—*Fortune him shytt.*] See Tooke's *Diversions, &c. Vol. II. p.* 130. It is probable that Wyatt meant the word Egypt in the first line to be pronounced Egitt: from the Italian "Egitto," as it otherwise could not well rhyme with *writ, quit,* &c.

SONNET X.

Each man tells me I change of my device. page 7.

This occurs in both the Harington MS. N° I. p. 18. and N° II. fol. 63. It occurs also in the Duke of Devonshire's MS. from which it is here printed.

SONNET XI.

Some fowls there be that have so perfect sight. page 7.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 32; it occurs

also in the MS. N° II. fol. 66. It is a translation from Petrarch. *Son.* 12.

Son animali al mondo di sì altera
Vista, ch' incontr' al Sol pur si difende :
Altri, però che 'l gran lume gli offende,
Non escon fuor, se non verso la sera ;
Ed altri con desio folle, che spera
Gioir forse nel foco, perchè splende
Provan l' altra virtù, quella che 'ncende.
Lasso ! il mio loco è 'n questa ultima schiera.
Ch' io non son forte ad aspettar la luce
Di questa Donna ; e non so fare schermi
Di luoghi tenebrosi, o d' ore tarde
Però, con gli occhi lagrimosi, e 'nfermi
Mio destino a vederla mi conduce
E so ben ch' io vo dietro a quel che m' arde.

Puttenham speaks of it as being well done in Wyatt's fashion : and then subjoins a translation of the same sonnet by himself.

The reader may not be displeased to compare the two translations.

There be some fowls of sight so proud and stark
As can behold the sun, and never shrink ;
Some so feeble as they are fain to wink,
Or never come abroad 'till it be dark.
Others there be so simple, as they think,
Because it shines to sport them in the fire,
And feel unware the wrong of their desire,
Flutt'ring amidst the flame that doth them burn.
Of this last rank alas ! am I a right,
For in my ladies looks to stand or turn,
I have no power, ne find place to retire
Where any dark may shade me from her sight,
But to her beams so bright whilst I aspire,
I perish by the bane of my delight.
Art of Eng. Poetry, Book 3. Ch. 20. p. 202.

Line 4.—*Do never 'pear.*] *'Pear* for *appear*. This licence was common formerly. We meet with *'preach* for *approach* ; *'leve* for *believe* ; *longeth* for *belongeth*, and many others.

Line 12.—*My teary ey'n.*] So Chaucer ;

———she gan for sorrow anon
Her *teary* face atwixt her armes hide.
T. & Cr. B. IV. l. 820.

Line 14.—*Run into the glead.*] Gleed, spelt equally gleid, gleed, and glede, means in the first instance burning coals, or embers, as in the following passage from Chaucer.

He sent her pinnès mead, and spiced all,
And wafers piping hot out of the glede.
Cant. Tales. l. 3378.

On the first line I would remark, that I apprehend we ought to read, instead of "*pinnès*," "*piment.*" Piment, or clarrè, is wine mixed with spices and honey. Pins, indeed, among which bodkins would be naturally reckoned, formed an important article of female dress, and a proper present from a lover to his mistress ; but they would hardly be mentioned mixed with mead and spiced ale. The word "glead," in a second scene, was used for fire generally, or sparks of fire. So Turberville,

And when you see the pellet pierce the skies,
And powder make a proof of *hidden gleed. p.* 602.

So in Wallace.

Alas ! she said, ni world that I was wrought,
If all this pain on my-self might be brought,
I have served to be burn in the *gleid. B. IV. l.* 751.

SONNET XII.

Because I have thee still kept for lies and blame. p. 8.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 33. it occurs in the MS. N° II. fol. 66. It is translated from Petrarch. Turberville has imitated Wyatt's Sonnet 41. in a piece too much dilated indeed, but not devoid of merit. See his *Poems. fol.* 631. *ed.* 1810.

Line 12.—*To make me shright.*] I know of no other passage in which the word *shright* occurs used as in this. It is often to be met with as a participle, and in the third person of the past tense. See *Sackville's Induct. fol.* 208. Chaucer's *Cant. Tales, l.* 10731 : and again *l.* 15368. We meet with it also as a substantive, for shriek. See *Spenser's F. Q. B. VI. Ca. IV. St.* 2. The original is "darmi angoscia e pena." This seems to require that we should understand the passage, "so ready to occasion one pain." The parallel passage in Turberville's imitation affords us no assistance.

My sighs, that erst were wont to dim the sky,
And cause a fume by force of flame to fly,
Were then as slack, as wells of weeping dry,
To shew my love.

SONNET XIII.

I find no peace, and all my war is done. page 9.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 34. It occurs also in the Nugæ Antiquæ, Vol. I. p. 169. It is translated from Petrarch.

Pace non trovo, e non ho da far guerra
E temo, e spero, ed ardo, e son un ghiaccio ;
E volo sopra 'l cielo, e giaccio in terra ;
E nulla stringo, e tutto 'l mondo abbraccio
Tal m' ha in prigion che non m' apre ne serra ;
Nè per suo mi riten, nè scioglie il laccio ;
E non m' ancide Amor, e non mi sferra ;
Nè mi vuol vivo, nè mi trae d' impaccio.
Veggio senz' occhi, e non ho lingua, e grido ;
E bramo di perir, e chieggio aita
Ed ho in odio me stesso, ed amo altrui :
Pascomi di dolor ; piangendo rido,
Egualmente mi spiace morte e vita ;
In questo stato son, Donna, per vui. *Son.* 104.

Puttenham quotes the first two lines of Wyatt's Sonnet as affording a good specimen of the Iambic verse, though consisting wholly of monosyllables. *Art. of Eng. Poet. p.* 102.

Line 1.—*I find no peace, &c.*] Though the thought in this line cannot be commended, it was one which found many admirers, if we may judge from the number of its imitators. I will point out a few. See Gascoigne's Passion of a Lover. *Ed.* 1810. p 482. Drayton. *Sonnet laii.* and *Paradise of Dainty Devices. No 75. signed R. H. Ed.* 1810. Instances, if it were necessary, might easily be muliplied.

Line 18.—*It giveth me occasion.*] In the Nugæ Antiquæ we read the line thus: "And yet of death it giveth none occasion." The original words "e non m' ancide amor," prove that to be the genuine reading.

SONNET XIV.

My galley charged with forgetfulness. page 9.

From the Harington MS. No I. page 36 It occurs in the MS. No II. fol. 66 It is a translation from Petrarch.

Passa la nave mia colma d'obblio
Per aspro mar' a mezza notte il verno,
Infra Scilla e Caridde, ed al governo
Siede 'l Signor, anzi 'l nemico mio.
A ciascun remo un pensier pronto e rio,
Che la tempesta, e 'l fin par ch' abbi 'a scherno.
La vela rompe un vento umido eterno
Di sospir, di speranze, e di desio.
Pioggia de lagrimar, nebbia di sdegni
Bagna, e rallenta le già stanche sarte;
Che son d' error con ignoranza attorto.
Celansi i duo miei dolci usati segni;
Morta fra l' onde è la ragion', e l'arte,
Tal, ch' incommincio a disperar del porto.
Sod. 156.

If we attend to the thought only in this Sonnet, we shall with propriety condemn it as bearing no character of real feeling, though we may allow it to be ingenious and well expressed. There is, however, no sonnet perhaps, in all Petrarch, that has been more generally admired by the Italians, or more frequently imitated. Perhaps there is not a single Italian poet of any note, in whom some imitation of it may not be found. The thought, when introduced by Wyatt into England, found frequent imitators among us. See *Southwel's St. Peter's Tears. Ed.* 1595.

Launch forth, my soul, into a main of tears
Full fraught with grief, the trafic of my mind;
Torn sails will serve; thoughts rent with guilty fears,
Give Care the stern; use sighs instead of wind;
Remorse thy pilot, thy misdeed thy card,
Torment thy haven, shipwrack thy best reward.

So also Watson in his Ecatompathia.

Sweet Liberty now gives me leave to sing
What world it was, where Love the rule did beer;
How foolish chance by lots rul'd every thing;
How error was main-sail; each wave a tear;
The master, Love himself; deep sighs were wind;
Cares row'd with vows; the Ship, unmerry mind.
False hope, as helm, oft turn'd the boat about,
Inconstant Faith stood up for middle mast;
Despair the cable, twisted all with doubt,
Held griping grief, the pyked anchor, fast;
Beauty was all the rocks: but I at last
Am now twice free, and all my love is past.
Son. 85.

See also, *Tottel's Songs and Sonnets, p.* 177. *Ed.* 1816. and Phœbe's Sonnet in Lodge's Euphues.

By boat doth pass the straights "of seas incens'd with fire,
Filled with forgetfulness," amid the winter's night, &c.

Line 5.—*And every oar, &c.*] The MSS. and a the printed copies read, "And every hour." The original is, "A ciascun remo," which suggests, and supports the emendation made in the text. We should come nearer to the original were we to read "*At* every oar."

SONNET XV.

Avising the bright beams of those fair eyes. page 10.

From the Harington MS. No I. p. 37. It occurs also in No II. fol. 67. It has the appearance of being a translation; though I cannot point out any author from whom it is taken.

Line 1.—*Avising the bright beams.*] Looking at attentively: from the Italian avvissare: volgere o drizzar la vista ver checchè sia. See Troil. and Cress. B. II. l. 276. and Faery Queen. B. v. c. III. st. 18. Wyatt uses the word on other occasions. Describing a conversation he had with Charles the Vth, Wyatt says, "I stood at this, and avised him earnestly; and he made some concedence as though he would have been at a point." *Letters, p.* 380.

Line 6.—*What webs he hath wrought.*] What plans he has devised. The phrase was common formerly, and applied to many purposes. See Surrey's Poems, p. 25. l. 12 and the note on the passage. So also in Paradise of Dainty Devises.

Thus like a woeful wight I wove my web of woe.

SONNET XVI.

My love to scorn, my service to retain, page 10.

This is given from the Duke of Devonshire's MS. It does not occur in either of the Harington MSS. In all the printed copies the fourth line is wanting.

Line 4.—*To follow her, &c.*] This line is here first given from the Duke of Devonshire's MS. In Tottel's Songs and Sonnets it is omitted, either through the printer's negligence, or the defect of the original MS.

SONNET XVII.

Such is the course that Nature's kind hath, &c. p. 11.

This Sonnet occurs in none of the MSS. I am compelled to follow Tottel's copy in the Songs and Sonnets, though some of the lines are evidently corrupt, and require emendation. It seems to be an original composition, and turns upon an idea taken from Theology, but much used by the Amatory Poets of Wyatt's, and of an earlier age; that the happiness of the blessed in a future state, results from their being permitted to live in the Divine Presence, while the misery of the condemned consists in their being banished from it. The same idea occurs again at *p.* 232. *l.* 17. and *p.* 109. *l.* 15. See also *Tottel's Songs and Sonnets, p.* 250. *Ed.* 1816.

Line 3.—*Ainst chain'd prisoners, &c.*] "Ainst" for "against, formerly was not an unusual contraction. See Notes on Surrey's Poems, p. 424.

SONNET XVIII.

Ever mine hap is slack and slow in coming. p. 12.

From Harington MS. N° I. p. 38. It occurs also in the MS. N° II. fol. 37. It is a transation from Petrarch.

Mie venture al venir son tarde e pigre,
La speme incerta, e 'l desir monta e cresce,
Onde 'l lassar, e l' aspettar m' increscc;
E poi, al partir son più levi che tigre.
Lasso! le nevi fien tepide e nigre,
E 'l mar senz' onda, e per l' alpe ogni pesce;
E corcherassi 'l Sol là oltre ond' esce
D' un medesimo fonte Eufrate, e Tigre,
Prima ch' i' trovi in ciò pace, nè tregua,
O amor, o Madonna altr' uso impari,
Che m' hanno congiurato a torto incontra.
E, s' i' ho alcun dolce, è dopo tanti amari,
Che per disdegno il gusto si dilegua;
Altre mai di lor grazie non m' incontra.
Son. 44.

Line 10.—*or my Lady right-wisely.*] "Right wisely" is the same as "righteously," taken in a general sense, and means, "according to right." Thus, "rightwise" meant "lawful" In like manner "wrong-"wise," was injurious; and theftwise," furtive. See *Sibbald's Chronicle. Vol. I. p.* 83. *l.* 13. *and l.* 18. and *Gawin Douglas. Virgil Ed. Ruddiman. p.* 32. *l.* 7.

SONNET XIX.

Love and Fortune and my Mind remember. p. 12.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 39. It occurs also in the MS. N° II. fol. 67. It is a translation from Petrarch.

Amor, Fortuna, e la mia mente schiva
Di quel che vede, e nel passato volta
M' affliggon sì, ch' io porto alcuna volta
Invidia a quei che son sa l' altra riva.
Amor mi strugge 'l cor; Fortuna il priva
D' ogni conforto; onde la mente stolta
S' adirà e piagne, e così in pena molta
Sempre conven che combattendo viva.
Nè spero i dolci dì tornino indietro,
Ma pur di male in peggio quel ch' avanza;
E di mio corso ho già passate il mezzo.
Lasso! non di diamante, ma d' un vetro
Veggio di man cadermi ogni speranza;
E tutt' i miei pensier romper nel mezzo.
Son. 99.

This is one of Wyatt's worst sonnets. How very inelegant is the second line, in which the word "*that*," occurs four times. How very licentious also, are the rhymes: "been" for "be," is altered to "ben;" and the adverb, "seldom," is changed to "sildam," to rhyme with "than," so put for "then," the letters *n*, and *m*, being frequently used for cognate sounds. See Surrey's Poems, p. 22, where "some," and "done," are made to rhyme together. But it deserves to be noted that Surrey does not allow himself this licence except in his less studied pieces, such as were those written in the ballad measure. In his heroic verses, the rhymes are particularly correct. In this point he shewed a better and a more correct taste than Wyatt has done.

Line 10.—*But daily yet, &c.*] This line it should be remarked is a perfect Alexandrine of twelve syllables. In Tottel's edition it is thus altered to reduce it into a decasyllabic verse,

And daily doth mine ill change to the worse.
Ed 1816, p. 98.

Line 12.—*of brickel glass.*] Brickel was frequently used by our early writers in the same sense as brittle; which word we find substituted for it by Tottel. See Songs and Sonnets, *p.* 98.

SONNET XX.

How oft have I my dear and cruel foe. page 13.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 39. It occurs also in N° II. folio 66. It is a translation from Petrarch.

Mille fiate, o dolce mia guerrera,
Per aver co' begli occhi vostri pace
V' aggio proferto il cor; m' a voi non piace
Mirar sì basso con la mente altera.
E se di lui forse altra donna spera,
Vive in speranza debile e fallace;
Mio, perchè sdegno cio ch' a voi dispiace,
Esser non può giammai così com' era.
Or, s' io lo scaccio, ed e' non trova in voi
Nell esilio infelice alcun soccorso,

Nè sa star sol, nè gire ov ' altr' il chiama,
Porla smarrire il suo natural corso,
Che grave colpa fia d' ambeduo noi
E tanto più di voi, quanto più v' ama.
Son. 19.

Though Wyatt, it should be observed, has departed from the concluding line of this sonnet to adopt the concluding line of the 188th Sonnet.

Vostro, Donna 'l peccato, e mio fia 'l danno.

SONNET XXI.

Like to these unmeasureable mountains. page 13.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 41. It occurs also in MS. N° II. fol. 67. Puttenham quotes it to prove that Wyatt used verses of an unequal number of feet. Book II. Ch. 12. p. 107, and again *p.* 109. He speaks of it as if he considered it translated from Petrarch. This is, I believe, a mistake; though it was probably borrowed from some Italian writer of the school of Tibaldeo, or Accolti.

Of the thought itself, I need hardly observe, that it is one of those conceits which persons of good taste would ever avoid. Unfortunately, Wyatt's use of it seems to have given it a sanction, for we find it adopted by succeeding writers. Thus in the Phœnix Nest, printed in 1593, we meet with the following imitation of it.

Like desert woods, with darksome shades obscured,
Where dreadful beasts, where hateful horror reigneth,
Such is my wounded heart, whom sorrow paineth.
The trees are fatal shafts, to death inured
That cruel Love within my breast maintaineth,
To whet my grief, whereas my sorrow waineth.
The ghastly beasts, my thoughts in cares assured,
Which wage me war, whilst heart no succour gaineth,
With false suspect, and fear that still remaineth.
The horrors, burning sighs, by cares procured,
Which forth I send, whilst weeping eye complaineth,
To cool the heat the helpless heart containeth.
But shafts, but cares, sighs, horrors unrecured
Were nought esteem'd, if, for these pains awarded,
My faithful Love by you might be awarded.

The signature it bears is T. L. (Thomas Lodge) Gent. Notwithstanding which, we find the same copy of Verses, with a few verbal alterations, occur twice in England's Helicon. The first time with the signature of S. E. D. Sir Edward Dyer. The second time with that of "Ignato," supposed to be the signature of Sir Walter Raleigh.

SONNET XXII.

If amorous faith, an heart unfeigned. page 14.

From the Harington M.S. N° I. p. 20. It occurs N° II. fol. 65. It is translated from Petrarch:

S' una fede amorosa, un cor non finto. *Son.* 188.

This sonnet has been noticed by Puttenham. *Art of Eng. Poet.* B. II. Ch. 14. p. 105. and imitated by Turberville, *fol.* 89. *Ed.* 1567. and Daniel. *Son.* xv. *Works, Vol. II. p.* 401.

SONNET XXIII.

My heart I give thee, not, to do it pain. page 15.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 22. It occurs also in N° II. fol. 65. It is taken from the two following Strambotti of Serafino.

Il cor ti diedi non che 'l tormentassi,
Ma che fosse da te ben conservato;
Servo ti fui non che me abbandonassi,
Ma che fosse da te rimeritato.
Contento fui che schiavo me acchatassi,
Ma non di tal moneta esser pagato.
Hor poi che regna in te poca pietate,
Non ti spiaccia s' io torno in libertate.

La Donna di natura mai si sazia
Di dar effetto a ogni suo desiderio;
E sempre ti sta sopra con audazia.
Del tuo martir pigliando refrigerio.
Quanto più umil li vai, tanto più strazia,
Per fin che t' ha sepulto in cimiterio.
Perchè chi pone il suo amor in femina
Zappa nel aqua, e nell' arena semina.
Opera di Serafino, Ed. 1516. *fol.* 151.

Line 2.—*But to preserve*, &c. The sense seems to require that we should read

But to preserve it, was *it* to thee taken.

Line 13.—*believeth bearing in hand,*] "To bear in hand," is, *to deceive*. The sense requires that these words should be understood in a passive sense. "He who being deceived, is led to believe thee, will lose his labour." The line I apprehend therefore is corrupt.

SONNET XXIV.

The flaming sighs that boil within my breast. p. 15.

This occurs only in the Harington MS. N° II. fol. 216. It was written evidently in confinement, and under the pressure of sickness as well as sorrow. It is designedly obscure: and perhaps in some places corrupt, particularly in the second quatrain, which is hardly intelligible. The title given by the original Editor would refer the cause to some disappointment in love. But there is nothing that warrants this supposition. He was confined twice in the Tower. His first imprisonment he referred to private resentment of the Duke of Suffolk. See *Oration*, p. 299. His last imprisonment was on Bonner's accusation for Treason.

Line 6.—*Do feel some force*] The word "force" is here employed in an unusual sense. The meaning is: "My eyes must have some secret spring or cause which supplies them with water, otherwise my conti-

nued weeping would exhaust them." Perhaps we ought to read "Do feel some source," i. e. are sensible of some secret spring that supplies them.

Line 7.—*of colour dead can try.*] If this line be not corrupt, the meaning must be "Wasted and pale as I am, so as to appear almost dead, I nevertheless can taste, and know the bitterness of my present situation." It is more probable, however, that the passage is corrupt.

Line 9.—*And he that lust to see, &c.*] The turn of the expression in these lines seems borrowed from Petrarch:

Chi vuol veder quantunque può natura
E'l ciel tra noi, venga a mirar costei. *Son.* 210.

Line 12.—*But for all this no force.*] "It matters not." See *Surrey, p.* 57. *l.* 24. and *Songs and Sonnets, p.* 155.

Line 14.—*The scar can raze.*] Wyatt was fond of repeating this thought. See Poems, p. 120. and again in his Oration, p. 291. As the occasion on which he used the thought in these two instances was evidently his imprisonment, when accused of High Treason by Bonner, we may conjecture that he alludes, in the lines before us, to the same event.

Line 15.—*But you that of such like, &c.*] Imprisonments were so frequent in Henry's reign that we are not enabled, from this circumstance, to conjecture who the person here intended is. It could not have been Surrey, for this sonnet must have been written in 1540 or 1541; whereas Surrey's first imprisonment was not until 1542. It might have been Mason, who had been imprisoned on the same charges with Wyatt.

Line 20.—Of *fortune saw the shadow.*] May this expression mean, the transitory greatness of some person who had been raised to eminent good fortune and had as suddenly fallen? Viewed in this light, the expression is a forcible one: it is like the σκιᾶς ὄναρ of Pindar. The lines next following are so obscure, either intentionally or from the fault of the transcriber, that they are hardly capable, as they now stand, of any sense at all.

SONNET XXV.

The pillar perished is whereto I leant. page 16.

This sonnet occurs only in the Harington MS. N° II. fol. 62. It is taken in part from Petrarch.

Rotta è l'alta Colonna, e 'l verde Lauro,
Che faccan' ombra al mio stanco pensero;
Perdut' ho quel che ritrovar non spero
Dal Borea al Austro, o dal mar Indo al Mauro.
Tolto m' hai, Morte, il mio doppio tesauro
Che mi fea viver lieto, e gire altero,
E ristorar non può terra, nè impero,
Nè gemma oriental, nè forza d' auro.
Ma se consentimento è di destino
Che poss' io più, se no aver l' alma trista
Umidi gli occhi sempre, e 'l viso chino?
O nostra vita! ch' è sì bella in vista
Com' perde agevolmente in un mattino,
Quel che 'n molt' anni a gran pena s' acquista.
Son. 229.

Wyatt has departed from Petrarch occasionally to adapt the ideas to his own situation. Petrarch bewailed the death of his friend Colonna and Laura. The person whose loss Wyatt lamented was probably his friend Cromwell. Some change therefore was necessary; but we must deem it a proof of bad taste that he omitted the beautiful sentiment in the last three lines of his original to introduce thoughts of no real beauty in themselves, and which he had used himself before on another occasion.

SONNET XXVI.

Farewell, Love! and all thy laws for ever. page 17.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 20. It occurs also N° II. fol. 65. Puttenham quotes it to instance the first line as a pure Trochaic verse. *B. II. Ch.* 17. *p.* 110. As we know Seneca to have been a favourite author with Wyatt, and one whom he recommended his son "to have always in his study," we may believe this sonnet to have been an original composition, and not a translation.

Line 6.—*Thy sharp repulse, &c.*] *Repulse* seems to have been either the bit altogether, or a part of it, probably so called from its action. See Surrey's Poems, p. 8. l. 2. and the note upon it. Compare Petrarch. *Son.* 115.

Line 11.—*Go use thy property.*] Go exercise those qualities, which form thy property, thy essence, on younger people than myself.

Line 14.—*Rotten boughs to climb.*] This was a proverbial expression, and occurs frequently in our early poets. See again in this Vol. p. 253. l. 15.

RONDEAU I.

Behold Love! thy power how she despiseth. p. 18.

This and the two following pieces are now printed as originally written by Wyatt. They were printed as Sonnets in Tottel's edition: but the change was made arbitrarily by the original editor; and in making it he has offered injury alike to the sense and the metre. The Rondeau seems to have been a favourite form of composition with Wyatt, though it has never been popular with us. He took it from the French. Several other of Wyatt's Rondeaux are given at page 157, from the Duke of Devonshire's MS. This is here printed from the Harington MS. N° I. p. 1. It has all the appearance of being a translation or an imitation. It will be

found as it stood as a Sonnet, at page 77 of Tottel's Songs and Sonnets. Ed. 1816.

RONDEAU II.

What 'vaileth truth! or by it to take pain? p. 11.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 1. Compare it with Tottel's Songs and Sonnets. Ed. 1816. p. 78. It has the appearance, like that above, of being a translation.

It is observable that the first four lines are Decasyllables, and the remainder Octosyllables. This seems to have been done designedly, though it cannot be admired. The Italians allowed the use of lines of seven syllables, mixed with their full hendecasyllabic lines; but those lines were made to recur at regular intervals. The Sonnets so formed were called "Comuni." See *Quadrio. Vol. III. p. 54*, where instances of the Sonetti Comuni are given. Wyatt might have considered this as sufficient authority for the licence he had taken.

RONDEAU III.

Go burning sighs unto the froz en heart. page 19.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 28. Compare it with Tottel's Songs and Sonnets. *Ed.* 1816. p. 103. It is imitated from Petrarch.

Ite, caldi sospiri, al freddo core;
Rompete il ghiaccio che pietà contende;
E, se prego mortale al ciel s' intende,
Morte, o mercè sia fine al mio dolore.
Ité, dolci pensier! parlando fore
Di quello, ove 'l bel guardo non s' estende:
Se pur sua asprezza, o mia stella n' offende,
Sarem fuor di speranza, e fuor d' errore.
Dir si può ben per voi, non forse appieno,
Che 'l nostro stato è inquieto, e fosco,
Siccome 'l suo pacifico e sereno.
Gite securi omai; ch' Amor ven vosco;
E ria fortuna può ben vener meno,
S' a i segni del mio Sol l' aere conosco.
Son. 120.

Wyatt has however departed from the close of the Sonnet, much for the worse.

Line 2.—*which pity's painful dart, &c*] This expression seems to have been borrowed by Spenser in his Fairy Queen.

——— whose ears those shrièches shrill,
Piercing his heart with pity's point, did thrill.
B. VI. C. iv. St. 18.

Line 7.—*from which I cannot start.*] Perhaps we ought to read "cannot astart." To avoid the occurrence of the same word for rhyme, see line 14. Astart was a very common expression with Wyatt. It means to free ones self from any thing: to disentangle ones self. See p. 28. l. 15.

ODE I.

My lute, awake! perform the last. page 20.

This Ode occurs in the Nugæ Antiquæ, Vol. II. p. 252 Ed. 1775, and is there given to Lord Rochford; evidently erroneously, for it is here printed from the Harington MS. N° I. p. 80. which was Wyatt's own MS. and is signed with his name in his own handwriting. It is a Poem of singular merit. It is one of the most elegant amatory Odes in our language. It is as beautifully arranged in all its parts as any of the odes of Horace. The Lute, to which the ode is addressed, corresponded nearly to the modern guitar. It was the instrument to which almost all the amatory composisitions of our early poets were sung; whence they were properly called Songs, corresponding to the Italian Cantate. Every person of good education played on the lute. Surrey excelled on that instrument, and composed to it several elegant airs, which are given in the late edition of Tottel's Songs and Sonnets. The general use of the Lute, made addresses to it common. It was the Lover's constant companion, and to its strings he attempered all his hopes and fears, his joys and sorrows. One of Gascoigne's most elegant little poems begins "Give me my lute in bed now as I lie." p. 531. ed. 1810. See also *Lindsay's Poems. Vol. I. p.* 187. and again, *p.*257. I should not scruple to say that this Ode of Wyatt is more elegant and feeling than that of Horace to Lydia on a subject nearly similar. *Lib. I. Ode* 25.

Nothing will tend to prove the popularity which this ode obtained more than the circumstance of its having been moralized. See Vol. I. *Dissertation*, p. *cclxxviii.* and *ibid note a.* The moralization, which was done by J. Hall, will be found extracted from his "Court of Virtue," in the Appendix, N° xxviii. Wyatt seems to have been pleased with the ode himself, for he wrote a sort of imitation of it, beginning;

My pen, take pain a little space.

and a defence also, beginning

Blame not my Lute, for it must sound.

See p. 205, and p. 207, where the two pieces alluded to will be found for the first time reprinted, from the Duke of Devonshire's MS.

Line 7.—*As lead to grave, &c.*] "It would be more easy for lead, which is the softest of metals, to engrave characters on hard marble, than it is for me to make impression on her obdurate heart." To grave, to make an impression upon, was a word in common use among our early writers. So in Chaucer's *Troil. and Cress.*

But ye have played the tyrant all too long,
And hard was it your heart for to grave.
B. II. l. 1241.

Line 26.—*may chance thee lie, &c.*] Wyatt is incomparably more elegant and pleasing in this passage than Horace is in the following lines.

Cum tibi flagrans amor, et libido
Quæ solet matres furiare equorum,
Sæviet circa jecur ulcerosum,
Non sine questu, &c.

There is nothing in the whole of Horace's ode equal in beauty to the two lines which conclude the seventh stanza in Wyatt's:

Then shalt thou know beauty but lent,
And wish, and want as I have done.

ODE II.

Once as me thought, Fortune me kiss'd. page 21.

From the Harington M.S. N° I. p. 78. It occurs in the Nugæ Antiquæ. *Vol. II p. 264. Ed.* 1775. The versification is simple and harmonious. The sentiments natural and pleasing. Compare: "If ever man might him avaunt," page 37.

Line ult.—*content me with my hire.*] The word "hire" here, as in many passages of Wyatt and our early writers, means "reward" generally in an elegant, and poetic sense.

ODE III.

They flee from me that sometime did me seek. p. 23.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 46. Under the figure of a Lady offering to him unsolicited the tenderest mark of affection, he describes, in a lively manner, his early good fortune and success in life; when, as he expresses himself in the ode preceding, using the same metaphorical language adopted in the present ode, "Methought, *Fortune me kiss'd.*" Following the same figure he naturally refers his subsequent misfortunes to that constitutional levity, that "strange fashion of forsaking," which is too common with the gentler sex. The Ode is one of no inconsiderable merit: it is original and full of feeling.

Line 2.—*stalking within my chamber.*] To *stalk* means to steal softly with noiseless step. Chaucer's Legend of Lucrece, *l.* 102. and *Cant. Tales, l.* 8400. It meant sometimes to steal upon one, as in the soft and imperceptible approach of sleep.

The lover is of colour dead and pale;
There will no sleep into his eyes stalk.

Line 13.—*Sweetly she did me kiss.*] The propriety of this image depends in great measure on a circumstance which grew out of the manners of the days of chivalry, and which is now forgotten. Whenever a lady accepted the service of a knight, or acknowledged a person as her servant, or lover, she gave him a kiss; valuntarily offered on her part: and this was considered to be an inviolable bond of obligation. The reverence with which women were approached in those days ensured that this simple mark of approbation was never misconceived or abused. See Troilus and Cressida. *B. III. l.* 180. where Cressida permitting Troilus to become her knight, advances modestly towards him supported by her uncle, and gives him the formal kiss. In the same manner the Fair Florence, having had the assurance of the Queen of the Fairies, that Arthur was destined to be her own true knight, in parting from him said, "Adieu, mine own dear Lover," and so for a remembrance kissed him. *Hist. of Arthur of Little Britain, Ch.* 178. For the prevalence of the custom in England, see Erasmus' Letter to his friend Faustus Andrelinus. *Epis. LXV.* See Notes on Surrey's Poems. *p. 258. note 7.* and St. Palaye's *Memoires sur l'Ancienne Chevallerie.* The kiss being thus given, the lover was formally recognized under the title of, "Servant d'Amour."

ODE IV.

Thou restful place, reviver of my smart. page 24.

Of this ode only the first stanza occurs in the Harington MS. N° I. p. 8. It is a piece of much merit. Warton mentions it with praise. *Vol. III.* p. 33. It is quoted by Puttenham with commendation, *p.* 146. and is imitated by Turberville. "Thou that wert erst a restful place," *fol.* 35. *ed.* 1567. The change made by him in the burthen to each stanza cannot, however, be allowed to be by any means a fortunate one.

Drenched in sea of saltish brine
O bed! I thee forsake.

See also Sackville's Induction: "The bodies rest, the quiet of the heart," *Mir. for Mag. fol.* 209. *ed.* 1587. Perhaps Wyatt might have had an eye to Petrarch's Sonnet: "O, cameretta, che già fosti un porto. *Son.* 198.

ODE V.

Resound my voice, ye woods that hear me playne. p. 25.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 30. It is a piece of great beauty, and breathes a sort of manliness of sorrow, which is to be remarked in many of Wyatt's compositions. Warton speaks of it in terms of just commendation. *Vol. III. p.* 33. Wyatt perhaps might have had in his view a Strambotto of Serafino, beginning, "L'aer che sente il mesto e gran clamore," fol. 125. ed. 1516.

Line 22.—*O! stony heart, &c.*] The thought in this couplet turns on the Platonic idea of beauty being but a reflection of the mind: so that a beautiful person could not but be an amiable one. See Surrey's Sonnet: "The golden gift," p. 17. and note 4, p. 276.

Line 22.—*art cloked with beauty.*] The orthography of this word has been retained, as it might be

thought, perhaps, to preserve the antient pronunciation of the word. I believe no more was intended than to mark that *beauté*, the French pronunciation of the word, was intended. This was evidently required for the rhyme.

ODE VI.

Where shall I have at mine own will. page 26.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 65. It occurs at N° II. fol. 78. There is an air of dignified sorrow, and a strain of nervous versification in this, as in the preceding piece, that render it one of no common merit. The opening might have been suggested by the following of Giusto de' Conti.

Chi darà agli occhi miei sì larga vena
Di lagrime, ch' io possa il mio dolore
Sfogar piangendo sì, che poi m' attempre?
E per quietare il tormentoso core
Chi darà al petto sì possente lena
Che, siccome convien, sospiri sempre?
La Bella Mano. p. 72. ed. 1753.

Line 2.—*Where shall I fet.*] Fet, or *fette*, was the participle from the verb feeche, now spelt fetch. See *Chaucer's Cant. Tales, V.* 5087; and, *ibid. v.* 821.

Line 6.—*My tears cannot suffice my woe*] So Gascoigne:

Where might I now find floods of flowing tears,
So to suffice the swelling of mine eyes.
Ed. 1810. *p.* 509.

The expression seems originally taken from Chaucer's Troilus and Cressida.

——but tho' began his tears out to brest,
That wonder is his body *may suffice*
To half this woe. *Book IV. l.* 258.

ODE VII.

Farewel! the reign of Cruelty. page 28.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 19.

Line 4.—*Dear have I bought, &c.*] The printed copies read these lines differently:

Dear have I bought, *and woefully*
Finished my fearful tragedy. Songs & Son. p. 66.

Line 11.—*And so dreadeth, &c.*] His fear to be retaken, is so great, that he derives little pleasure from the recovery of his liberty. The image is taken from Petrarch.

Line 15.—*Let not this song, &c.*] This line as it here stands seems to me unintelligible. The meaning of the two lines preceding is; Be glad, O my heart, though your joy is mingled with pain; though you sustain, endure, part of each.

ODE VIII.

It may be good, like it who list. page 28.

Line 5.—*The windy words the eyes quaint game.*] "Those words which are vain and light as wind." The other expression, namely, "The quaint, that is, the cunning play and movement of the eyes," is more happy. It is what Wyatt has elsewhere expressed by, "the subtle play of the eye." *See p.* 159. *l.* 15.

Line 10.—*and nothing hase.*] If we were to suppose that "*hase*," is here put for "*has*," we must admit that "has" is used instead of "have," which is not probable. The word intended perhaps was "*halse*," a common word formerly for "embrace." See Notes on Surrey's Poems, p. 330.

Line 17.—*Put the proof in ure.*] Brought the proof to test. For the various significations of the word *ure*, see *Vol. I. Note* 3, *p.* 250.

Line 19.—"*Nay, Sir, in faith*," &c.] This line might warrant the conjecture that Wyatt wrote this piece at the request, or in the person of some Lady; a practice formerly by no means uncommon. See the *Notes to Surrey's Poems, p.* 262. See also Drayton's Poems. Sonnet 21.

A witless gallant, a young wench that woed,
(Yet his dull spirit her not one jot could move)
Entreated me, as e'er I wished his good,
To write him but one sonnet to his love.

From Shakespeare also we learn that the custom of woing by Sonnets was prevalent in his times. He often ridiculed it.

ODE IX.

In faith I wot not well what to say. page 29.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 31. In the third line we have an evident allusion to Horace. Fortuna sævo læta negotio. *Lib. III. Ode* 29. It is otherwise a piece of no merit.

ODE X.

Marvel no more, although. page 30.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 63. It occurs also in the Nugæ Antiquæ, Vol. I. p. 250. ed. 1775. Selden observes, "It seems her name was either Souch or Chance." Evidently the former, if either. But in the original MS, nothing justifies the supposition that any play on the word was intended. In one line indeed the word "such" being omitted, it is supplied by another hand and spelt "souche." In every other instance there is no particularity either of writing or spelling. If any person of the name of Souche is here intended, we may suppose it to have been "the Mistress Souche," whose portrait occurs in the Holbein's heads. Her beauty might have inspired and justified a strain far more tender and impassioned than this before us.

ODE XI.

Pass forth my wonted cries. page 32.

This does not occur in any of the MSS. It is therefore reprinted from the Songs and Sonnets, p. 81. Wyatt probably had in contemplation when he wrote it Petrarch's 120th Sonnet: "Ite, caldi sospiri alfreddo core." At line 9, we find an allusion to Virgil: Æn. Lib. IV. v. 366.

——— duris genuit te cautibus horrens
Caucasus, Hyrcanæque admorunt ubera tigres.

Line 16.—*And as the water soft.*] From Serafino:
Se da poca aqua consumar si vede
Per longa pioggia il marmo duro e forte;
Perchè non debbio ancor sperar mercede
Di tanti affanni, e mia si dura sorte.
Che so pregando, amando ognor con fede,
Leal servendo, e sospirando forte,
E lagrimando ognor con più fervezza
Non è si duro cor che non si spezza. *fol.* 116. *ed.* 1516.

ODE XII.

Your looks so often cast. page 33.

This piece does not occur in any of the MSS. It is therefore printed from Tottel's Songs and Sonnets, p. 83. There are some lines in it which are probably corrupt. It does not possess any great degree of merit.

Line 9.—*Fain would ye find a cloak.*] Compare Surrey, *Vol. I. p.* 23. *l.* 13. The figure and the expression became very common among our early poets. See among others Spenser, F. Q. B. III. Can. 1. St. 53. That is one of the places where Spenser evidently had Surrey in his eye.

Line 25.—*You fet from far.*] See a note to Ode vi. l. 2.

Line 26.—*To wry your woe.*] To conceal your sorrow. For the use of the word "wry" or "wrie," see *Rom. of Rose*, l. 6793. and notes on Surrey's Poems, p. 295. Whence, "unwrie," uncover. See Troil. and Cress. B. I. v. 858. and Tooke's Div. of Purley, Vol. II. p. 226.

Line 27.—*Ne'er the narre.*] Never the nearer. "*Narre*" for "*nerre*," to favour the rhyme. *Ner, nerre*, and *nere*, were used frequently for "nearer," the comparative of "near." "Then to the tower I drew me nere and nere." *Hawes's P. of Plesure, fol. b. ii. ed.* 1554. Ritson's An. Songs, p. 30. Thus "ferre" was used for "ferrer," the comparative of "far." So in Chaucer's Prologue to the Canterbury Tales. *v.* 47.

Full worthy was he in his Lordis werre,
And there to had he ridden no man *ferre.*

And in the old Romance of Ywaine and Gawin.

And I durst follow *him no ferr*, *v.* 435.

ODE XIII.

Disdain me not without desert. page 35.

This piece does not occur in any of the MSS. and is therefore printed from the Songs and Sonnets, p. 84. It is quaint, but pleasing; and is not devoid of merit. The ellipsis in the last line "for no new," i. e. for no new lover, is common to our early writers. In line 16, "but" must mean "unless," in which case it ought to be spelt "bot:" bot in this sense is of frequent occurrence.

ODE XIV.

For want of will, in woe I plain. page 36.

This does not occur in any of the MSS. It is therefore printed from the Songs and Sonnets, p. 85.

Line 4.—*My wan-hope with your steadfastnes.*] The steadiness of your refusal, increases my despair. For the use of the word "wan-hope," or as it is sometimes spelt, wane-hope, see Chaucer's Cant. Tales, Vol. II. p. 388. ed. 1798. It occasionally means dejection, or despondency short of despair; as in the Romant of the Rose.

Alas! my wan-hope! nay, perdie!
For I will never dispaired be.

Sometimes it means illusory hopes, generally. "With wan-hope tromped, the woeful lover." *G. Douglas's Virgil, p.* 24. *l.* 3.

Line 7.—*The swelting pains.*] The two 8vo. editions of the Songs and Sonnets read; "The *swelling* pains." But, "to swelte, or sweltre:" was not formerly deemed an inelegant word. So in the Romant of the Rose.

Who is next the fire he brenneth most,
And yet, forsooth, for all thine heat,
Though thou for Love, *swelte* and sweat,
Ne for no thing thou feelen may,
Thou shalt not will to pass away. *v.* 2478.

Line 8.—*Betimes who giveth, &c.*] Alluding to the well known adage: Bis dat, qui citò dat.

Line 22.—*Though not incontinent.*] My death is certain, though not immediate; as fire preying upon that which feeds it, is extinguished gradually. "Incontinent," was a common word formerly, for immediately.

ODE XV.

If ever man might him avaunt. page 37.

This occurs in none of the MSS. It is therefore printed from the Songs and Sonnets, *p.* 86. The title given by the original editor is incorrect. Wyatt does not complain of any change in his mistress's affections: but of the instability of fortune generally. It is grounded upon the same metaphor, upon which the second and third odes turn. See p. 21 and 23, and the notes upon them. The title, I apprehend, ought to be

altered to something like the following. "Wyatt bewaileth his changed fortune."

Line 21.—*But all to rathe.*] All too soon. *Rath*, or *raithe* and *rothe*, as the word was spelt indifferently, was used both in a familiar and a poetic sense. Thus Chaucer, in the Miller's Tale,

Why rise ye so rath? eh! benedicite,
What aileth you. *v.* 3766.

And so the Primrose, from its blowing so early, was called the "Rathe Primrose."

Line 27, 28.—*May wail the time, &c.*] I may lament the time when I tasted those pleasures with which Fortune then fed me. "Than," for *then*, to rhyme with "man," was a very common licence. "To feed" a person, when taken by itself, meant generally to allure, or encourage with pleasing hopes and expectations. So Surrey.

The golden gift that Nature did thee give
To fasten friends, and *feed them at* thy will. *p.* 17.

ODE XVI.

Th' answer that ye made to me, my dear. page 38.

From the Harington MS. No I. p. 123. Wyatt evidently left this piece imperfect, for after the 2d stanza we have these lines:

Another!—why shall liberty be bond?—
True heart may not be bond, but by desert.

That he intended to finish this stanza is clear from the opening to the text, which stood thus, "*Nor* none can claim," &c. This implies something antecedent. The stanza not being completed, the editor, for connection sake, changed "nor," to "yet." If the reader is disposed to indulge in conjecture, he may refer the two lines of the unfinished stanza to Wyatt's unfortunate attachment to Anne Bolleyn, in which case the "*other person*" alluded to, would be Henry VIII. and the lines would bear this meaning: "Why say you are obliged to quit me? No one can put a restraint on the heart. It is superior merit, and not superior rank, that forms the bond in love." The sentiment is the same with that we meet with at p. 146, in the sonnet which begins

— Though I, myself, be bridled of my will.

On the supposition that these, and some other pieces of the same cast, were written on the occasion of Wyatt's seperation from Anne Boleyn, that circumstance would account for their being both obscure and unfinished. They might have been hastily written on the first impulse of feeling: though prudence had suggested afterwards the propriety of not finishing or making them public.

Line 16.—*Call again that friendly word.*] Recal, or make again use of those friendly expressions by which I shall be restored once more to happiness. Tottel reads "that bitter word." This gives a more obvious sense, but it involves a still further alteration: Tottel therefore reads the next line thus,

That *touched* your friend so nèr *with pangs* of pain.

But these corrections, with many others that might be enumerated, go to prove that the editor of Tottel's edition altered the text to his own fancy. I ought to add, that the word which I have printed "sayth" is not quite clear in the manuscript: it might be read "seithe." But I do not know what sense that word would supply.

Line 19.—*Let not that rule the gain.*] I do not understand this expression, or indeed the line altogether. Perhaps "*gain*" might have been put for "game."

Line 20.—*Wherewith free will, &c.*] The line stands printed, as it occurs in the MS. It should seem probable that a word was omitted by accident. Tottel reads,

—Wherewith free will *doth* true desert retain. *p.* 88.

ODE XVII.

So unwarely was never no man caught. page 39.

This piece does not occur in any of the MSS. It is therefore given from the Songs and Sonnets, p. 93. It is evidently an original poem, and contains several passages imitated from Petrarch. It has been closely imitated by Turberville.

Unwarely so was none in such a snare before;
The more I gazed upon her face "I like my love the more.
Forthwith I thought my heart, "out of its room was rapt,
And wits that wonted were to wait" on Reason were entrapt
Down by my eyes the stroke "descended to the heart
Which Cupid never craz'd before" by force of golden dart, &c. *Poems, ut sup. p.* 586.

Line 5.—*Thorough mine eye, &c.* So Chaucer.

But I was hurt right now thorough mine eye
Into mine heart. *Cant. Tales, l.* 1099.

Line 6.—*Down unto my heart it ran.*] Thus Petrarch,

—— il colpo mortal là giù discese.
Ove solea spuntarsi ogni saetta. *Son.* 2.

And again in the third sonnet.

Ed aperta la via per gli occhi al core.

Line 7.—*In help whereof the blood, &c.*] This is also taken from Petrarch.

Line 13.—*Anon the blood, &c.*] Compare Surrey's

Poems, p. 23. "When youth had led me, &c." and again, p. 7. "As oft as I behold and see."

ODE XVIII.

Perdie! I said it not. page 40.

This does not occur in any of the MSS. It is therefore taken from Tottel's Songs and Sonnets, p. 95. The idea is borrowed from the 34th Canzone of Petrarch. S'il dissi mai, ch'i 'venga in odio a quella, &c. See also Serafino, fol. 157. ed. 1516.

Donna, se io dissi mai contra tuo onore
Te mostri a me crudel sempre e più bella.

Puttenham quotes it, and says "it is englished excellently well." *B. III. Ch.* 19. *p.* 177. Which is an higher praise than it deserves. Indeed it can hardly be called a translation, so much in parts has been omitted of the original, and so much altered.

ODE XIX.

When first my eyes did view and mark. page 42.

This does not occur in any of the MSS. and is therefore printed from the Songs and Sonnets, p. 108. It is a very feeling composition. The turn in the last stanza is unexpected and pleasing. It was probably suggested by the following lines of Tibaldeo:

Deh! perchè non mi fur svelti di testa
Gli occhi, quel dì che fur sì intenti e pronti
Mirar costei, che gli ha conversi in fonti,
Colmi d'un largo umor che mai non resta.
E l'orecchia che da udir fur tanto presta
Li dolci accenti suoi limati e conti
Che i sassi tratti harian fuor de'i duri monti
E i venti achetati, ed ogni tempesta.

It has been printed in the Paradise of Dainty Devises, but with some variations. Thus the 2*d* stanza is omitted, and this concluding stanza is added:

Then should I not such cause have found
To wish this monstrous sight to see;
Ne thou, alas! that mad'st the wound
Should not deny me remedy.
Then should one will in both remain
To grant one heart, which now is twain.
P. 57. Ed. 1810.

In some of the lines there are also a few slight variations. What is most remarkable is, that the piece bears the signature of W. H. (William Hunnis), but there seems no reason whatever on this ground to suppose it was really his, for there are several pieces in the Par. of D. D. which bear a wrong signature. Thus "The life is long that loathsomely doth last." N° 43. p. 43. bears for signature "D. S." whereas we know on positive authority that it was written by John Harington. See Songs and Sonnets, Ed. 1816. p. 144, and the note upon it. We may reconcile the different claims by supposing that Hunnis wrote the last stanza, having appropriated the three former stanzas, as being expressive of his feelings.

Line 12.—*No deal to go.*] The word "deal" is, I believe, retained only to express magnitude, as "a great deal," &c. The word meant originally any portion of a thing, and was used with a variety of combinations. Thus "every deal," meant "every part." As in Chaucer.

Then tarried we, and saed it *every deal.*
Assem. of La. v. 227.

"Never a deal;" not at all. "It needed *never a deal.*" *Chaucer's Pardoner's Tale.* "Not a deal;" not a bit, as we now say familiarly.

Doeth that they preach, I rede you all;
But doeth not as they doen *a deal.*
R. of R. v. 6897.

"No more a deal;" no more at all.

But they that broughten the book there,
Hent it away anon for fear
They n' old shew it *no more a deal. Ib. v.* 7041.

"No deal to go;" therefore in the text means; "not to move at all." The word is derived from the verb to dole, or dele; to divide into portions. The word is retained in common use. We say; "to deal the cards;" and to "deal justly by one;" i. e. to allot to any one that which is justly his due.

ODE XX.

Since Love will needs that I shall love. page 43.

This occurs in none of the MSS. And is therefore given from Tottel's Songs and Sonnets, p. 109. It contains some pleasing lines and elegant expressions.

ODE XXI.

What rage is this? what fury, of what kind? p. 45.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 135. It there stands as written by Wyatt with all his various corrections. The last stanza reminds us of a passage in the first ode, "Awake, my lute." p. 20.

Line 10.—*To cured scar, &c.*] The sense evidently is, "The stroke made a wound, which though cured leaves a scar that never can be removed." Tottel has altered the line to "Cureless scar." Which is nonsense. Of a wound it may be said that it cannot be cured, but not of a scar. A scar, it is already a proof of cure.

Line 11.—*Rejoice thy goodly turn.*] "Take pleasure in this goodly deceit, exult in it." For this use of the word "rejoice," see Notes to Surrey's Poems, p. 263.

ODE XXII.

I see that chance hath chosen me. page 46.

This occurs in none of the MSS. It is given from the Songs and Sonnets, p. 114. It is not a piece of any particular beauty or merit.

ODE XXIII.

Like as the bird within the cage inclosed. page 47.

This is here given from one of Archbp. Parker's MSS. in Bene't Coll. Library, Cambridge. It does not occur in either of the Harington MSS. The poetic merit of the poem is not great: but it is one of the earliest specimens in our language of a sort of conceit afterwards very prevalent, in which some difficult dilemma was to be discussed, and the alternative of choice proposed. Thus in Daniel's Poems a person is in a boat with two ladies, one of whom he loved, without obtaining any return of passion: while the other, to whom he was indifferent, loved him tenderly. The boat is in danger of sinking, and it is necessary that one of the ladies should be thrown overboard. The question is, which of the two the lover ought to sacrifice. *Vol. II, p.* 364. This species of ingenious composition is of very ancient date. Questions of this nature were constant exercises of sentiment and ingenuity among the Troubadours: they used them as a mean to inculcate honourable principles in moral conduct, and refined delicacy in love. See *Hist. Lit. de Troubadours. Vol. I. p. laviii.*

ODE XXIV.

If thou wilt mighty be, flee from the rage. p. 48.

This fine moral ode does not occur in any of the MSS. It is given from the Songs and Sonnets, p. 117. It is a piece of great merit. The sentiments are highly dignified and just: the versification has that grave and solemn flow of harmony which is peculiar to Wyatt's compositions. The whole is formed on the three following detached passages in Boethius de Consolatione:

Qui se volet esse potentem,
Animos domet ille feroces,
Nec victus libidine colla
Fœdis submittat habenis.
Etenim licet Indica longè
Tellus tua jura tremiscat,
Et serviat ultima Thule,
Tamen atras pellere curas,
Miserasque fugare querelas
Non posse, potentia non est. *Lib. III. Metr. v.*

Omne hominum genus in terris
Simili surgit ab ortu:
Unus enim rerum pater est,
Unus cuncta ministrat.
Ille dedit Phœbo radios
Dedit et cornua lunæ.
Ille homines etiam terris
Dedit, et sidera cœlo.
Hic clausit membris animos
Celsa sede petitos.
Mortales igitur cunctos
Edit, nobile germen.
Quid genus, et proavos strepitis?
Si primordia vestra
Auctoremque Deum spectes,
Nullus degener extat,
Ni vitiis pejora fovens
Proprium deserat ortum. *Ibid. metr. vi.*

Quamvis fluente dives auri gurgite
Non expleturas cogat avarus opes;
Oneretque baccis colla rubri litoris,
Ruraque centeno scindat opima bove;
Nec cura mordax deserit superstitem,
Defunctumque leves non comitantur opes.
Ibid. metr. iii.

Line 20.—*Yet should, never let, &c.*] The concluding lines as they stand in the printed editions are hardly intelligible. We might read,

——yet should never let
Thy death, ne do thy wretched life profet,

i. e. thy covetousness and busy biting, should neither let, that is prevent, or retard my death, or afford real advantage to thy wretched life.

POEM I.

Mine old dear enemy, my froward master, page 50.

This is printed from the Harington MS. N° I. p. 11. from the 4th stanza; the three preceding stanzas are wanting. The whole occurs however in the MS. N° II. fol. 102. As it there stands it varies very little from the printed copies. It is for the most part a literal translation from Petrarch's 48th Canzone.

Quel antiquo mio dolce, empio Signore.

Wyatt's translation does not possess much beauty or merit. See the Essay, p. cxxi. and the note at page clxvi. In the Harington MS. N° II. fol. 37, is a translation of part of the same Canzone, by an anonymous hand. It is of about the same age with Wyatt's. The reader will not be displeased with an opportunity of comparing the two translations as far as they go. Wyatt, it should be observed, departs from the original considerably towards the close, and introduces imitations from other passages of Petrarch.

I cited once t' appear before the noble Queen
That ought to guide each mortal life that in this world is seen,
That pleasant cruel foe that robbeth hearts of ease,
And now doth frown, and then doth fawn, and can both grieve and please;

And there as gold in fire" full fin'd to each intent,
Charged with fear, and terror eke" I did myself present.
As one that doubted death," and yet did justice crave,
And thus began t' unfold my cause" in hope some help to have.

" Madam, in tender youth, I enter'd first this reign,
" Where other sweet, I never felt, " than grief and great disdain;
" And eke so sundry kinds" of torments did endure,
" As life I loath'd, and death desired" my cursed case to cure;
" And thus my woeful days," unto this hour have past,
" In smoky sighs, and scalding tears," my wearied life to waste;
" O Lord! what graces great," I fled, and eke refused
" To serve this cruel crafty Sire " that doubtless trust abused.

What wit can use such words" to argue and debate,
" What tongue express the full effect of mine unhappy state;
" What hand with pen can paint" t' uncipher this deceit;
" What heart so hard that would not yield" that once hath seen his bate;
" What great and grievous wrongs" what threats of ill success,
" What single sweet, mingled with mass" of double bitterness.
" With what unpleasant pangs," with what an hoard of pains
" Hath he acquainted my green years" by his false pleasant trains.

" Who by resistless power" hath forc'd me sue his dance,
" That if I be not much abused" had found much better chance;
" And when I most resolv'd" to lead most quiet life,
" He spoil'd me of discordless state", and thrust me in truceless strife.
" He hath bewitch'd me so" that God the less I serv'd,
" And due respect unto myself" the further from me swerv'd:
" He hath the love of one" so painted in my thought,
" That other thing I can none mind," nor care for as I ought.
" And all this comes from him" both counsel and the cause,
" That whet my young desire so much" to th' honour of his laws."

Line 25.—*Hare made me traced.* Though the general meaning of this line is obvious, some words in it I suspect are corrupt. The original is,

La qual m' attrasse all' amorosa schiera.

The expression, " dance," was used formerly to describe any course of action, habit, or pursuit. It is of such common occurrence, that there can be no need of adducing instances to support the explanation, I cannot forbear adding, however, that the expression is not peculiar to our own language. Thus in the verses that conclude the play of Calisto and Melibea,

'Poichè è seguito il fin triste a costoro
E ch' hanno malguidado *la lor danza*,
Drizzamo nostra mente al divin coro,
E in lui poniamo ognor nostra speranza.

Line 26.—*My mind and thought araised.*] The MS. reads " ataced:" the printed copies " erased," or, " arased." I have ventured on the emendation introduced into the text, from the words of the original, " Io era disposto a sollevarmi." The word " araised " is used by Chaucer, in the sense here required.

There men might hear my lady praised,
And such a name of her *arraised*,
That wonder was. *Ch. Dream.* v. 1136,

Line 29.—*He hath me made, &c.*] This line is a perfect alexandrine of twelve syllables, and can hardly be read as a decasyllable. Wyatt, as we have shewn before, indulges in the same licence in other instances. These lines, had he lived to correct his poems, he he would in all probability have removed.

Line 55.—*And not this his cruel, &c.* The meaning of this passage, which is much involved, is as follows: " If death have not already overtaken me, this is owing to the pity of the Gods, and not to any abatement of cruelty on the part of Love.

Pietà celeste ha cura
Di mia salute, non questo tiranno."

The editor of Tottel's edition seems to have altered the text arbitrarily, to give it what he considered to be a clearer meaning.

The heavenly Gods of pity do it slake,
And note they this his cruel tyranny.

Line 81.—*Brought him to some frame.*] Brought him to some good disposition. So lower down: his only *frame* of honesty. Nevertheless the original might justify a conjecture that we ought to read " fame." " Salito in qualche fama."

Line 98.—*Evermore thus, &c.*] Wyatt in this stanza departs from the original. I think with advantage. Petrarch chiefly alludes to the reputation he had obtained for his verses.

E sì dolce idioma,
Le diedi, ed un cantar tanto soave,
Che pensier basso, o grave,
Non potè mai durar dinanzi a lei.

Wyatt would not have been justified in speaking so favourably of his own compositions; and, after all, it was speaking more in praise of Love to say, that it had taught him gentleness, fidelity, and patience in adversity.

Line 111.—*A serpent nourish I, &c.* These two lines are an addition of Wyatt's, who has made here a little alteration in the arrangement of the passage from the original.

Line 124.—*He striveth with the bit, &c.*] Wyatt here again departs from his original. The last line of this stanza is read with considerable variation in the Songs and Sonnets.

And in our hour make all his grief his gain.

Line 140.—*Not I, quoth he, &c.*] This line is printed in the Songs and Sonnets thus:

Not I, but price more worth than thou, quoth he.

I apprehend the alteration was made to obtain a more fluent line. The sense of the passage is injured by it. Petrarch's words are

Io nò! ma chi per sè la volse.

"It was not I who bereaved you of her, but He who willed to take her to himself." In which sense we may understand him by the word, *price*, as meaning to say, that the reward she was to receive at her death was the cause of her being removed.

Perhaps after all Wyatt designedly departed from the original, and meant to intimate, "that a richer rival had taken his mistress from him." The word "price" occurs in this sense in another place, page 168, line 24.

POEM II.

So feeble is the thread that doth the burthen stay. page 56.

From the Harington MS. No I. p. 31, in Wyatt's own hand writing: at the beginning are these words, "In Spain: Petrarch." It must have been written therefore either late in 1538, or early in 1539. It is a translation from Petrarch's eighth Canzone. "Si è debile il filo a cui s'attene." In some places however Wyatt departs from the original, and interweaves thoughts of his own, and passages taken from other parts of Petrarch's poems.

Line 5.—*That did me to depart.*] Caused me to depart. The verb "do," was frequently used in this sense in other combinations. "Doth the winds roar," make them roar. Lydgate B. of Troy, B. V. "do me die." *Troil. and Cres. B. IV. v. 250, and v. 1051*, "do you mirth," and do you ease. *Cant. Tales, v. 768, and v. 770.*

Line 14.—*By trust am trained.*] Am deceived by misplaced confidence. "Trains" meant deceits generally. To train, was to deceive. See Surrey's Poems, *p. 26, l. 11.*

Line 38.—*That them doth entermete.*] Do interpose. Sometimes spelt, entermette, from the French "entremettre." *Cant. Tales, v. 6416, and Rom. of R. v. 2966.*

Line 52.—*The accumbred sprite.*] "Overwhelmed." It is a distinct word from, incumber, which implies only impediment. So Chaucer, describing the good Parson in the Cant. Tales, says,

He set not his benefice to hire,
And let his sheep accombre in the mire. *v. 509.*

Line 65.—*Nought but the case.*] This is an inelegant expression; it has been adopted however by Sackville. See *Induction, fol. 210. ed. 1587.*

Her body thin, and bare as any bone,
Whereto was left nought but the case alone.

The thought is not in the original. Wyatt has introduced it from another passage of Petrarch; it is to be found originally in Dante. *Can. I. v. 21.*

Entra nel petto mio, e spira tue;
Sì come quando Marsia traesti
Della vagina delle membre sue.

Line 71.—*The lively streams.*] Eyes; See Surrey's Poems, *p. 7. v. 15*, and the note at *p. 252.*

Line 74.—*The wise and pleasant talk, &c.*] The meaning of this passage seems to be; "That charm of conversation so seldom to be met with, perhaps never in any one but herself, which she was wont courteously to indulge me with, is now taken from me." The original is almost as obscure as Wyatt's translation of it.

Line 82.—*That firmly do embrace me from myself.*] This is not in Petrarch. The expression is evidently from Horace. "Quæ me surpuerat mihi." Lib. IV. Ode XIII.

Line 84.—*The sweet disdains, &c.*] Added from Petrarch's 314th Sonnet. "Dolce durezze, e placide ripulse."

Line 88.—*At others will my long abode, &c.*] This is added by Wyatt probably in reference to his being compelled to continue longer in Spain than he either expected or wished. He was always urgent with Cromwell for his recall.

Line 96.—*My song thou shalt attain, &c.*] The conclusion is greatly altered from Petrarch, who, diffident of the reception his song might find from Laura, orders it not to touch even her hand, but cast itself humbly at her feet. Wyatt seems so confident his strains would be graciously received, that it will be pleasing to believe they were addressed to his wife.

Line 97 and 98.—*When she hath read, &c.*] The custom alluded to in these lines, is one which grew out of the modes and fashion of the day; a custom of which our early dramatic writers frequently availed themselves. Tasso refers to it in the Envoi to his elegant little Ode, entitled, "La Bellezza."

Vanne occulta, Canzone,
Nata d'amore e di pietoso zelo.
A quella bella man, che contant' arte
L'altrui chiome comparte;
Di, che t' asconda fra le mammme, e 'l velo
Dagli uomini e dal cielo.

POEM III.

When Dido feasted first the wandering Trojan knight. p. 60.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 202, in Wyatt's own hand-writing. It occurs also in N° II. fol. 99. It bears the appearance of being a translation. Warton speaks of it as translated from Virgil. See *Hist. of Eng. Poet. Vol. III. p.* 38 This is inaccurate. See the Essay, page clvi. and note 1.

—Wyatt, or whoever was the original author of this piece, did no more than avail himself of the idea suggested generally by Virgil. The description of the heavens is given according to the erroneous system of Ptolemy. As the Copernican system was beginning to be adopted in Wyatt's time, this will probably account for his having left the poem in an unfinished state.

SONGS AND EPIGRAMS.

A face that should content me wondrous well! p. 64.

1.

From the Nugæ Antiquæ, *Vol. I. p.* 195. *ed.* 1769. It does not occur in any of the MSS. It is a little piece of singular beauty. In the Harington MS. N° II. fol. 130, we meet with a sort of parody on this epigram, signed Joh. Harington, which, as it has not, I believe, been published, the reader will not be displeased to see here quoted entire.

A boy that should content me wondrous well
Should keep these rules set down for his behoof.
In fearing God, all boys he should excell,
And lead a life unworthy just reproof.
An upright gait, a forehead smooth and plain;
A countenance good, with feet even set on ground;
A steady eye, still hands, and steady brain,
An open ear to good instructions bound.
A courteous tongue that talketh true and plain,
An humble heart, of guile void evermore;
A constant mind, that will refuse no pain,
To purchase still the fruit of virtuous lore,
And learn to know, and know to do the best:
And such a boy should worthy pass the rest.

Line 2.—*Should not be fair, &c.*] Fair signifies, in this place, that which is absolutely, or regularly *beautiful*; and the meaning of the passage is, "The face that is to captivate me must be not regularly beautiful, but one that has a lovely turn of expression."

Line 6.—*Should be of crisped gold.*] That golden hair was esteemed a circumstance of particular beauty has been noticed in Surrey's Memoirs, p. cxxvii. and note a. To this add the following passage from Skelton. Speaking of the arts of women to engage the attentions of men, and having mentioned their exposing the bosom to open view, he adds, "they dress them like voluptuous harlots, that make their hair to appear at their brows, yellow as fine gold in little tresses for to draw young folk to their love." Skelton's Book of the Three Fools. *Ed.* 1810, *p.* 303. The word "crisped" means short curling ringlets: these ringlets were generally the effect of art. The curling iron which was used, is preserved in some pictures of the times, and is frequently alluded to in our early poets.

II.

Of purpose love chase first for to be blind. p. 64.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 135. For the use of the word *chase*, the past tense of choose, see Surrey's Poems, *p.* 48. I think this piece most probably will be found to be a translation.

III.

Desire alas! my master and my foe. p. 65.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 99. It does not occur in either of the other MSS.

IV.

For shamefast harm of great and hateful need. p. 65.

This does not occur in any of the MSS. It is therefore printed from the Songs and Sonnets. Wyatt probably paraphrased it from Ausonius:

Thesauro invento qui limina mortis inibat,
Liquit ovans laqueum quo periturus erat;
At qui, quod terræ abdiderat non repperit aurum
Quem laqueum invenit nexuit et periit.
Epig. xxii.

Ausonius took it originally from this Epigram of Plato:

Χρυσὸν ἀνὴρ εὑρὼν ἔλιπε βρόχον· αὐτὰρ ὁ χρυσὸν,
ὃν λίπεν ἐχ εὑρὼν ἤψεν ὃν εὗρε βρόχον.
Brunk. Analec. Vol. I. p. 172.

Turberville has imitated Wyatt, in an epigram entitled, Of two desperate men. I give it entire, as it preserves a word which I do not recollect to have met with elsewhere.

A man in deep despair with hemp in hand
Went out in haste to end his wretched days;
And where he thought the gallo tree should stand
He found a pot of gold; he goes his ways
Therewith eft soon; and in exchange he left
The rope, wherewith he would his breath bereft.

The greedy carl came within a space,
That ow'd the good, and saw the pot behind
Where ruddocks lay, and in the ruddocks place
A knotty cord, but ruddocks could not find.
He caught the hemp, and hong himself on tree,
For grief that he the treasure could not see.

Line 4.—*Did find an hoard to?*] This insertion of the word, to! was not a licence for the rhyme's sake; for it was a redundant word used frequently formerly, when it was not necessary to either the metre or the rhyme, and might have been easily avoided. See *Sir T. More's Works*; *Chaucer, C. Tales*, v. 6738.

V.

Vulcan begat me, Minerva me taught. p. 65.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 137. It occurs in the Harleian MSS. N° 78, with this title, "A Riddle, ex Pandulpho." The lines of Pandulphus are

Vulcanus genuit; peperit Natura; Minerva
——Edocuit; Nutrix ars fuit, atque Dies;
Vis mea de nihilo est; tria dant mihi corpora pastum.
Sunt Nati, Strages, Ira, Ruina, Fragor.
Die, Hospes, quid sim; num terra, an bellua Ponti?
An neutrum, aut quo sum facta vel orta modo!

See Essay on Wyatt's Poems, p. cxxviii. where a particular account is given of the dialogue, whence the epigram is taken. The Pandulphus who wrote it was the famous Pandolfo Collinutio, who for many years governed the state at Siena. The object of the dialogue probably was to persuade his fellow citizens to purchase artillery for the defence of the town. Pandulfo's life will be found among the Elogia Illustrium Virorum, by Paulus Jovius. Pandulfo had a son to whom Ariosto addressed two Latin poems. *Opere del Ariosto. Vol. II.* p. 392, 399. He seems to have been a person of considerable talents and hopes. Valerianus, in his dialogue de Infortunis Literatorum, speaks of him in terms of high commendation. He destroyed himself at the age of twenty-eight, in the Castle of St. Angelo, where he had been confined for engaging in a conspiracy against Leo the Xth.

VI.

In doubtful breast whilst motherly pity. p. 66.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 108. The story from which the piece is taken will be found in Josephus's History of the Jewish War, Book vi. ch. 8.

The story, as related by Josephus, is as follows. A person of considerable wealth and distinction, Mary, the daughter of Eleazar, had come into Jerusalem at the commencement of the siege, from Bethezob, the place of her residence on the other side Jordan. Towards the close of the siege, when the Romans pressed the city on every side from without; and civil dissentions were raging within with the utmost fury, and the famine was at the height, she formed the resolution of killing her child, an infant whom she was then nursing at the breast, for food. But before she put the horrid purpose into execution, she is said to have thus addressed the little one. "Ah! hapless babe! Why should I preserve you, surrounded as you are by such accumulated miseries as those of war, famine, and civil discord! Say, that your life could be preserved! slavery would be your lot among the Romans! But no! famine will prevent your falling into their hands: or, should famine spare you, you will be destroyed by civil discord, a scourge more dreadful than famine itself. Come then! you shall be food to your mother! and a curse to those whose dissentions have caused our miseries; and to the survivors a tale of woe, which alone was wanting to complete the calamities of Jerusalem."

VII.

Alas! Madam for stealing of a kiss. p. 60.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 55. It occurs also N° fol. 63. It is a translation from Serafino:

Incolpa, Donna, amor se troppo io volsi
Aggiungendo alla tua, la bocca mia.
Se pur punirmi vuoi di quel ch'io tolsi,
Fa che concesso replicar mi sia,
Che tal dolcezza in quelli labri accolsi,
Che'l spirto mio fu per fuggirsi via.
So ch'al secondo tocco uscira fora;
Bastar ti dé, che per tal fallo mora.

Fol. 179. *Ed.* 1516.

VIII.

The wandering gadling in the summer tide. p. 67.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 17. It occurs Nugæ Ant. Vol. I. p. 195. ed. 1767. Compare the opening lines of it with Surrey's Second Book of the Æn. p. 105. l. 486.

Line 6.—*Crop and root.*] The crop is the top of any plant. *Cant. Tales, l.* 1532. "Crop and root" means the whole and entirety of a thing. "Ye ben of beauty crop and root." *T. and C. B. II.* and *Letter of Cupid, l.* 17. *Urry's Chaucer, p.* 534.

IX.

What needeth these threnning words, &c. p. 67.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 59. It occurs N° II. fol. 68. It is taken from the following of Serafino: fol. 170. ed. 1816.

A che minacci! a che tanta ira e orgoglio!
Per questo non farai che'l furto renda.
Non senza causa la tua man dispoglio,
Rapir quel d' altri non fu mai mia menda.
Fammi citar davanti Amor, ch' io voglio
Che la ragion del uno e l' altro intenda.
Lei il cor mi tolse, ed io gli ho tolto un guanto
Vorrò saper da te s'un cor val tanto.

fol. 100. *ed.* 1567.

Turberville has imitated it from Wyatt, though with some little variation. See Poems, p. 631. ed. 1810.

x.

Th' en'my of life, destroyer of all kind. p. 67.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 78. It does not occur in the others. The first line is quoted by Puttenham as an instance of the redundant line, and it appears as such in Tottel's edition, where it is read thus,

The enemy of Life, decayer of all kind.

But the line as it stands in the text, from Wyatt's own manuscript, represents it to be a regular decasyllabic line. This is one instance among many that might be adduced to prove the incorrect manner in which Wyatt's Poems were originally printed. The same observation will apply to the text of Surrey's Poems.

xi.

Right true it is, and said full yore ago. p. 68.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 59. It occurs also N° II. fol. 67. It has the appearance of being imperfect at the fifth line. This is noted in the late ed. of Tottel's Songs and Sonnets, p. 63, and the sense seems to require that one should be supplied; but neither of the MSS. notice the defect.

Line 2.—*By the back the claweth.*] "To claw by the back," means, as we may collect from Chaucer, to "clap on the back," to encourage by approbation:

The Cook of London, while that the Reve spake
With joy, he laughed and claw'd him on the back.

A "claw back" came afterwards to mean a flatterer; so Churchyard in a MS. piece in the Harington Collection, N° II. fol. 243.

When Fortune turns her face, beware the Syren's song:
Beware the *busy claw-back fine*, whose friendship lasts not long.

And thus Hall, in the Prologue to his Satires:

For in this smoothing age who durst indite,
Hath made his pen an hired parasite,
To *claw the back of him* that beastly lives.

Line 5.—*Yet knoweth it well, &c.*] "Knoweth," is the old imperative for "know thou." As "doeth," for, "do thou;" and many similar words that might be adduced. On the supposition that there is nothing omitted here, we must understand the whole passage thus. "No enemies are worse than those who assume the appearance of friends, though, because they please, they therefore are thought good. Study therefore to know the character of any one who has insinuated himself into your bosom."

xii.

From these high hills as when a spring, &c. p. 68.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 129. It is no in the other MSS. There is something pleasing in the thought. The whole bears great resemblance to a passage in Shakespeare's *Two Gent. of Verona. A. II. s. 7.*

Line 4.—*The stream and force.*] The word "force," is here used in an unusual sense, and seems to mean not so much the strength of the current as the spring or fountain whence it is derived. It may receive some illustration from I. 20. p. 15. See note on the place.

Line 6.—*When he hath ta'en a sourse.*] Sourse means here impetuous flight. As in French, "prit son essor." The term seems borrowed from hawking. "And with his *sours* again upwent" *House of Fame, B. II. v.* 33. and again, *v.* 42. In the Sompner's Tale, the word is used with much beauty metaphorically, where it is said that holy prayers "maken their *sours*" to the ears of the Almighty, as "an hawk upon *a sours* upspringeth into the air." *C. Tales, v.* 7520.

Line 7.—*Rage is his reign.*] Rage is his restraint: i. e. there is no restraint on his raging. These two lines were written originally,

His rein is rage; then booteth no deny,
The first eschew is only remedy.

xiii.

She sat and sewed, that hath done me the wrong. p. 69.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 67. It occurs also at N° II. fol. 60.

xiv.

Who hath heard of such cruelty before. p. 69.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 52. It occurs in N° II. fol. 68.

xv.

Sometime I fled the fire that me brent. p. 69.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 73. It occurs also at N° II. fol. 68. and among the Harleian MSS. N° 78. Allusion is made in it evidently to some real occurrence in Wyatt's life. This has been noticed in the Memoirs prefixed to this volume, p. xxiii. note [1].

Line 8.—*Mashed in briars.*] Entangled. The word is spelt indifferently mashed, meshed, and meashed. See *Troil. and Cres. B. III. l.* 1740.

XVI.

The furious gun in his most raging ire. page 70.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 74. It occurs at N° II. fol. 68. Wyatt borrowed the thought from Serafino:

Se una bombarda è dal gran foco mossa
Spirando ciò che trova aterra presto.
Ma se gli advien ch' ella spirar non possa
Se stessa rompe, e poco offende il resto.
Così io dentro ardo; il foco è giunto a l'ossa.
Se 'l taccio i' mor, se 'l dico altrui molesto;
Sospeso vivo: Amor mi da tal sorte
Che altro non è ch' una confusa morte.
Fol. 145. *ed.* 1516.

Turberville, whose taste seems to have led him to prefer conceits to simple and natural thoughts, has imitated Wyatt thus:

Like as the gun that hath too great a charge,
And pellet to the powder ramm'd too sore,
As neither of both hath power to go at large,
Till shiver'd flaws in sounding skies do roar;
Even so my careful breast, that fraughted is
With Cupid's ware, and cloy'd with lurking love;
Unless I should disclose my dreariness,
And out of hand my troubled thoughts remove,
Asunder would my cumbred carcase flee;
The heart would break the overcharged chase
Of pensive breast, and you my love should see,
Your faithful friend in lamentable case.
Therefore do what you will in gentle wise
The gunner to assist in time of need;
And when you see the pellet pierce the skies
And powder make a proof of hidden gleed,
Rue on his case, and seek to quite his woe,
Lest in short time his gun to pieces go. *p.* 602.

Puttenham cites the first verse of Wyatt's piece, as one in which the dactyl was introduced, and proposes to read it thus:

The fúrious gun in his most raging ire.

His observation upon it is, "If ye do not allow for a dactyl the verse would halt, unless ye would help it by contracting a syllable by virtue of the figure syneresis; which I think was never their meaning, nor indeed would have bred any pleasure to the ear; but hindered the flowing of the verse." But the MS. clearly shews that Wyat did not write the verse as quoted by Puttenham. It must be read with the old rhythmical cadence, and a cæsura in the middle of the line.

The furious gun "‖ in ‖ his raging ire.

The first line was written originally, "Like as the cannon in his raging ire." Cannon was then changed to "bombard." The line was finally altered as it stands in the text.

XVII.

Nature that gave the bee so feal a grace. page 70.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 85. It occurs among the Harleian MSS. N° 78. The thought on which the piece turns was very often repeated among our early writers of every description. See Gascoigne, ed. 1810, p. 471; and Letters of the Martyrs, p. 425. where Bradford thus addresses his wife previous to his execution. "This, mine own heart's in the Lord, I mention, not that you should live more securely and carnally; doing as the spiders do, which gather poison where the bees gather honey; but that, as the elect of God, you might live in all purity, godliness, and peace."

XVIII.

All in thy look my life doth whole depend. page 71.

This does not occur in any of the MSS. It is therefore printed from the Songs and Sonnets, p. 94. It has the appearance of being a translation. It is a piece of no merit. The thought in the fourth line,

Why dost thou stick to salve that thou mad'st sore,

would now be justly discarded by a correct writer as too common and inelegant. It occurs, however, so frequently in our best early writers, that we must consider it to be one of those images which are too simple in themselves to be retained when language and manners arrive at extreme refinement: it certainly excited no unpleasing ideas at the time, neither were the expressions in which it is conveyed deemed objectionable.

XIX.

Of Carthage he that worthy warrior. page 71.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 188. It was evidently written by Wyatt during his embassy into Spain, consequently about the year 1538. The circumstances alluded to in it are so darkly hinted at, that they elude all conjecture.

Line 2.—*Could overcome, but could not use, &c* This thought is borrowed from Petrarch.

Vinse Annibál, e non seppe usar poi
Ben la vittoriosa sua ventura. *Son.* 82.

XX.

Tagus, farewell! that westward with thy streams. p. 6.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 135. in Wyatt's original hand-writing: on the top "In Spain." Probably on his finally quitting his embassy in May 1539. It is a piece of much beauty, and has all the spirit of the Greek epigram. See Essay, p. cxxix.

Line 2.—*gold already tried.*] Pure gold. The circumstance here alluded to must be known to every one.

Line 5.—*Which Brutus sought with dreams.*] The fabulous, but not uninteresting account of the manner in which Brutus was directed to settle in England, may be found in Holinshed, B. ii. ch. 2; and in the Mirror for Magistrates. Geoffry of Monmouth is the common authority of both. The story is briefly this. Brutus, the third in descent from Æneas, having accidentally killed his father, Sylvius, was sentenced in consequence to quit his native land. Upon this he collected a body of adventurers, and went in quest of a new habitation. After many adventures he came to the "Isle of Lestrigons," where wandering some way into the country, he found a deserted city, in the midst of which was a temple dedicated of old to Diana. Brutus was advised to stop there, and consult the Goddess as to the course he was to pursue; and in what land he was finally to settle. He accordingly performed the accustomed sacrifices, and filling a cup with wine, and the blood of a white hind scarce cold, having gone four times round the altar, and poured the wine and blood upon the fire, he laid himself down to sleep by the side of the altar, on the skin of the white hind which he had sacrificed.

> It was the third hour of the night, a tide
> Of sweetest sleep, when seemed him before
> Diana chaste, the Goddess to appear,

who directed him to sail to the "shining clives of Albion," where he should build another Troy, and found a Kingdom, before which "all the world was to bow and bend." Encouraged by this vision, Brutus again set sail, and, having encountered many difficulties, landed at last in Albion, at Totness; whence proceeding inland, he finally built London, on the North side of the river Thames, which he called Troynovante: the name by which London is known in many of our early writers.

Line 8.—*Of mighty love, &c.*] The meaning of the passage is evidently this. The love I bear my King and my Country give me wings for my journey. Tottel reads these lines thus:

> My King my Country I seek, for whom I live;
> O! mighty Jove, for this the winds me give.

The alteration, I doubt not, was one which originated with the editor, for the purpose, as he thought, of improving the passage.

XXI.

Sighs are my food: my drink they are my tears. p. 72.

From the Harleian MS. N° 78. It does not occur in either of the Harington MSS. Wyatt wrote it during his second confinement in the Tower, in 1541. See his Oration, p. 291. and Surrey's Poems, p. 51. and note at p. 359. and p. 15 of this vol. and the note at p. lxiii.

XXII.

Look! my fair Falcon! and your fellows all. page 72.

From the Nugæ Antiquæ, Vol. I. p. 196. ed. 1767. It does not occur in any of the MSS. Tottel reads "Lux! my fair Falcon," as if it were a proper name. *See Songs and Sonnets, p.* 97. but there seems no reason for supposing that a proper name was intended.

Line 8.—*and so be but few else.*] The old orthography of the word, *else*, was "elles," in this instance, as in Chaucer's Sompner's Tale.

> Withouten noise, or clattering of belles,
> Te Deum was our song, and nothing elles.

I do not conceive, however, that in either instance the words are to be pronounced as dissyllables.

XXIII.

He is not dead that sometime had a fall. page 73.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 3. It occurs Nug. Ant. Vol. I. p. 196. ed. 1767; and is translated from Serafino.

> S'io son caduto in terra i' non son morto.
> Ritorna il sol, benchè talhor si cele.
> Spero mi darà il ciel qualche conforto,
> Poichè Fortuna avrà sfogato il fele.
> Ch' ho visto nave ritornarsi in porto,
> Da poi che rotte ha in mar tutte le vele;
> E'l salce ancora il vento abbassa e piega,
> Poi si ridrizza, e gli altri legni lega. *fol.* 120.

Line 1.—*He is not dead, &c.*] Wyatt wrote this line originally,

> I am not dead, although I had a fall.

The alteration, which is in Wyatt's own hand-writing, was made probably that he might not be thought to allude too pointedly to his own misfortunes. We may conjecture that the piece was written by him on the subject of his imprisonment in 1541.

Line 5.—*in haven fall.*] This expression means the same as "to reach the port." "I have seen a ship almost destroyed by the violence of the tempest, nevertheless reach the port in safety." Puttenham quotes four lines of this piece with commendation. *Art. of Eng. Poet. p.* 191.

XXIV.

Venemous thorns that be so sharp and keen. page 73.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 99. See also Harleian MS. N° 78. and Nug. Ant. Vol. I. p. 197. ed. 1767. It is translated from Serafino.

> Ogni pungente e venenosa spina,
> Si vede a qualche tempo esser fiorita:
> Crudel veneno posto in medecina,
> Più volte torna l' uom da morte 'n vita:
> E'l foco che ogni cosa arde e ruina,
> Spesso risana una mortal ferita.

Così spero il mio mal me fia salute;
Ch' ogni cosa che nuoce ha pur salute.
Fol. 117. *ed.* 1516.

XXV.

In courts to serve, decked with fresh array. page 74.

This very pleasing little epigram does not occur in any of the MSS. It affords a lively picture of Wyatt's mind; and is, I have no doubt, an original composition. The turn of thought reminds us of an expression in Seneca's Thyestes, Venenum auro bibitur, *v.* 453. Seneca was one of Wyatt's favourite authors.

Line 57.—*Amid the press of lordly looks.*] Tottel reads

Amid the press of *worldly* looks to waste.

Selden proposed to read from conjecture "lordly looks," which has been adopted into the text; the conjecture is supported by Satire II. line 5.

XXVI.

Stand who so list upon the slipper wheel. page 74.

From the Harington MS. N° II. fol. 216. It is taken from the following lines of Seneca's Thyestes.

Stet quicunque volet potens
Aulæ culmine lubrico:
Me dulcis saturet quies.
Obscuro positus loco
Leni perfruar otio.
Nulla nota Quiritibus
Ætas per tacitum fluat.
Sic cum transierint mei
Nullo cum strepitu dies,
Plebeius moriar senex.
Illi mors gravis incubat,
Qui notus nimis omnibus.
Ignotus moritur sibi. *v.* 391.

The reader perhaps need hardly be reminded, that the above passage from Seneca has been frequently imitated in our language. If Wyatt's were compared with any of the more modern translations, it would not be found inferior to the best.

Line 1.—*Upon the slipper top.*] Tottel reads the four first lines very differently:

Stand who list, upon the slipper wheel
Of high estate, and let me here rejoice,
And use my life in quietness each deal,
Unknown in Courts, which hath the wanton toys.

In several of the other lines likewise are considerable variations. See *Songs and Sonnets, p.* 126. *Ed.* 1816.

XXVII.

Accused though I be without desert. Page 75.

This does not occur in any of the MSS. It is therefore given from the Songs and Sonnets, p. 80. The four first lines of it are quoted by Puttenham with commendation. p. 191.

XXVIII.

Throughout the world of it were sought. p. 75.

This occurs in none of the MSS. It is therefore given from the Songs and Sonnets, p. 120. "Good cheap," in the third line means an "easy bargain." *Tooke's Div. of Purley. V. II. p.* 320.

XXIX.

Driven by desire I did this deed. p. 76.

This occurs in none of the MSS. It is therefore given from the Songs and Sonnets, p. 122. It refers evidently to some of the political events in Wyatt's life.

XXX.

Madam, withouten many words. page 76.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 42. Subjoined in the same MS. is an answer, which, though it probably was not written by Wyatt, yet as it was transcribed by him into his book, deserves to be preserved. It has been therefore printed in the text.

XXXI.

Within my breast I never thought it gain. p. 77.

This occurs in none of the MSS. It is therefore given from the Songs and Sonnets, p. 81. It is obscure. Selden proposes many alterations, but they are all too arbitrary to be admitted. He would change the title, and call it "a Lady embracing a Gentleman's love." In the 2d line he would read "friendship" for freedom. The 6th line he would read "To set a *shew* upon *unearnest* game;" and in the last line "swain" for "strain."

XXXII.

Sufficeth not, Madam, that you did tear. p. 78.

This occurs in none of the MS. It possesses no merit whatever.

XXXIII.

It burneth yet, alas! my heart's desire. p. 78.

This is printed from the Songs and Sonnets; it occurs in none of the MSS. It is one of the earliest specimens in our language, of a species of composition which seems to have been very popular afterwards, probably because it was well adapted to singing, and admitted the exercise of two voices. See the Paradise of Dainty Devices, N° 65, 69, 70, and 74. Ed. 1810. and England's Helicon, p. 34, 35, 73, 91, and 101. Ed. 1812. Wyatt may claim the merit of perfect decency, as well as of much propriety and delicacy of sentiment.

XXXIV.

This is printed from the Songs and Sonnets, p. 110. It occurs in none of the MSS. It is a piece of no merit; though it may be proper to observe, that it was written evidently on the subject of some domestic sorrow, and not, as the title purports, on an amatory occasion.

XXXV.

What word is that which changeth not. p. 80.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 60. with the word Anna at the top. It occurs at N° II. fol. 67. Might not this have been one of the little Ballads which at an early period of his life Wyatt is supposed to have made on Anne Boleyn? The Christian name of his own wife was Elizabeth.

XXXVI.

A lady gave me a gift she had not. p. 79.

From the Harington MS. N° II. fol. 62. It has the merit of being one of the earliest riddles in our language. Selden ventures with some diffidence on the interpretation. "I think, it is a kiss." It has been imitated, not inelegantly, by Gascoigne.

A lady once did ask of me
This pretty thing in privity:
"Good Sir," quoth she, "fain would I crave
"One thing which you yourself not have;
"Nor never had yet in times past,
"Nor never shall while life doth last.
"And if you seek to find it out,
"You lose your labour out of doubt.
"Yet if you love me as you say,
"Then give it me, for sure you may."
Herbs, p. 143. Ed. 1574.

XXXVII.

This occurs in none of the MSS. and is therefore printed from the Songs and Sonnets, p. 116.

SATIRE I. p. 82.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 100. It occurs also N° II. fol. 100. For an account of the sources whence this and the two other Satires are taken, see the Essay prefixed to this volume, p. cxliii.

Line 1.—*My mother's maids, &c.*] The picture presented to us in this line is extremely pleasing, and as it brings before the imagination simple scenes of domestic life, is highly artificial; for it is at home, in the quiet of retirement, that we find ourselves best disposed to reason impartially upon the folly and vanity of worldly pleasures. Shakespeare avails himself of the same image to excite interest for a little Ballad introduced into the Twelfth Night.

Mark it, Cæsario! it is old and plain.
The spinsters and the knitters in the sun,
And the free maids that weave their thread with bones,
Do use to chaunt it. *Act.* II. *Sc.* 4.

Mantuan also, if I mistake not, makes in his fifth Eclogue, the same sort of allusion in the following line:

Fabellasque inter nentes ridere puellas.

As Mantuan was a popular poet in those days, it is most probable that Wyatt must have read him; nor should I be surprized if he had the above line in his eye. In his introduction to the story, Wyatt has nothing in common with Horace, who describing his country neighbour Cervius, as having a story ready suited to every occasion, says,

—— si quisnam laudat Arelli
Solicitus ignarus opem sic incipit; Olim
Rusticus, urbanum murem, &c.
Sat. vi. Lib. ii. v. 98.

Line 3.—*Livelode was but thin.*] Her livelihood, means of living, were but small. See Turberville, *p.* 637. *ed.* 1810. and Tale of Beryn. *Urry's Chaucer. l.* 2464.

Line 15.—*Then well-a-way! &c.* This common exclamation, descriptive of sorrow, seems to be a contraction of "weal" is a way: "*weal*" means prosperity in one's affairs generally, happiness, or enjoyment.

Line 31.—*She maketh but a jape.*] She made light of the journey; she made a jest of it. Jape, means a jest.

Thomas that jape, ne is not worth a mite.

Whence *to jape*, or *japin*; to jest, or make sport of; *a japer*, a common buffoon; *japeries*, idle jesting.

Chaucer, in the Parson's Tale, defines the word thus: "After this cometh the sin of japeries, that ben the devil's apes; for they make folk to laugh at their japerie as folk do at the gaudes (tricks) of an ape, which japes defendeth St. Paul. "Look how that virtuous words and holy, comfort them that travail in the service of Christ! right so comforteth the vilanous words and knacks of japers them, that travail in the service of the devil." *Japeworthy* means any thing deserving ridicule, or contempt. See Chaucer's Boethius. Urry's Ed. p. 398.

Line 42.—*Peep quoth the other.*] The expression might have been borrowed from Henryson.

Cumfurth to me, my awin sister deir
Cry, peip, anis.

See the Appendix, N° VI. *p.* 451. *l.* 25.

Line 48.—*And as to purpose, &c.*] As it fell into conversation. This was the constant use of the word formerly. Wyatt frequently so employed it in his letters. See *Troil.* and *Cress.*

He thanked her, and to her spake and said
As fell to purpose. B. iii. v. 37.

Line 49.—*Amid this joy befel a sorry chance.*] Adopted from Chaucer.

Ah Lord! me is betid a sorry chance.
Tr. and C. B. II. l. 463.

Line 52.—*Two steaming eyes.*]—We ought to read perhaps "streaming eyes:" eyes from which proceeded streams of light. See Note in Vol. I. p. 252. Selden proposes to read "staring eyes."

Line 54.—*Was never mouse so feared.*] So frightened. The verb "to fear," formerly was often used in this active signification. It was generally spelt "afear'd," or "aferde." In this sense it is still retain'd by the common people, who are supposed, though erroneously, in thus using the word, to be guilty of a vulgarism.

——— tho' found she right nought
Of peril why that she ought *aferde* be.
Troilus & Cressida, B. ii. v. 606.

For lack of manhood draweth him ever back,
He is so *ferd*, and dreadful of the wrack.
Lydgate, Book of Troy, lib. i. fol. D. ii. Ed. 1555.

Line 68.—*Poor surety.*] "The security which she derived from her poverty." "Surety" was generally pronounced as a trisyllable. See *Chaucer's Squire's Tale. l.* 108, *p.* 42. *Comp. of Annelida, l.* 5. See also *Gascoigne. p.* 482. *Ed.* 1810. It ought to be spelt "Suerty."

Line 70.—*Do seek the best and find the worst.*] The expression seems to have been suggested by Chaucer, in his Knight's Tale. The whole cast of thought in Arcite's speech bears great resemblance to that in the passage before us.

We seeken fast after felecity,
But we go wrong. *v.* 268.

Line 77.—*Were hoop'd with gold.*] "Though thy brows were circled with a crown of gold:" there is a bold originality in the expression, which I believe has been imitated by some of our early writers.

Line 78.—*Sword nor knife.*] The knife means the dagger, which was constantly worn at the waist. It occurs in almost all the monumental figures of our early warriors. It was called in Latin, cultellum (whence, perhaps, the modern word cutlas) and in French "misericorde" pourceque de ce ferrement voluntiers etoient occis les chevaliers abbattus; et lesquels voyant tels armes en les mains de leurs enemis demandoient "miserecorde." See Gough's Sepulchral Monuments. Vol. I. p. cxlix. which explains a passage in the Romant of the Rose, where Pity is described as holding in her hand, instead of a sword, a "misericorde," sharp enough to pierce a diamond." See Lindsay's Testament of Squire Meldrum, who describes himself as having stood in many a sharp encounter "with spear, shield, sword and knife." "*Lindsay's Works, Vol. II. p.* 311, and again, *ibid. p.* 246. where it is said that not even Lancelot du Lake "fought better with sword or knife."

Line 79.—*Cannot repulse the care.*] Elegantly imitated from Horace. Ode XVI. Lib. II. See the Essay. p. cxlv.

Line 80.—*Hath with him his disease.*] "*Him*," and "*his*," are here put, for "it," and its." We have already remarked in Surrey's Poems, that this was common in those days, and that generally speaking, our early writers were not accurate in the use of the pronouns. See Surrey's Poems, p. 74. l. 24. and the note upon it.

Line 88.—*To set his haye.*] His hunting net, or toils. See *Surrey's Æn. B. IV. l.* 166. In its more usual acceptation it means an hedge. *R. of Rose, l.* 53. From the French, "*hayer*," the verb means simply to enclose: whence *haye*, or hunting net, is derived.

Line 93.—*Bare from all affects.*] Free from the dominion of all passion. Affects, and effects, in the same sense were words of frequent occurrence formerly. *Tro. and Cress. B. III. l.* 1397. *Turberville*, p. 600. ed. 1810. "Bare," as "devoid," was common. *Chaucer, Com. of Annelida. l.* 3. *Surrey's Æn. B. II. l.* 106.

Line 94.—*From all affects whom vice.*] "Whom," the personal pronoun, is here used for "which," the relative. We cannot infer, however, that this is a fault in the MS. Our early writers were careless in the use of the pronouns. See note above, to line 80.

Line 97.—*Out of thyself to find.*] Nec te quæsiveris extra. *Persius Sat. I. l.* 7.

Line 100.—*Mad if ye list, &c.*] The difficulty in this passage has been increased by the old orthography, which in all the printed copies, except in the first 4to. read "made." The sense is, "Cease to look for happiness out of yourselves: it is so be found in your own mind. If you continue to seek for it elsewhere, I must pronounce you to be mad."

Line 102.—*And deep yourself.*] Enter still more deeply into the labour of learned and religious study. Selden proposes to read "And *dippe* thyself." The word "to deep," in the sense used here by Wyatt occurs in Chaucer. It might have been originally taken from Dante.

Nostro intelletto si profonda tanto
Che retro la memoria non può ire.
Paradiso. C. i. v. 8.

Line 103.—*All and sum.*] This is generally spelt "all and some," as if the meaning were "a part and the whole." Wyatt intended to say this is the sum of all. In the MS. the word is written "some."

Line 105.—*But to the great God, &c.*] See Sackville's Comp. of D. of B. fol. 224. Ed. 1587. The whole passage is a beautiful imitation of the following spirited lines of Persius, in his third Satire.

Magnè Pater Divûm, sævos punire tyrannos
Haud aliâ ratione velim, cùm dira libido
Moverit ingenium ferventi tincta veneno,
Virtutem videant intabescantque relictâ. *v.* 85.

Milton has imitated the same passage, but seems evidently to have had these lines of Wyatt in his memory.

——— Abash'd the devil stood,
And felt how awful goodness is, and saw
Virtue in her shape how lovely; saw and pined
his loss, *Par. Lost. B. iv. v.* 846.

SATIRE II. PAGE 87.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 95. from the 52d line: as far as which it is imperfect. It is entire in *MS. No. II. fol*, 64. and among Archbp. Parker's MS. in Bene't Coll. Lib. Cambridge. It is a free translation from the tenth Satire of Alamanni.

Io vi dirò poichè d' udir vi cale.

The reader will find that Satire printed entire in the Appendix N° VII.

Line 1.—*Mine own John Poynz.*] For some account of John Poynz see Memoirs of Wyatt's Life, p. lxxxiii. and the note on that place.

Line 3.—*And flee the press of Courts where so they go.*] It should be remembered that the Court in those days made regular progresses during the summer, and was at all times frequently going from one Royal Palace to another. This must have added greatly to the restraints imposed on a Courtier's life.

Line 5.—*Wrapped in my cloak.*] An expression adopted from Horace's "meâ virtute me involvo." *Od. 29. Lib. III.* Wyatt has very much improved on the Italian Satirist in this passage. See Surrey's Poems, page 30. l. 1.

Line 9.—*Of right to strike the stroke.*] The meaning is; Those to whom is committed of right the power of punishing offences. Milton uses the word in this sense.

But that two-handed engine at the door
Stands ready to strike one, but strike no more.
Lycidas, l. 130.

Line 10.—*But true it is, &c.*] The sense of this passage, which is obscure, seems to be this; "I esteem the great less than the common sort of people do, who in their intent, i. e. view of things, judge of persons by their outward appearance, without regard to what is their internal merit." The original suggests and supports this interpretation of the passage. "Senza veder che chiugga il seno." The punctuation of these lines in Tottel's Songs and Sonnets differs materially from that here followed. *P.* 127. *Ed.* 1816.

Line 30.—*Nor turn the word, &c.*] The thought and expression are borrowed evidently from Horace.

delere licebit
Quod non edideris; nescit vox missa reverti.
A. Poet. v. 390.

Line 33.—*For profit still to paint.*] "To paint" meant generally to deceive, to give a false colour to any thing. The word was used frequently by Surrey in this sense, as well as by Wyatt. It is now fallen into disuse in that sense; but there were none of our early writers with whom the use of it was not familiar. See Surrey's Poems, p. 24. l. 10, and the note.

Line 40.—*If Livy do not lie!*] This reference to Livy is added by Wyatt. As that book of Livy has been lost (namely, the cxiv,) in which Cato's death was related, Wyatt's authority must have been, unless we suppose some error in the original transcriber, the author of the Epitome to that book, whose words are; Cato, auditâ re, quum se percussisset Utiæ et interveniente filio curaretur, inter ipsam curationem, resciso vulnere, expiravit.

Line 43.—*So would his heart, &c.*] The meaning of the whole passage is this: "I am not one of those that can approve of Cæsar's ambition, who enslaved his country; and condemn Cato as worthy of death, because he escaped from Cæsar's power, by killing himself, disdaining to live where public liberty was lost; such affection did he bear to the old republic, and the general good."

Line 50.—*Praise Sir Thopas, &c.*] Wyatt here alludes to the story of Sir Thopas, which is introduced by Chaucer with perfect good sense and judgment into his Canterbury Tales, to ridicule a prevailing taste for absurd tales of chivalry. See Cant. Tales, l. 13849, and the Host's sound criticism on the subject. It

should seem, however, that in Wyatt's time Chaucer's meaning had been misunderstood, and that there were some persons who preferred the childish Rhyme of Sir Thopas to the Knight's Tale, which Warton justly calls "that noble epic poem of the dark ages." *Hist. of Eng. Poets, V. III. p. 33.* We cannot be surprised however at the prevalence of that bad taste in Wyatt's days, since observation tells us we have but two many advocates for it in our own. The patience with which the public submits to have old nursery stories put into verse, and obtruded as serious poems, shews that we are beginning to lose sight of the nature and object, not only of Epic Poetry, but, I fear, of genuine Poetic Composition altogether.

Line 59.—*Colours of devise.*] The word "colour" was used frequently in the same sense with the word "paint," as implying an artificial means of covering the real state of things. See Surrey's Poems, p. 24. l. 10.

Line 61.—*With nearest virtue aye to cloke the vice.*] In this passage Wyatt had evidently his eye on Horace. *Sat. 3. Lib. 1. 41.*

——— et isti
Errori nomen virtus posuisset honestum.

Compare also Chaucer's Troil. & Cres.

'And this that thou doest call it gentleness,
Compassion, and fellowship, and trist;
Departen it so, for wide where is wist
Now that there is diversity required
Between thinges like. *Book iii. l. 402.*

Line 62.—*And as to purpose it shall fall.*] This phrase meant generally "as it shall occur in conversation. See the first Satire, l. 48. Here it seems to mean "as it may suit the occasion."

Line 67.—*Affirm that favel hath a goodly grace, &c.*] It has been proposed to read Favel as a proper name, as if some particular individual was intended. *Ellis's Specimens, Vol. II. p. 51.* But this is not necessary. "Favel" means flattery. Wyatt's ironical direction is this; "Consider adulation paid to individuals as nothing more than a necessary part of eloquence to set off your discourse."

There is a passage in Puttenham which not only explains the meaning of the word, but seems to have been almost intended as a comment on the passage before us. "But if such moderation of words tend to flattery, or soothing or excusing, it is by the figure Paradisastole, which therefore we, nothing improperly, call the Curry-favel: as when we make the best of a bad thing, or turn a signification to the more plausible sense; as to call an unthrift, a liberal gentleman; the fool-hardy, valiant or courageous; the niggard, thrifty; a great riot or outrage, an youthful prank; and such like terms, moderating and abating the force of the matter by craft, and for a pleasing purpose, as appeareth by these verses *of ours*, teaching in what cases it may be commendably used by Courtiers." *Art. of Eng. Poet. p. 154.* It should be observed that Puttenham subjoins no verses. I should not be surprised to find that the words marked in italicks were an interpolation, and that the verses which Puttenham intended to quote were those of Wyatt now under consideration. For the further authorities for the use of the word itself, see Skelton's *Bouge of Court, p. 251. Ed. 1816.* "Why came ye not to Court." *Ibid. p. 272.* Chaucer, *Urry's ed. p. 597. l. 361.*

Line 82.—*then with my bow to stalk.*] "To stalk," means to steal softly and imperceptibly: See p. 23. *l. 21.* I apprehend we are here to understand it, as describing the manner in which, under a stalking horse, or a figure dressed up like a horse, the shooter drew gradually near the birds at which he meant to aim his shafts, for fear of frightning them. In antient books of hunting we find the figure of the stalking horse frequently represented, with the archer concealed behind it.

Line 86.—*Save that a clog, &c.*] Warton conjectures that this alludes to some office held by Wyatt, which detained him at Court. *Hist. of Eng. Poets. V. III. p. 36.* It more probably alludes to his being under some temporary restraint imposed by the King, confining him to his castle at Allington and its precincts. This would fix the autumn of the year 1541 as the date of this Satire, which was soon after he had been acquitted of the charges of high treason brought against him by Bonner, for which he had been tried before the Privy Council. *See Memoirs.*

Line 87.—*No force for that, &c.*] "To force" meant, "to take care for a thing, to regard, or value any thing highly." See *Surrey's Poems, p. 57. l. 4.* The sense of the passage is: "But I do not care for that restraint; though it be a clog as it were upon my heels, it does not prevent my leaping over hedge and ditch, whenever I please to go a hunting."

Line 90.—*the delicates to feel.*] "To feel," I apprehend here means generally to perceive, by the senses; to taste. "I am not in France to taste the delicacies which they know so well how to prepare there with savoury sauces." It has been already noted in Surrey's poems, that the word "feel," formerly bore a vague and indefinite signification. See Surrey's poems, *p. 15. l. 23.* I cannot forbear adding by the way, that the French have for centuries been admitted to the proud distinction of being the best cooks as a nation in Europe. Holinshed alludes to it on, I believe, more than one occasion; and with old English prejudice, refers the superiority of our countrymen over the French in point of strength and patient persevering courage, to their having plenty of plain solid food.

Line 92.—*Rather than to be, &c.*] This sentiment is perfectly in unison with that which Wyatt expressed in his letter to his son. "If you will seem honest, be honest, or else seem as you are:" and again, "Seek not, I pray you my son, that honesty which appeareth and is not indeed." *See Letters, p. 274.*

Line 94.—*Nor Flanders' cheer letteth not.*] The double negative was common, as in this place, with Wyatt and Surrey, and the writers of their age. The meaning of the passage is, "The good cheer of Flanders does not so blind me, as to take from the means of judging between black and white."

Line 98.—*At Rome a common practise, &c.*] This, which is the genuine reading of the passage, is here first restored from the MS. all of which concur in giving it. Tottel, in the Songs and Sonnets, reads,

> Nor I am not where truth is given in prey
> For money, poison and treason, of some
> A common practice used night and day.

The alteration was evidently made by the Editor, from fear of offending the Court, and the Roman Catholic party: for it should be remembered, that Tottel's publication appeared in 1557. Mary then was on the throne. The word "treason" in this passage is to be spelt "trahison," and pronounced as a trisyllable. This word so spelt and pronounced occurs in other writers of Wyatt's time. Tottel, not attending to this, supplies a syllable by reading "and treason." Alamanni, in his twelfth satire, inveighs against the corruptions of the Church of Rome, even more pointedly than in that before us. The passage is animated, and deserves to be quoted:

> Oggi, ha d' altra aqua Roma, ed altra sete
> Che di Samaria, ed altri pesci prende
> Che già 'l buon Pescator, con altra rete.
> Or per altro sentier nel ciel s' ascende
> Non chi si pente, ma si monda e scarca,
> Chi la mano al pastor con l' oro stende.
> Con più ricco nocchier nuove onde varca
> Con le sarte di seta, e d' or la vela,
> Lunge da Galilea la santa barca.
> D' altro Simon per te s' ordisce tela
> Che di chi di Cefas reporta 'l nome
> Per quello acceso amor ch' a te si cela.
> Oh! chi vedesse il ver, vedrebbe come
> Più disnor tu, che 'l tuo Luther Martino,
> Porti a te stessa, e più gravose some.
> Non la Germania, no! ma l' ozio, il vino,
> Avaritia, Ambition, Lussuria, e Gola,
> Ti mena al fin, che già veggiam vicino.
> Non pur questo dico io, non Francia sola,
> Non pur la Spagna, tutta Italia ancora
> Che ti tien d' eresia, di vizi scuola.
> E chi nol crede, ne domanda ogn' ora
> Urbin, Ferrara, l' Orso, e la Colonna,
> La Marca, il Romagnuol, ma più chi plora
> Per te servendo, che fu d' altri Donna.

In these lines the Italian scholar will recognize some expressions and thoughts borrowed from Petrarch's famous sonnets against the Papal Court at Avignon. It is a circumstance much to the honor of polite literature, that at the revival of letters, poets should be among the first to point out and inveigh against the corruptions of Papal Rome. In Italy, Dante and Petrarch were the first to note them. They have been ranked in consequence by some among the earliest reformers. See *Catalogus Testium, Vol. II. p. 770 and 776.* In England, Chaucer delivered his sentiments with equal freedom, and still greater effect: and at the dawn of the Reformation, Wyatt was among the first to expose and reprove the errors of the See of Rome.

SATIRE III. PAGE 91.

From the Harington MS. N° 1. p. 3, and N° 2. fol. 99. This Satire is a spirited imitation of Horace.

Hoc quoque Tiresia, præter narrata petenti. *Lib. II. S. 5.*

For a further consideration of its merits, see the Essay prefixed to this volume, page cxliv. and cxlvii. For an account of Sir Francis Bryan, to whom it was addressed, see the Memoirs of Sir T. Wyatt, p. lxxxiv. and the note there.

Line 8.—*Wherein thou standes, &c.*] Tottel reads, "Wherein thou standst." This I believe to have been an arbitrary alteration. "Standes" was then frequently used for the second person singular: as in the 11th line "trots," for "trottès," or "trottest:" at line 12, "rests," for "restès," or "restest;" and at line 39, "says," for "sayès," or "sayest." The last of these terminations, which is now finally established as the proper termination of the second person of verbs singular, was not used generally until a later period than the reign of Henry VIII. See Ben Jonson's Works, Vol. VII. p. 245. and Notes to Surrey's Poems, p. 287.

Line 16.—*Good ale so nappy.*] This was a common expression:

> The nappy good ale of Southwirke
> Keeps many a gossip from the Kirk.

It was spelt noppy and noppe, and was derived probably from to knap, or nap, to sleep lightly, it being one of the properties of ale to induce sleep. "For the nones" is also a very common expression, meaning "for the occasion." We now spell and pronounce the word "nounce." Common as the use of the word may be, its etymology is very uncertain. See Tyrwhitt in verb: In the Scottish dialect it is spelt "nanis." *See Jamieson, Etym. Dictionary.*

Line 18.—*Swine so groins.*] "Groyne," is a swine's snout. "To groin," therefore, may mean to wrote [*grout*] as swine do with their snouts in the earth. Thus Chaucer: "A fair woman that is a fool of her body he likeneth to ring of gold that were worn on the groine of a sow; for a right as a sow wroteth in every ordure, so wroteth she her beauty in the stinking ordure of sin." *Parson's Tale: Urry's Ed. p. 192.* From a line in Skelton, however, a swine's "groining" seems to be the same as grunting: "The grunting and the groining and the groning of swine." *Skelton's Poems, fol. D. Ed. 15.* This sense of the word is further confirmed by Chaucer, *Troil. & Cress. B. I. l. 350.*

> And yet if she for other encheson [*excuse*]
> Be wroth, then shalt thou have a *groin* anon.

in which case the word would be derived from the French "grogner." The reader may decide between these two interpretations. The context leads me to prefer the first of them.

Line 21.—*So of the harp, &c.*] A proverbial expression from an antient fable. It occurs in Chaucer.

Or art thou like an ass unto, the harp
That heareth sound, when men the stringes ply,
But in his mind of that no melody
May sinken him to gladen, for that he
So dull is in his bestiality. *T. & C. B. ii. l.* 732.

Lines 22, 23.—*So sacks of dirt be filled, &c.*] By the "Sacks filled up with dirt in the cloister, which are said to serve for less, i. e. enslave themselves for less than fatted swine," we may understand those sensual and voluptuous monks, whose scandalous lives had become, at the Reformation, a subject of much notoriety. As it was not safe, however, in Mary's reign to publish what might seem to cast a reflection upon any part of the Roman Catholick Establishment, Tottel altered the above lines thus:

So sacks of dirt be fill'd. The nice Courtier
So serves for less than do these fatted swine.

Line 28.—*By God, well said, &c.*] This introduction of an oath will be justly deemed to be both indecent and unpleasing. In Wyatt's defence it may be said, that the custom was so prevalent in his days, that its use was not deemed indecorous in people of the highest rank, and most dignified situations in life. Perhaps he used it in this instance to mark himself as the person speaking; for in his oration, he tells us, "that in earnest talk he was sometimes wont to rap out an oath." It should be added, however, that he condemned it as a "naughty custom." See *Oration, p.* 207 & 300.

Line 32.—*Whoso can seek to please, shall purchase friends, &c.*] "Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parat." *Prol. ad And. v.* 41.

Line 44.—*As to a calf a cheese.*] The MS. reads "As to a dog a cheese." All the printed copies read the line as given in the text.

Line 45.—*Be sure to win a cant.*] Cant, for cantle, means a small part of a thing. *See Cant. Tales,* v. 3010.

Line 47.—*Learn at Kitson, &c.*] The true reading of this line is here first given from the MSS. All the printed copies read, "Learn at the lad, &c." The alteration was made by the original editor, probably to avoid giving offence. Who the person here intended was we have no positive means of ascertaining. We may conjecture, however, that it was Thomas Kitson, who was knighted, and Sheriff for London in the 25th of Henry the Eighth, 1533. Among Archb. Parker's papers, Codex C. VI. N° 129. mention is made of the effects of one Sir —— Kitson, who, after all expenses and debts paid, died worth £ 3141 17*s.* 5½*d.* which, according to the custom of the City of London, was to be divided into three parts, of which one was allotted to Lady Kitson; one to the children; and the third was called the testator's part. There is no date on the paper; but it appears evidently to have been of the time of which we are treating.

Line 55.—*And if the cough too sore, &c.*] This is a very spirited addition of circumstance, and must be considered a great improvement on the original.

—— si quis
Forte coheredum senior malè tussiet, huic tu
Dic, ex parte tuâ seu fundi, sive domus sit
Emptor, gaudentem nummo te addicere. *v.* 106.

Line 65.—*Let the old mule.*] The word "mule," when thus applied, was always taken as a term of reproach. See Rondeau III. p. 148. and the note on the passage. The orthography in the MS. is "moyle," which orthography was preserved in most of our early printed books.

Line 75.—*Be not so unwise, &c.*] A lively allusion is here made to Chaucer's Troilus and Cressida, where Pandarus, having obtained for Troilus an interview with his niece, refuses to accept any gift to shew his disinterestedness. He admits, indeed, that his conduct was somewhat equivocal, but says,

— God that all watteth, take I to witness,
That never this for covetise I wrought,
But only for to abridge that distress
For which well nigh thou died'st, as me thought.

Afterwards, to reconcile himself to his conscience, he draws the following distinction.

He that goeth for gold, or for richesse,
On such messages, call him what ye list:
And this that thou doest, call it gentilnesse
Compassion, and fellowship, and trist:
Departen it so; for wide-where is wist
How that there is diversity required
Betwixen thinges like.

See Troilus & Cressida, Book iii. v. 261 and 405. The expression in the last line but two, means "it is widely known; known far and near."

Line 78.—*Be next thyself.*] From the Adrian of Terence. "Proximus sum egomet mihi." *Act IV. S.* 1.

Line 85.—*Nay then farewell, &c.*] The conclusion of this satire is of singular beauty. The compliment paid Bryan, which according to all accounts was well deserved, is introduced with great address. Wyatt must be considered here also to have improved considerably on his original. Horace says simply;

—— sed me
Imperiosa trahit Proserpina; vive, Valeque.

Surely, this is very cold, and inartificial. We naturally expect that some sentiment of feeling should have been excited, or some moral truth impressed upon us, in parting.

Line ult.—*And coin to keep, &c.*] It strikes me that I have seen the expression in this line used as a Greek adage. If it is original with Wyatt, it must be a very lively and expressive thought.

NOTES TO THE PARAPHRASE OF THE PENITENTIAL PSALMS.

Page 103, line 2.—*Stood in the eyes, &c.*] This is an expression borrowed from Petrarch, with whom it seems to have been a favourite one, for we find him using it on more than one occasion. Thus bewailing Laura's death, he complains of the cruelty of death,

Ch' avendo spento in lei la vita mia
Stassi ne' suoi begli occhi, e non mi chiama.
Son. 259.

I have already pointed out in the Essay that Wyatt borrowed, in all probability, the thought, upon which the Introduction is founded, from Beza's "Introductio ad septem Psalmos, quos vocant penitentiales." See p. cxvi.

Page 103, l. 7.—*Touched his senses, &c.*] The reader cannot fail of remarking that this line is one among many that might be adduced to prove that Wyatt still affected the melody of rhythmical versification. It should be read evidently with a sort of singing of the voice.

Touch'd [his senses || and | over-runs his bones.

Had Wyatt intended to adhere to the iambic system, he would naturally have written the line thus:

His senses touch'd and overruns his bones.

The word "bones" in this line is to be understood as "limbs" generally. See Odes, p. 45, l. 5.

Page 103, l. 8. *With creeping fire, &c.*] Fire, is here to be pronounced as at page 105, l. 5, and in many other passages, as a dissyllable;

With creeping fyer, sparpled for the nones.

"Sparpled" is the same as "sparkled;" scattered loosely abroad. The word was spelt also "sparpall, sparpell, and sperple."

The thickest sop, or rout of all the preis
There as maist tarry was, or he wald ceis
This Lausus al-to *sparpellit*. *Doug. Virg.* 331; 45.

So again,

—— al-too frushed down he did decline
With sic rebound, and ruin wonder sair
That he his life has *sperplit* in the air.

Wicklif, in his translation of the New Testament, uses the word, *disparplid*, in the same signification. "Lo! the hour cometh, and now it cometh that ghe (*ye*) be *disparplid* each to his own thingis." *John, ch. xvi.*

Page 103, l. 12.—*As he stood and tranced.*] We ought probably to read "as he stood entranced."

Page 104, l. 4.—*forthwith he doth to make.*] He causeth to make Uriah go: i. e. he sent Uriah. "*To do*," was frequently used in this sense as an *auxiliary* verb, "to do to die;" i. e. "to kill, or cause to die."

Page 104, l. 18.—*With rueful chere, &c.*] The involution here produces a bad effect by impeding the sense, which is, Nathan spied out the treachery, and with a mournful countenance sets forth the great offence before David's face.

Page 105, l. 9, 10.—*The pompous pride, &c.*] The humility of repentance immediately lowers, represses the pride of state and dignity. This attempt at involution is done designedly to give a tone of greater elevation to the composition.

Page 105, l. 13, 14.—*His fair hoar beard, &c.*] The sense of these lines is evidently imperfect, but the MS. is so plain, we are hardly justified in proposing any alteration. The verb, "he tore," must be understood, perhaps Wyatt intended to have written,

With hair he ruffled, knowing his wickedness.
He ruffled his beard, with his hair.

Page 105, l. ult.—*The dark horrour, &c.*] This line was originally written to be recited rhythmically.

The dark horrour || made | his fault adrad.

Wyatt afterwards altered it as it stands in the text. This instance tends to prove that Wyatt was fluctuating between the rhythmical, which was his early style of versification, and the metrical or iambic versification, which Surrey had then introduced.

Page 106, l. 4.—*Afore his breast, &c.*] Wyatt in his MS. has marked the cæsura in this and the two following lines, so as to show they were designed to be pronounced rhythmically.

Afore his breast | fraughted with disease
Of stormy sighs | his chere colour'd like clay
Dressed upright | seeking to counterpose.

For the expression in the second of these lines, "of stormy sighs," see Surrey's poems, p. 51, l. 7, and the note.

Page 107, l. 15.—*in largeness nor in breade.*] "Breade," for *breadth*, was not uncommon formerly. Thus Chaucer:

—— and when this Troilus
It saw, he gan to taken of it heed,
Avising of the length and of *the brede*
And all the work. *Troi. and Cress. B. V. l.* 1056.

Page 108. line 5.—*Feel all my limbs, &c.*] The pause in this passage is highly artificial, and produces a beautiful effect.

Feel all my limbs that have rebelled for fear
Shake—in despair, unless thou me assure.

The famous pause in Milton is formed exactly in the same manner.

And over them triumphant Death his dart
Shook—but delayed to strike, though oft invok'd.
Par. Lost, B. XI. v. 491.

Page 108. l. 7.—*My heart doth dread the spear, &c.*] The sense of the passage, as it stands at present, is uncertain and obscure. As the MS. is defective a leaf in this place, I have been obliged to have recourse to the printed edition; and therefore feel less scruple in proposing an emendation from conjecture. We perhaps might read.

——— my heart doth dread the spear.
The spear of death, of death that never dieth,
Threateth of right, and draweth near and near.

"Near, and near," for, "*nearer and nearer*," is a mode of speech that has been already noticed, as common among our early writers.

Page 108. l. 16.—*Feeleth the senses; &c.*] The pause in this line also is very beautiful, and resembles that which has been admired above at the sixth line. The whole passage is very striking, and is a fine enlargement upon the more general idea proposed in the original.

Page 108. l. 19 to 24.—*But thou, O Lord! &c.*] This passage also is strikingly beautiful, and in like manner finely enlarged from the original.

Page 109. line 1.—*That, but, thou help, &c.*] "*But*," is here taken in the sense of "unless." The meaning of the passage is, "Inward remorse so consumes me, that *unless* thou assist, it will soon destroy, and turn me to dust, wretch that I am, even while thus bewailing my misery."

Page 109. line 15.—*No love among them there.*] This is a fine thought, and one that is just in itself. The misery of those who are doomed to future torment will arise partly from this, that from their then state the exercise of all the benevolent passions will be excluded. No, love can enter there! Malice, hatred, revenge, and such like, are the only passions that can exist, and they will be compelled to prey upon themselves, wanting subject whereon to exercise their baneful power.

Page 109. l. 22.—*That to the den for ought, &c.*] The "den," here means the bed, or the bed-chamber to which David describes himself as retiring to indulge in sleep when he ought to have been mortifying himself by necessary austerity, and humbling himself before God in prayer. The word "den," in this place, for bed, or bed-chamber, reminds us of the use of the word "mew" in a nearly similar acceptation. See *Sonnets, p. 4. l. 20.*

Page 110. l. 6.—*Some offer to my remembrance, &c.*] This passage is highly beautiful. Its beauties, indeed, depend more upon their native force and truth, than on the manner in which they are expressed; though, of the expressions used, some are strikingly poetical.

Page 110. l. 11.—*Pomp and riches.*] The word "riches," among our early writers, had the same sound with the word "richesse" in French, as, "largesse;" and some other, similar. This should be attended to; especially when, as in the present instance, the word closes a line, and the rhyme depends upon it.

Page 110. l. 16.—*I dare them bid avoid, &c.*] To bid "avoid," is the same as to "bid avaunt;" to order any one to depart with anger and scorn. "Thy grace, says Wyatt, inspires me with such confidence that I can command all evil thoughts to quit me, and not molest my mind again in future."

Page 110. l. 24.—*Of your glosing bait.*] Perhaps we should be justified in reading the line thus.

Where the deceit of your *false* glosing bait.

Page 110. line ult.—*Since I, O Lord! &c.*] We have in this line an instance of the first regular iambic Alexandrine, closing a piece, that I have observed in our language. The reader will perceive that it differs essentially in its construction from the rhythmical Alexandrine, with the cæsura in the middle.

Page 112. l. 3.—*With vapour'd eyes, &c.*] This expression has been adopted by Surrey: from whom it was borrowed afterwards by many of our early poets. See Surrey's Poems, p. 51. l. 8. and the note, p. 357.

Page 112. l. 5.—*Gathering his spirtes.*] "Spirtes" is here put for "sprites," or spirits. This is not the result of any accident, but was used systematically by our early writers. See a note on l. 3. p. 135.

Page 112. l. 7.—*Tuning accord, &c.*] The elegance and precision of this line are well worthy notice. We find so many lines of similar construction scattered through the paraphrase, that I think we are justified in concluding them to have been the model which Wyatt had proposed to himself of the metrical iambic verse; and that had he lived to correct his paraphrase, he would have brought his versification as near as possible to that standard.

Page 113. l. 11.—*Provoked by the dread, &c.*] The verb "provoke," is here used in an uncommon sense. It means, "excited to an act of duty." In this passage Wyatt must be considered as alluding to his own particular case. He had not been guilty of the actual commission of sin; though he had been betrayed by his passion into a conduct which he could not attempt to justify. See Memoirs, page xix. *et seq.* and page lxxix. and note [2].

Page 113. line 15.—*Was never execute in open sight.*] The meaning is, not "that they were done so secretly that no one could see them;" but, that they were never done at all, and therefore no example of evil conduct could be charged to his account.

Page 113. l. 23.—*My harm.*] This word is used here in the same sense in which it occurs in Surrey's Poems. See p. 1. l. 5. and p. 2. l. ult. The reader cannot but be struck with the general resemblance which the whole line bears to one of Surrey's, as well in thought, as in expression.

Page 113. line ult.—*As he that feels it.*] "As he" for "like one," or, "like him," is a construction which we find by Wyatt used in more than one instance.

P. 114. l. 4.—*By daily rage, &c.*] The line ought to have been printed

By daily rage, *still* roaring in excess.

Wyatt had in the first instance written the line thus,

By daily plaint, that I by force express.

Page 114. l. 9.—*Hath the green oppressed.* This expression was borrowed by Wyatt from Surrey.

And when the sun hath eke the dark oppress'd.
Poems, p. 2. l. 12.

Page 114. l. 25.—*Such joy as he.*] See note to line ult. p. 113. The two similies here introduced are good. Each differs a little from the other in minute particulars, so that both tend to the full illustration of the point to which they are applied.

Page 114. line ult.—*Great merciful property.*] "*Property*" here means, as elsewhere, the nature, essence, or quality of any thing. See Sonnets, p. 17. l. 17. The "the great property of the Supreme Being, is mercy."

Page 115. l. 13.—*Fretting still within.*] To fret, or freat, is to wear away and consume gradually, always in a poetic sense. Instances may be found in many places of Surrey's and Wyatt's poems of this use of the word. The thought in this passage

Oh! diverse are the chastisings of sin,

is very fine, and just.

Page 116. l. 17.—*This while a beam, that bright Sun, &c.*] The whole of this passage is highly poetical. The thought has much novelty in it: and it is expressed with great precision.

Page 116. line 22.—*Gold clean tried.*] Pure gold; gold that has been tried in the fire. The expression is the same as in the Epigrams, p. 71. l. 18.

Page 118. line 10.—*Am plunged up.*] I am not aware that this use of the word is usual in English, though I believe it to be correct. It means to make an effort to rise as an horse does, when in the plunge he raises himself on his hind feet.

Page 121. line 2.—*Provoked by some wind.*] "*Provoked,*" means here "excited or induced by the freshness of the wind." The use of the word "some" is inelegant, especially as it occurs again in the next line, and might have been easily avoided. The whole simile is beautiful; it is conceived in the spirit of fine poetry, and would have been worthy of Milton. Indeed it reminds us of the opening to the xiith Book of the Par. Lost:

Like one who in his journey bates at noon,
Though bent on speed, so here th' Arch Angel paused.

P. 121. line 13.—*As he that bleeds in bain.*] Bain, or as it is frequently spelt, *bayne*, was the common word in Wyatt's time for "a bath." See Notes to Surrey's Poems, p. 296. In the passage before us we might suppose allusion was made to the story of Seneca, were it not that it was part of the practice, I believe, in those days to put the patient into a bath when he was to be blooded.

Page 121. line ult.—*Brought forth a smoky rain.*] An expression borrowed from Chaucer's Troilus and Cressida.

—such a rain from heaven gan availe
That every manner woman that was there,
Had of that *smoky rain* a very fear. *B. iii. l.* 627.

Page 122. line 5.—*Of which some part, &c.*] Imitated by Surrey. Poems, p. 50. l. 10.

Page 122. line 6.—*Like as he, &c.*] This construction is so very inelegant and ungrammatical, that I apprehend we ought to read "Like unto him," or "Like as the man."

Page 122. line 8.—*Again his force assays.*] "His," for "its," as in many other places. The sense is, "It seemed unto David, as if the gloom of his offence again exerted its force, and deepened its horrors to load him with despair."

Page 124. line 3.—*Thy majesty, &c.*] This line affords us a fine specimen of the peculiarity of Wyatt's versification. He might have easily made the verse to consist of iambic feet only.

So from my mind, thy majesty was gone.

But I much doubt whether the flow of the verse, as it here stands, does not produce upon the whole a finer effect: for now the stress is laid upon "majesty," and "mind," which are the most important words in the sentence.

Page 124. line 5.—*Thy word stable.*] I apprehend that no double rhyme is here intended; but that the word as well as "able," which rhymes with it, ought to have a stress laid on the last syllable, as if the words were written "abùl," "stabùl." This pronunciation is

preserved in many words, yet in common use. Thus Dunstable, immeasurable, and the like are pronounced Dunstabul, immeasurabul, &c.

Page 125. line 4.—*From thine eyes cure, &c.*] Cast me not from the care of thine eyes, that I fall not into disquiet. "Cure," was used commonly for "care." See *Surrey's Poems, p. 2. l. 4.* and the note.

Page 125. line 7.—*The spirit of steadfastness.*] I apprehend we ought to read,

My will confirm with spirit of steadfastness.

Page 125. line 25.—*For pleasant host.*] "Host" means the victim offered up in sacrifice. See Surrey's Poems, p. 95. l. 196, and the note. The meaning of the passage is, "Thou, O Lord, dost accept the contrite heart as a well pleasing sacrifice."

Page 125. line 27.—*The Sion of the ghost.*] Spiritual Sion, the Sion of the heart, formed to the will of God.

Page 126. line 2.—*Of frailty, of grace.*] "Frailty" is here used as a word of three syllables, in the same manner as "trahison," for treason, p. 90. l. 20.

Page 126. line 7.—*Within my song repeat.*] This line, probably, ought to be read thus,

That God's goodness would in my song entreat.

Page 126. line 12.—*He poizeth.*] He weighs; he ponders: from the French "peser." The word in English was generally spelt, "pese." Of this whole stanza it may be observed, that the thought is much more noble than the manner of expressing it. Of the works of many of our later poets it may be said, as it was reported of the temple of the Sun, that,

Materiam superabat opus.

With Wyatt the case is reversed: his thoughts are often of great instrinsic weight and dignity; but they do not strike us at first from the imperfect manner in which they are expressed.

Page 126. line 18.—*Measureless mercies, &c.*] I would propose to read

Measureless mercies to *measurable* faults.

Great as David's fault was, still it had its measure. God's mercy was measureless, and therefore could cover it. This was the ground of the royal penitent's hope. Had his fault been really measureless, it could not have been comprehended by mercy.

Page 127. line 10.—*Mercy is ascribed.*] We probably should read "mercy is ascrived." *Descrive*, occurs in Chaucer for described.

Page 128. line 16.—*And for my plaintful sighs, &c.*] We probably ought to read the word, sighs, as a dissyllable, "sighes."

Page 128. line 20.—*The solaine pelican.*] The solitary pelican. *Solain*, or *soleine*, from the Latin, "solus," in the sense of lonely, alone, unique, occurs in Chaucer, and all our early writers.

Truly she was to mine eye
The solein Phœnix of Araby,
For there liveth never but one;
Ne such as she ne know I none.
Dr. of Chaucer, v. 982.

Page 129. line 10.—*Had of my pride disdain.*] An Italian idiom, "ebbe a sdegno," which Wyatt began about this time, in imitation of Surrey, in his later compositions, to affect.

Page 130. line 7.—*From the height, &c.*] The line ought to be read,

For he hath look'd from th' height of his estate.

The same rule should be observed in many other instances. Not only the vowel "e," but "the letter "y" was often sunk in pronunciation, if immediately followed by a vowel. Many lines which now appear redundant of a syllable were thus brought within their proper measure. As in the following instance:

I pardon'd am; then forthwith justly' able.

See p. 124. l. 7. The same mode of pronunciation was observed in prose. Thus we meet in the letters constantly, th' emperor; th' other; th' intents, &c.

Page 130. line 25.—*Whom time cannot decay.*] Whom, the personal pronoun, is here put for "which," the impersonal relative. This was common with our early writers.

Page 130. line ult.—*And they in worth it take.*] They take it patiently: they make no resistance to the divine will. See Surrey's Poems, p. 7. l. 19. and the note at p. 253.

Page 131. line ult.—*All in fear.*] I doubt whether we ought not to read "all in fere," all together. The common translation is, "The children of thy servants shall continue, and their seed shall be established in thy sight." If the conjecture be admitted, this may be ranked as one among many instances where the old orthography tends to introduce uncertainty into the text of our early writers.

Page 132. line 4.—*That greater Spirit.*] We ought probably to read,

These great things, that *the* greater Spirit compiled.

Page 132. line 5.—*Lets out the sound impressed.*] This must be considered as inaccurate. How can a sound "*be impressed.*"

Page 132. line 6.—*Forged to fore and filed.*] To forge and file, sounds, as an accurate expression. "To file," it should be observed, however, was used gene-

rally to express what was polished, render'd perfect by art; it was the "limato" of the Italians. The expression was very common with Wyatt and Surrey, and the authors of their times.

Page 132. line ult.—*And outward deed, &c.*] It would assist the sense to read,

His outward deed the sign, or fruit alone.

But I have not ventured to make any alteration, because our early writers were very lax in their mode of using the conjunction "*and:*" it seems to have been made to bear a variety of significations, and to have been often redundant.

Page 133. line 2.—*Of vain allowance.*] "Allowance;" here, as in Surrey, means praise, or commendation.

Honour thy Lord; *allowance* vain, of void desert, neglect.

See his poems, p. 76. line 2. In this sense it ought perhaps to be spelt "allouance." It is from the old French word "aloüer." The meaning of the passage is "David's contrition defends him from the sly assault of self commendation, self praise." The reader will observe that the line has been borrowed by Surrey from Wyatt.

Page 133. line 7.—*His knee, his arm, &c.*] This line has been imitated by Surrey.

When Windsor walls sustained my wearied arm,
My hand, my chin, *Poems, p.* 50. *l.* 21.

Page 134. line ult.—*Pillar and pretense.*] It would be more obvious to read "pillar and *defense.*" It is not improbable, however, but that "pretense" might have been used in the sense of defence, from the Latin prætendere, to hold out as a shield before one. As in Ovid.

——— vestem tumidis prætendit ocellis
Atque ita se in rapidas perdita misit aquas.

Page 135. line 3.—*Quench of sleep the thrust.*] The word perhaps ought with more propriety to have been spelt "thrist" for "thirst." The change in the word was evidently made for the sake of the rhyme; but the licence is not an unusual one; neither is it as destitute of authority, from the usages of our own and other languages, as at first sight might appear. The letter "r," being of an indefinite sound, was frequently transposed, and put before the vowel that should cede it for the sake of obtaining a longer or shorter sound as the harmony of the verse required: thus spirit, was sometimes written, sprite, and, spirte. See p. 112. l. 3. Thus Chaucer uses "grit," for "girt," pierced.

Through *grit* with many grievous bloody wound.

K. Tale, v. 1012. "brost" for "burst." Troil. and Cress. B. II. l. 796.

For I am whole and *brosten* been my bonds.

"Crul" for "curl," or curled. *Miller's Tale,* l. 206.

Crul was his hair, and as the gold it shone.

Thus the word in question occurs in Chaucer's Romant of the Rose.

——— the more that he drinketh aye,
The more he leveth soth to say;
Thus is the *thrust* of false getting.
R. R. l. 5712.

And again in his Testament of Love. "Who then shall give me a contrarious drink, to staunch the *thrust* of my blissful bitterness." *Urry's Ed. p.* 483. But this licence was not peculiar to our writers. Thus the Greeks wrote indifferently κάρτος and κᾶρτος: not because the word thus differently spelt presented a different idea, as some have imagined, but because they wished to obtain sometimes a long, sometimes a short syllable. As in the following lines.

Δοίη κάρτος ἐμοὶ, βελέων δ' ἀπερύκοι ἐρωήν.
Il. Lib. XVII. *l.* 562.
Ἠδ' ἔτι καὶ λύσει τῦ γὰρ κράτος ἐστὶ μέγιστον.
Ib. Lib. X. 25.

The Italian scholar need hardly be reminded that the same licence was used by the poets in that language, though Quadrio tells us that it was not very common, and that it was employed chiefly by Dante. Thus "drento," occurs for "dentro, and punga for pugna." As in the following instance.

Pure a noi converrà vincer la punga.
Inferno, C. ix. v.

Page 135. Line 5.—*And favour are his property.*] "Property" here, as in many other passages, means essence, or characteristic quality. "The characteristic qualities of the Almighty are mercy, and the shewing favour to the penitent."

Page 136. line 6.—*By humble ear to be.*] This expression is taken from Psalm 40. v. 6. and allusion is made in it to a custom common with the Jewish nation, and thus described in the xvth chapter of Deuteronomy. Directions are there given about the servants, who were to be released and set at liberty at the seventh, or sabbatical year, and it is provided that if any servant, so to be set at liberty, wished to continue in his former master's service, then the following ceremony should be observed. "If he, the servant, say unto thee, I will not go away from thee, because he loveth thee, and thine house, because he is well with thee; then thou shalt take an awl and thrust it through his ear unto the door, and he shall be thy servant for ever." See the Essay, p. cxxxvi. note [2]. The whole of this passage, it should be remarked, is beautifully conceived. In the seventh line indeed there is a play upon the words that disfigures the passage. The line that follows is, however, very striking and expressive;

Eternal life, in mortal vail to shade.

Page 136. line 13.—*The glint of life, &c.*] "The beam of light that shone through the air." "To lome" is the same as "*to leem*," or "*leme*," to shine; from leoma, the Anglo-Saxon word for a ray of light. The English word derived from it was generally spelt "leme." So Chaucer in the Cant. Tales.

Which causeth folk to dreaden in her dreams
Of arwès *(arrows)* and of fire with red lemes.
l. 14936.

And Douglas.

Shone all of light upon the earth adown
The leme of fire, and flame. *p.* 61. *l.* 44.

From the original word the more common word of "gleam" was gradually formed, contracted from the root, and the old prefix "*ge*," "ge-leme." In the same manner the verb "to glome" was formed.

Page 137. line 1.—*A smaller grace depart.*] "Depart," means here to apportion out, to allot; dispertire. Thus Chaucer.

This false blasphemour, that chargeth me
To parten that will not departen be. *C. T.* 7796.

Who charges me with dividing that which cannot be divided into parts. "To depart," meant also to separate or divide one from another. Thus Wickliff. "Nile ye deme that I came to seend pees into earthe; I cam not to send pees, but swerd; for I cam *to departe* a man agens his father, and the daughter agens hir moder. "*Matthew, Ch. x.* Where we may observe further that the word "nile," spelt in other passages "nyle," is precisely the "nol," of the Italians, which seems to be distinct from the contraction of "non lo," or "non il," and to be simply an imperative negative, "do not," in which case it might be considered as a contraction of the Latin word "nolite," which constantly occurs in the best Latin writers in that signification "Nolite mirari." Nolite, Judices, existimare, &c." do not wonder, do not consider, &c.

As the English word "nile," used by Wickliff, has precisely the same force, it may be a doubt therefore whether that also be not a contradiction equally of *nolite*, and not of "ne will." "But whanne they taken you *nyle ye thenke* how, or what thing ye schul speke." *Do not think, &c.* "Nyle ye drede hem that sleen the body." Do not dread them, &c.

Page 138. line 16.—*For that to flee, &c.*] A word is here evidently wanted. We might read,

For that flee his wicked rage *so* rife.

SONNET I. N° II.

Whoso list to hunt! I know where is an hind. p. 143.

This Sonnet is now first printed from the Harington MS. N° I. p. 8. It has been considered in the Memoirs, p. xxiv. note [4], as relating to the romantic passion which Wyatt once had entertained for Anne Boleyn, at which case we may suppose it to have been written about the year 1532, when Henry's passion for that lady was universally known, and it might be said with propriety, that she was Cæsar's. The sonnet, whoever were the subject of it, seems to have been borrowed from the following of Jo. Ant. Romanello, whose sonnets, twenty-four in number, are to be found at the end of the Bella Mano, by Guiusto de 'Conti, first published in 1472.

Una Cerva gentil, che intorno avvolto
Al suo bel collo aveva un cerchio d'oro,
A me s' offerse, a piè d' un sacro alloro,
Mentre era a contemplar ne l' ombra accolto.
Tanto piacer mi porse il suo bel volto,
Ch' abbandonai il mio degno lavoro
Sprezzando l' ombra, et ogni altro ristoro,
Col cor d'ogni pensier spogliato e sciolto.
E qual falcon po' la selvaggia fera
Volando corsi, e quando a lei fu giunto
Si volse indietro, e disse in voce altera;
"Toccar non lice la mia carne intera,
Cæsaris enim sum," et a quel punto
La Cerva sparve, e fece il giorno sera.
La bella Mano. Ed. 1753. *p.* 282.

I need hardly remark that the original of this sonnet is to be found in Petrarch:

Una candida Cerva, sopra l'erba.
Son. 157. *Par.* 1. *p.* 143.

But those who read both will probably concur in thinking that Wyatt had the sonnet of Romanello in view, rather than that of Petrarch. That Wyatt had read the Bella Mano of Conti, is evident from an imitation of a passage in one of his elegies, which has been already pointed out. See note at page 547, to ode vi.

Line 5.—*Yet may I by no means.*] The pauses in this quattrain are remarkably good, and contrived to produce a fine and varied effect.

Line 11.—*And graven with diamonds, &c.*] The word "*and*," in this line, is simply redundant. It was often so in our early writers, and has no further reference to the sense than as it marks generally the continuation of the same subject. We should deem this use of the word now inelegant and ungrammatical; yet it sometimes bears a near resemblance to that of the Greek particles μέν and δέ.

Line 14.—*And wild for to hold, &c.*] This thought is added by Wyatt to the original. It evidently alludes to the particular levity and gaiety of the lady's character here spoken of. This tends a little to confirm the notion that Anne Boleyn was the person intended; for though no serious imputation whatever could be cast upon her moral conduct, she had a certain levity and playfulness of behaviour, the result of innocence and constitutional gaiety, which laid her open, it should seem, often to censure. Burnet has remarked, that this liveliness and levity of manner did not desert her in the Tower, and shewed itself even in the last actions of her life.

SONNET II. N° II.

This occurs in the Duke of Devonshire's MS. alone, at page 178. It is a sonnet by no means devoid of merit. It is well conducted throughout, and were a few antiquated expressions removed, would be a pleasing specimen of the light familiar style.

Line 3.—*And never for to lynn.*] "To lynn," is to cease. So Spenser. *Fa. Qu. B. iii. c. viii.* st. 24.

But his deceitful eyes did never lin,
To look upon her face, and mark her snowy skin.

The word was spelt also lin; lynde; and leynde. Chaucer uses the word, blinn, in the same sense. Perhaps the words are in reality the same.

Line 8.—*That other where doth grow.*] Doth, the singular termination, as in line the first, is used for the plural. "Do grow," we must here understand as meaning, do fix, do establish themselves. "Some think to win with words the hearts of those who have settled their affections elsewhere."

Line 12.—*Did me feed.*] "Did allure me and buoy me up with vain hopes." See Surrey's Poems, p. 17. l. 3. and the note upon it.

Line 13.—*But let it pass, &c.*] "I do not suffer this to make any impression upon me; for it is all according to the law of nature, or kind, that women should be fickle." See Sonnet, p. 146. l. 3, and Ode, p. 250. l. 10.

SONNET III. N° II.

I abide, and abide and better abide. p. 144.

From the Devonshire MS. p. 286. The only thing remarkable in this sonnet is the measure; it seems to be what may be called the rhythmical octosyllabic verse, and is to be recited in a sort of chanting tone. If I might make use of the terms of Greek and Latin prosody, I should say the lines should be read as if they consisted of anapæstic feet.

I ăbīde | ănd ăbīde||ănd bēt | tĕr ăbīde |

Line 9.—*Aye me, &c.*] This line evidently wants a foot. We might read

Aye me helas! this long abiding.

SONNET IV. N° II.

Though I myself be bridled of my mind. p. 1451.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 35. This sonnet is designedly obscure, and probably was never corrected. It might have been a fine composition. It alludes probably to Wyatt's unfortunate passion for Anne Boleyn, and intimates, that if she preferred, as she ought to do, honour to ambition, she was still free to refuse the magnificent proposals which the king had then laid before her.

Line 4.—*But thou thyself, &c.*] "What can compel you to desert me? Nothing, unless you of your own accord dissolve that bond of promise which binds you to me."

Line 5.—*Sigh then no more, &c.* The whole of this quattrain is so obscure, that I conceive it must have been copied incorrectly by the original transcriber. We might read it with a very little variation thus:

Sigh then no more, since no way man may find
Virtue to let; and though the frowardness
Of fortune m' holdeth yet, as I may guess,
Though other present be, I am not all behind.

Line 10.—*At all hours.*] Hours must here be read as a dissyllable, "how-ers."

SONNET V. N° II.

To rail or jest, ye know I use it not. p. 145.

This is here first printed from the Devonshire MS. p. 173. The turn of thought in it is the same with that in the sonnet at p. 143. "Divers doth use, &c." Had it been properly revised, it would not have been an unpleasing composition.

Line 8.—*Though I hate it, &c.*] This line, as it here stands printed from the MS. seems to me hardly intelligible. The meaning however may be, "your fickleness, the fault you have inherited from nature is one I hate; but let not this be the cause of your loving it; for I find from experience, that it is sufficient to make you like any thing to know that it gives me pain."

Line 11.—*Your feigning ways, &c.*] The construction of this line is one common to both Wyatt and Surrey. The accusative case, or the thing governed, is taken from after the verb and put before it, forming a sort of nominative case. Your feigned ways, I pray you do not forget them, i.e. I pray you, do not forget your feigned ways.

RONDEAUS I. N° II.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 25. The thought in this Rondeau is extremely pretty; and had it been better expressed, would have formed a very pleasing little composition.

Line 3.—*And seek to convey it.*] "To convey," was a word formerly often used for "to steal." Shakespeare seems to ridicule it as an affected word. "Convey, the wise call it. Steal! poh! a fico for the phrase." *Merry Wi. of Win. Act* 1. *Sc.* 3. But it had been used long before Shakespeare's time. Mr. Steevens has

remarked that it occurs in Hycke Scorner, which was as old as the reign of Henry the VIIIth. Imagination is introduced saying,

Sir, the horesons could not convey clean;
For, and they could have carried by craft as I can,
For process of years each should be a gentleman.
See Hawkins's Hist. of Eng. Dram. Vol. I. p. 86.

Line 5.—*And then appair.* "To appair," is either to injure, as a verb active, or as a verb neuter to consume away, to decay in strength and beauty. See Surrey's Poems, p. 79, line 2. "Treat my heart tenderly, it will otherwise complain, and waste, and pine away."

RONDEAU II. N° II.

For to love her for her looks lovely. p. 148.

The measure of this piece is wholly rhythmical. From the fifth line, we may conjecture it is a translation from the French. "She hath given me leave," for she has discarded me, is an idiom purely French.

RONDEAU III. N° II.

Ye old mule that think yourself so fair. p. 148.

From the Harington MS. N°. I. p. 43. The satire is coarse, but it is the coarseness of the times, and not like some passages that might be adduced from Horace of an offensive and disgusting kind. The term "Mule," on which the whole satire turns, was a word used formerly to describe a woman of a licentious character. Thus Sanders in his malevolent account of Anne Boleyn, says, that after she had been introduced at the French court, "ibi tam impudicè vixit, ut vulgo à Gallis appellaretur, "Hacnea," seu equa Anglicana. Cum autem et in Regis Galliarum familiaritatem ascita esset, cœpta est vocari, "Mula Regina." *De Schismate Anglicano, Lib. i. p.* 25. *Ed.* 1586. Davanzati has repeated the same slander, and applies the same term of reproach, p. 25.

Line 5.—*So do your train appair.*] If we were to read "so does your train appair," the sense would be clearer. "The over care you take to dress and ornament yourself, prevents the success of your arts."

Line 6.—*deceive th' ayes.*] "Ayes" is here put for "eyes," to rhyme with "layes" in the next line. By the same sort of licence "kays" occurs more than once for "keys." See p. 241. l. 5.

Line 7.—*perceive your layes.*] I do not remember any passage where this word occurs, but, if I am not mistaken, I have heard it used as a term in hunting to describe the place where a wild animal lies; the same almost as the word "lair," still in common use. In this case it would be in fact the same as the old French word "leis," which means bed, or couch. It is spelt I believe sometimes "léy." Either way it would form the same sound as that expressed by the word "layes."

Line 13.—*For since grey hairs, &c.*] Since now your once dark locks are mingled with grey hairs. The particular expressions are borrowed from terms in Heraldry.

RONDEAU IV. N° II.

What no, perdie! ye may be sure. p. 149.

From the Devonshire MS. p. 35. It is a piece written with great liveliness and spirit: if the language were less antiquated it would be a very pleasing little poem.

Line 7.—*Though ye have had, &c.*] The meaning of the entire passage is; "Because I once entrusted to you the care and keeping of my heart, think you I therefore dote beyond recovery; and that I shall continue to treasure up within my bosom a thing so light, so unstable, and wavering as yours? No! though I feel pain in endeavouring to forget one whom I once believed pure, and worthy of my affection, the sacrifice shall be made!" How just and true to nature are these sentiments! How often have they been extorted from the faithful Lover, abandoned, perhaps in the hour of calamity when support was most needed, and scorned and insulted in his very sorrows.

Line 10.—*Though that with pain, &c.*] The same line occurs with little variation in another poem.

Farewell! the reign of cruelty;
Though that with pain my liberty
Dear have I bought, yet shall surety
Conduct my thoughts, &c. *p.* 28, *l.* 1.

From this similarity we may infer that the Poems were written both on the same occasion.

RONDEAU V. N° II.

If it be so that I forsake thee. p. 150.

From the Harington MS. N° I. p. 26. The style of language is bad in this Rondeau: and the versification is particularly unpleasing by the frequent use of words ending with French terminations. The thought however, though quaint, is ingenious. It turns on a conceit which has been explained in Surrey's Poems. See *p.* 301. note to *p.* 25, *line* ult.

Line 4.—*remain in thy perfection.*] As this is the reading given in the MS. we must conclude the sense to be: "Though I am compelled to absent myself from you, my heart shall remain with you; shall continue to contemplate your perfections."

12.—*of itself cannot.*] We ought to read either,

Which of itself, cannot perdie!

or,

And of itself *it* cannot perdie.

The meaning is, "I have my Lady's heart with me;

and as a body without an heart cannot form any attachment, I need not fear my mistress's inconstancy."

RONDEAU VI. N° II.

Thou hast no faith of him that hath none. p. 151.

From the Harington MS. N° I. page 27. There is nothing poetical either in the thought, on which this Rondeau turns, or in the mode of expressing it. The idea is this. Thou canst not hope for faith in him, whom thou hast chosen for thy new Lover, because he is so inconstant by nature, that he knows not what Faith is. Nevertheless thou must needs love him, for persons of like dispositions love one another by sympathy. I once, indeed, thought thee true and fashioned faith to thy words; that is, persuaded myself so to understand them as to make them true; but the lightness of thy affection has at last convinced me of my self-deceit; for, Thou hast no Faith.

ODES. PART II.

All the pieces from this page to page 205 are from the Harington MS. N° I.

ODE I. PART II.

To seek each where where man doth live. p. 152.

In the MS. p. 25, the thought in this little poem is very pleasing. The whole piece however is too much protracted; had it been shorter it would have produced a better effect. It is injured also by the antiquated expressions which occur in it. Were it not for these two defects, it would have ranked among Wyatt's best compositions.

Line 2.—*the rock the clive.*] The "clive" means what we now call the "cliffs." Those high precipitous terminations of land which bound the sea.

By aiding winds they cut the seas with speed.
At length the shining Albion clives did feed
Their longing eyes. *Mir. for Mag. fol.* 5. *Ed.* 1587.

Line 6.—*to year.*] To year, for this year, is a mode of expression still retained I believe in some distant counties.

Line 9.—*Pierrie nor pearl.*] Pierrie, means jewelry generally, and more particularly precious stones, set in goldsmith's work. It was a very common word formerly with our best writers.

Her rich array ne might not be told
As well in vessel, as in her clothing
She was all clad in pierrie and in gold.

The word is purely French, as is the word "vessell" in the second of these lines, *Vaisselle*. It was sometimes spelt *perrè*, and *perrey*. In Chaucer's legend of Dido we meet with this singular mode of orthography for "*pierrerie.*"

Upon a thick palfrey, paper white
With saddle red, embroidered with delight,
Of gold the barris up embossed high.
Sat Dido, all in gold and *perreywrigh. v.* 270.

ODE II. PART II.

There was never nothing more me pained. p. 153.

In the MS. p. 47. It is written in a natural and pathetic manner. The concluding stanza is lively and picturesque.

Line 6.—*she said and sight*] "Sight," for "sighed," occurs frequently among our early writers. See notes to Surrey's Poems, p. 328. In this way "shright" is put for "shrieked."

Line 8.—*set my wealth so light.*] Set so little by my happiness. For the use of the word wealth, see Surrey's Poems, p. 8, l. 17. and the note.

Line 20.—*yet can I not remove.*] "Yet I cannot change, or alter my affections." The word, *remove*, in this sense occurs in many passages of both Wyatt's and Surrey's Poems.

ODE III. PART II.

Heaven, and Earth, and all that hear me playne. p. 154.

In the MS. p. 92. This is a very striking composition, and has been particularly considered in the Essay. at page cxxv. The reader will remark that it bears great resemblance to the Ode VI. Part I. p. 26.

Where shall I have at mine own will.

As the resemblance holds good equally in the style of expression as in the turn of thought, we may conclude them to have been written both on the same occasion, and probably about the same time.

Line 22.—*That fleeth as fast as cloud, &c.*] This is a singularly beautiful line both for thought and expression. "Strife," in the line following, means that internal conflict of hopes and fears, which is always found to distract the mind of those who love. It is the "guerra" of Petrarch.

ODE IV. PART II.

After great storms the calm returns. p. 156.

In the MS. p. 110. It is a piece of no merit. In the sixth line 'desire' must be read as a trisyllable,

My just de-si-er and my cry.

Thus "fire," is spelt and pronounced "fy-er."

ODE V. PART II.

Though this the port, and I thy servant true. p. 157.

In the MS. p. 106. It is probably a translation from

the French. It seems to have been written by Wyatt as he was sailing on the sea. Perhaps in 1537, when he was on his way as ambassador into Spain.

Line 3.—*From thy chief house.*] An expression borrowed from judicial astrology. It means from that particular part of the planet's orbit in which its rays are supposed to possess their fullest and most beneficial influence.

Line 4.—*Both joy and eke delight, &c.*] I would propose reading

Joy and delight; behold yet, how that I.

The expletives, *both*, and *eke*, are unnecessary, and make the line needlessly an Alexandrine.

Line 6.—*Help now, Citherea, &c.*] To our ears the line would run more fluently thus,

Help, Cytherea, now, my Lady dear!

but the whole of the poem was designed to be recited rhythmically with a sort of chanting of the voice, and a cæsura in the middle of the line. Many other lines might be pointed out, which, had the metrical Iambic verse been in contemplation, would have been written differently from what they are at present.

Line 17.—*elonged from thy sight.*] Of the word "elonged" I do not recollect any example. Its meaning is obvious; "Separated to a distance from." Perhaps we ought to read "eloined," or "elenged." To *elenge* is used in this sense by Chaucer: and to "eloign," (as Johnson has remarked) by Spenser: both are from the French *eloigner*. So in the Fairy Queen.

From worldly care himself he did *eloign*
And greatly shunned manly exercise.

Johnson quotes also the following passage from Donne,

I'll tell thee now, dear Love! what thou shalt do,
To anger destiny, as she doth us,
How I shall stay though she *eloigne* me thus,
And how posterity shall know it too.

"To reduce," in the next line, meaning simply to "bring back;" from the Latin, "reduco:" it was common with Surrey as well as Wyatt. See Poems, p. 1, l. 14, and the notes upon it.

Line 24.—*Would she forthwith.*] This is the reading given in the MS. We probably ought to read,

Would *flee* forthwith.

Line 26.—*Of any hope, &c.*] I would propose reading,

Of hope whereby I may myself uphold.

There seems to be no reason why an Alexandrine should be introduced here, and the word, "any," is not necessary to the sense. I would remark, however, that the Alexandrine verse here is an iambic, and not a rhythmical Alexandrine.

ODE VI. PART II.

O goodly hand! p. 158.

In the MS. p. 116. It is to be found also among the Harleian MSS. N° 79. It is extremely pretty and fanciful. The thought, that Nature supplied a pearl for every finger's end, though a conceit, is elegant. Wyatt seems to have had some passages of Giusto de' Conti's Bella Mano in his recollection. Of Conti's work it should be remarked, that it was called Bella Mano, because he made the beauty of the fair Elizabeth's hand, the lady whom he loved, the principal subject of his verses. Many of his allusions to his Lady's hand are trite and affected. That in the Envoi to the third Ode is natural and pleasing.

Se, per destin, Canzone, o per pietade
La Man leggiadra, e sopra ogn' altra bella,
La qual prende a diletto i dolor miei,
Ti porgerà colei,
Che il mio cor volge in questa parte, e in quella,
Dille; "Perchè toccarla a me non lice?"
Ed. 1753. *p.* 39.

Line 8.—*departed right.*] Separated in just proportion one from the other. For the use of the word, "depart," see page 137, line 1, and the note upon it.

Line 10.—*goodly by gone.* This is the reading in the MS. I do not understand it. The Harleian MS. reads "begonne." May "by gone," mean "formerly." "Formerly gracious to me."

Line 27.—*Enforce thyself to strain.*] "To strain" means here, as in many other passages, "To increase the torment so as to reduce a person to the last extremity." See page 167, l. 3, where a thought similar to this occurs.

Enforce thyself to lose thy breath.

ODE VII. PART II.

And if an eye may save or slay. p. 159.

In the MS. p. 122, Wyatt appears to have had some doubts respecting his mistress's fidelity; doubts founded on her having looked with more tenderness upon some other person, than he thought consistent with the love promised to himself. He reproved her for this; and was reproached in consequence with jealousy. The little poem before us was written to justify his conduct. It is a piece of singular merit; principally on account of the novelty and refinement of expression discoverable in every part of it; a sort of perfection in writing which is never to be met with but in authors who have either naturally a great exuberance of thought, or have attained to a considerable knowledge and command of language.

Line 7.—*For the eye is traitor, &c.*] There is great beauty and originality in this expression. It reminds me of an expression I have seen recorded of a famous Welch Bard, Avaon the son of Taliessin.

"Hast thou not heard what Avaon sung, the son "of Taliessin, of the honest Muse? The check cannot "conceal the affliction of the heart." *Owen's Cambrian Biography, p. 4.*

Line 11.—*To do but well, &c.*] "If you mean to do nothing but what is good, do nothing that may excite a suspicion to the contrary."

Line 17.—*go seek the school.*] I do not know that this is correctly expressed, though the general meaning is sufficiently obvious. Those looks of tenderness should not be taught to flatter common acquaintance.

Line 25.—*Then is it not, &c.* The sense requires we should read,

Then is it not *my* jealousy.

Line 34.—*But excuse who can, &c.*] These lines are obscure, and inelegantly expressed. We might be justified in reading,

Excuse who can, let him advance,
Dissembled looks.

"Let any one, who can excuse or justify dissimulation, come forward to defend it; for my part, my looks shall ever be the picture of my mind."

ODE VIII. PART II.

If Fancy would favour. p. 161.

In the MS. p. 53. It is a piece of no great merit.

Line 1.—*If Fancy would, &c.*] The word, "Fancy," does not mean here, the imaginative power of the mind, but Love, as a passion. In this sense it was common among our early writers. See Surrey's Poems, p. 40, l. 17, and the note.

Line 8.—*my service and my hire.*] The word "hire" is used here, as in many other passages of both Wyatt's and Surrey's Poems, to express reward generally in a poetical and dignified sense.

ODE IX. PART II.

My hope, alas! hath me abused. p. 162.

In the MS. p. 75. It is a piece of much merit; and one that is perfectly characteristic of Wyatt's turn of mind. The ground of his sorrow is well described.

Line 6. *Mirth hath caused, &c.* We ought probably to read,

My mirth hath caused my heaviness.

Line 10.—*In fortune's forge, &c.*] There is something very novel as well as just in this thought. "I had assured myself that my happiness would be lasting; but it was forged by the hand of Fortune, and therefore it could not fail of being brittle."

Line 25.—*My hap, &c.*] "Hap" is here, as in many other places, to be taken for good Fortune generally.

ODE X. PART II.

All heavy minds. p. 164.

In the MS. at page 113. There is something very feeling and animated in this little ode. It was probably written to be sung to the lute. This would contribute to give a pleasing effect to the short lines. It contains some thoughts taken from Petrarch, and seems to have been imitated in the Songs and Sonnets.

Line 41.—*For else, &c.*] If this line is not incorrectly copied, we must suppose the natural order of the words to have been disturbed for the sake of the rhyme, and that it ought to be read thus, "all other suit else is clean in vain."

Line 23.—*Alas! lo! I go.*] The meter requires

Alas! behold, I go!

The expressions in the line preceding are poetical.

Line 25.—*Where is my thought.*] The word, "thought" meant Love generally, sometimes the passion itself; sometimes (as it should seem in the present instance) the object that inspires it. See Surrey's Poems, p. 18, l. 1, and the note upon it.

Line 36.—*That I may see.*] These words as they stand here are perfectly intelligible. But the stanza next following seems to require that we should read,

That I may flee.

Line 39.—*Who could his foe beseek.*] "Beseek," for "beseech," as in Surrey. The line ought to be read,

Who would his foe beseek.

Line 51.—*In vain is't in the air.*] "It answers no purpose to waste my sorrows thus: all my expressions of grief are scattered by the wind." This is the language of poetical complaint. Wyatt has introduced the same thought on other occasions, though he has varied the expression; as at p. 27.

But though they sparkle to the wind,
Yet shall they shew your falsed faith.

Line 56.—*To playne at large.*] We ought probably to read, "And playne at large."

ODE XI. PART II.

Comfort thyself, my woeful heart. p. 166.

In the MS. p. 94. It is a very animated and pathetic composition. The line which forms the burthen is one of much feeling. Wyatt seems always fortunate in the line he fixes upon for the burthen of his stanzas.

Line 15.—*To shake it off vaileth not, &c.*] "It is of no avail to consider how the yoke may be shaken off, after it is once fastened on the neck."

ODE XII. PART II.

Alas! the grief and deadly woeful smart. p. 168.

In the MS. p. 4. I conceive this to have been one of Wyatt's earliest compositions: it is rhythmical throughout, and in many places there seems a studied attempt at alliteration, as in these lines;

Disdainful doubleness have I for my hire.
O cruel causer of undeserved change.
And price hath privilege truth to prevent.

It is not, however, without merit. Some of the thoughts, if well expressed, would be deemed pleasing and original.

Line 2.—*shapen afore my shirt.*] From Chaucer's Knights' Tale, v. 1568. See the Essay, p. cliii. note [1].

Line 24.—*And price hath privilege, &c.*] "Price here, "must mean such wealth in another as gives him the privilege of purchasing affection, to the injury of true love." The word occurs in this sense probably at page 55, line 25.

ODE XIII. PART II.

Since ye delight to know. p. 169.

In the MS. p. 91. The chief merit of this piece consists in its measure, which is novel and agreeably varied, and must have been well adapted to the lute. The burthen is good, which has been before remarked, is generally the case with Wyatt's odes where burthens occur.

Line 34.—*And you should ever more, &c.*] The argument here used is one suggested by the exasperated feelings of an offended Lover. The argument used by the tender and affectionate Lover was always the reverse. "Do not desert me, I conjure you," he was used to say; "if you do, this will reflect discredit on your name; which would be to me an occasion of additional sorrow."

ODE XIV. PART II.

Such hap as I am happed in.

In the MS. p. 44. It is a piece of mere conceit, and has little or no merit to engage attention.

ODE XV. PART II.

I have long sought with steadfastness. p. 171.

In the MS. p. 84. It is a piece of no merit. The proverb in the last stanza, "Even as the good man kist his cow;" I am not acquainted with. The second line in the stanza preceding it, ought, I conceive, to be read thus,

Trust once trust to temper. *mine* so,

ODE XVI. PART II.

To wish and want and not obtain. p. 173.

In the MS. at p. 71. It is a very indifferent composition.

ODE XVII. PART II.

If chance assigned. p. 175.

In the MS. at p. 82. The chief merit of this piece is its measure, which is light and playful, and must have gone well to the lute.

ODE XVIII. PART II.

At most mischief. p. 177.

In the MS. at p. 61. It is a piece of no great merit.

Line 1.—*at most mischief.*] "Mischief" means sorrow or pain generally. This was a very common acceptation of the word formerly. So in a preceding ode at p. 174.

Since I remain still in mischief. *l.* 19.

i. e. "Since I still remain in a state of suffering."

Line 13.—*Mourning or moan.*] As a contrast of situations seems here intended, we ought to read, probably,

Or mirth or moan.

ODE XIX. PART II.

To cause, accord, or to agree. p. 179.

In the MS. p. 101. It is not impossible but that Wyatt may have meant in this little whimsical ode to ridicule those conceits in which he had but too often indulged; for it is difficult to believe that a man could so clearly point out their absurdity, as he has done here, and yet seriously approve of them. The reader need hardly be reminded, that of almost all the conceits specified in this ode, examples may be cited from Wyatt's own sonnets.

Line 1.—*or to agree.*] If the verb, "agree," should be deemed inadmissible as being used in a sense for which there is no authority, we might read,

To cause accord, or *make* agree.

Line 17.—*There liveth no life.*] "No life" must here mean, "no living creature." See also line 22. The substantive "life," sometimes had the force of the adjective. "A live's creature," for a "living creature," was a common expression formerly. It is still retained among the lower orders of people; who not being so much influenced in their language by education as the higher ranks are, preserve many forms of speech, which, though deemed vulgar, are genuine idioms in the English Tongue.

ODE XX. PART II.

What death is worse than this? p. 180.

In the MS. p. 77. The whole turns upon the conceit so frequent with the writers of those times; that it is one of the miracles of Love, that he is able to make a man live without his heart. The idea has been more than once illustrated already. See *p.* 179.

ODE XXI. PART II.

Patience for my device. p. 181.

In the MS. at p. 50. It seems to be a sort of dialogue carried on in alternate stanzas between the Lover and his Mistress: or Himself and Love. Who the interlocutors are it does not much import us to prove. The sentiments expressed have neither novelty or elegance to recommend them: and the language in which they are conveyed is vulgar and unpleasing.

ODE XXII. PART II.

Patience! though I have not. p. 182.

In the MS. at p. 49. It is a sort of continuation of the last foregoing piece, and like that can lay claim to little merit.

ODE XXIII. PART II.

Patience of all my smart! p. 185.

This is taken from the Devonshire MS. at p. 24, and is printed here because it seems to have been written at the same time, and on the same occasion with the two pieces preceding. It has no particular merit.

Line 14.—*Set forth some, &c.*] "Some" is here used for "any," as in Surrey's Poems, page 15, line 10.

Line 23. *To playne where ear is none.*] Wyatt repeats this thought from himself.

As to be heard where ear is none. p. 20, l. 6.

ODE XXIV. PART II.

Though I cannot your cruelty constrain. p. 184.

In the MS. p. 70. It is a piece of much merit. The mixture of lines of different measure, namely, the heroic decasyllable, the octosyllabic line, and the line of six syllables, produces a pleasing effect; and was done, I have no doubt, by Wyatt designedly, as in other instances, in imitation of the Greek and Latin poets. I call the second lines octosyllabic, though most of them consist of only seven syllables, because I conceive they are to be considered as defective, or, if I might use the Greek term, catalectic, octosyllabic lines. In every instance a single syllable might be added, but the measurement in point of time would remain the same. Thus we might read indifferently

Although my true and faithful heart,

or,

Though my true and faithful heart,

for the time occupied in recitation is the same; a double breathing as it were being given to the first syllable. This is not to be considered so much to be a licence, as a peculiarity growing out of the nature of our language. See Dissertation to Surrey's Poems, p. clxi. and clxii. and note there.

Line 9. *Is that ye would, &c.*] I conceive we ought to read,

Is that ye would *at last* vouchsave.

A defective octosyllabic verse, rhyming with a complete octosyllabic verse, produces a very bad effect.

ODE XXV. PART II.

Process of time worketh such wonder. p. 185.

In the MS. p. 109. The thought in this piece is common, and it is not expressed with any elegance. The versification rhythmical and unpleasing.

ODE XXVI. PART II.

If in the world there be more woe. p. 186.

In the MS. p. 122. This is a very curious and a very interesting little poem. Wyatt seems to have designed it to be an irregular monostrophe, in imitation perhaps of the Greek monostrophic ode. It probably was designed as an experiment. It is a species of composition which is capable of much beauty, especially in such pieces as are intended to be sung to music, by admitting a certain degree of pleasing wildness and irregularity, and a great variety of measures.

ODE XXVII. PART II.

Like as the swan towards her death. p. 187.

In the MS. page 89. The leaf on which it is written is torn from the top to the bottom, so that each

line is imperfect. The piece, however, occurs entire in the Devonshire MS. at page 169. From that MS. the words wanting in each line are supplied in Italicks.

Line 13.—*Consumeth my life, faileth my breath.*] This involution, by which the verb is put before the nominative case, is very artificial, and shews that Wyatt was making experiments how to vary his mode of his expression, and give novelty and dignity to his style. It was an involution much used by Dryden, who seems to have particularly affected it, and employs it often so as to produce a fine and poetical effect; as in the following passage in his Theodore and Honoria:

"The fiend's alarm began; the hollow sound
Sung in the leaves; the forest shook around;
Air blacken'd; roll'd the thunder; shook the ground.

Line 19.—*I do bequeath my weary breath.*] "Breath" must here mean "spirit." In the same sense in which it occurs in Surrey's Poems, p. 11. l. ult. where he in like manner "bequeaths his wearied ghost to wait and attend upon his mistress, after his death." See also the note on the place.

ODE XXVIII. PART II.

Ah, Robin! Joly Robin! p. 188.

In the MS. page 68. This is probably translated or imitated from the French.

ODE XXIX. PART II.

In the MS. page 90. This, like the Ode N° XXVII, is torn in the Harington MS. and is made perfect from the Devonshire MS. where it occurs at page 168.

Line 1.—*I once was determed.*] As this whole piece, with apparently the exception of the first stanza, is written in the regular heroic decasyllabic line, I apprehend the lines of the first stanza are to be read not as ending with a double rhyme, but with a strong stress on the last syllable, as is done in a great many passages of Wyatt's Poems.

In a] ternum] I once] was de] termèd].

Line 21.—*From my heart I cest.*] "Cest" is here put for *kest*, or *cast*. In the next line but one, "thought" is put for "love," which was a very common use of the word.

ODE XXX. PART II.

Lo! what it is to love. p. 191.

In the MS. page 117. This and the next piece are written with much liveliness, and variety of expression. They are pieces of considerable merit, as far as their subject goes.

Line 2.—*Learn ye at me.*] "Learn of me, or at my example." Wyatt uses the same mode of expression in other places. So at page 92. line 23.

Learn *at Kitson*, that in a long white coat.

Line 18.—*To ruge with good advise.*] "To be mad, and yet govern madness with reason." The expression seems borrowed from Horace.

Insanire doces certâ ratione modoque.

Line 20.—*Now off, now an.*] "An" is here evidently put for "on." This substitution of the vowel *a*, for *o*, was frequent. Thus *a' the coals*, was generally put for "o' the coals," as we say, now a' days, and a' clock, for *of' ddys*, and *of' clock*. The vowel "*a*" had evidently a very indefinite sound formerly. See line 23, where "can" occurs for *con*, or *kon*, to know.

Line 38.—*A poor treasure without measure.*] This mode of expression was adopted no doubt for the sake of the play on the words. The meaning seems to be "all the riches that love gives is poverty, and that poverty is boundless, without measure."

ODE XXXI. PART II.

Leave thus to slander Love! p. 192.

In the MS. page 118. See note to the ode preceding.

Line 7.—*For their refuse.*] That is, for their being refused.

Line 13.—*Some lese their own welfare.*] "Some destroy their own welfare." To lese is sometimes put for "to lose." But here it occurs in its real form, and means "to injure, and destroy."

Line 21.—*As chance on.*] We ought probably to read

As chance *upon* the dice.

Line 39.—*And lese the gain.*] "To lese," here means to speak injuriously of any one. This word in this sense is retained, though it is spelt "lease." Johnson seems to consider that the word "leasing" is only used as a noun substantive. It probably occurs sometimes as the participle active from the verb to "lese," or "lease," and sometimes for the adverb "leasingly." A licence very common in colloquial language; and authorized even by good writers.

ODE XXXII. PART II.

Most wretched heart! most miserable. p. 196.

In the MS. page 124. There are many dignified sentiments in this piece, and many nervous and animated lines. The title ought not to refer to amatory complaints. It was most probably written by Wyatt during his imprisonment in 1541, and represents his mind fluctuating between hope and despondency on account of the persecution he experienced from the malice of his enemies: he comforts himself with the persuasion that his innocence would be cleared. The man who is true to himself cannot ultimately fail.

PSALM XXXVII. PART II.

Altho' thou see th' outrageous climb aloft. p. 198.

In the MS. p. 128. This is written in the same style and spirit as the Paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms: and possesses all its beauties and defects. If there is any difference it is in the versification, which is a little more fluent than that of the Paraphrase. It might have been the psalm to which the Proem alone is printed in Wyatt's Memoirs, page lxxxvi. note [2]. for the subject is one to which that proem would apply.

Line 4.—*Move not thy heart, &c.*] There is an ellipsis here which requires to be supplied thus: "Let not the prosperity of sinners, though it appear to thee all that is desirable, irritate thee by its apparent felicity."

Line 15.—*Thy truth to be discust.*] "He shall make thy truth to be so thoroughly to be sifted that it shall appear plain to all men." The Latin word "discutere" has, I believe, sometimes been used in the sense of "to try and examine."

Line 17.—*The cursed wealth, &c.*] This line as it stands at present, I apprehend, be considered to be corrupt. We might read "the cursed's wealth:" i. e. the prosperity of the wicked, though it now stands in the way of thy happiness. It would make the sentence much clearer were we to read

The cursed, though they now do it deface.

Line 21.—*Thou see the purchase.*] Thus the MS. But I conceive we ought to read,

though thou see the, percase,
Increase of some.

"Though per case, or by chance, you may see the increase of some."

Line 28.—*Who patiently abides, &c.*] The personal relative pronoun "who" is here taken in the plural number for "they who." We therefore ought to read to avoid ambiguity, as the other verbs in the sentence are in the plural number.

Who patiently abide, and do not flit,
They shall possede the world.

"Possede" for possess is a word incautiously adopted, probably in the haste of composition from the French.

Line 34.—*The world shall wield.*] "To weild, or weld," had formerly a very lax or extensive meaning. Its general sense is to govern, or rule; and in that sense it might be here understood. I conceive, however, we are authorised to understand it as "possessing," which would bring it close to the vulgate and our common version, "possidebunt terram:" they shall "possess the earth." So Wickliff, "nile ye welde gold, neither silver, neither money in your girdils." *Matthew*, ch. x. Have no money in your purses, or girdles; for the purse was carried formerly in the hollow of the girdle, "ibit eō qui zonam perdidit." So again, "As nothing havynge and weldynge alle thingis," ii. Corin. ch. vi.

Line 40.—*No hand shall him seech.*] "Seech, for *seek*, or search after. Thus "beseke," for "beseech," occurs in Surrey.

Line 44.—*Bare of relief.*] "Destitute of relief." The word "bare," in this sense of destitute, unprovided, as applying to the mind, or moral necessities, occurs frequently in Wyatt. See Satire I. p. 85. l. 15. and Surrey, Æn. II. l. 106.

Line 45.—*Of such as fonds.*] "Fonds," for "*fond*." *To fond*, means to dote from affection or passion. So Surry, Æn. IV. line 489.

And, fonded eke invest, of half my realm.

Line 55.—*When dismold days.*] I presume nothing more is here intended than the word "dismal;" and though I cannot refer to any example of the word thus spelt, think I have seen it so used in more than one instance. In some counties the word is spoken by the common people, so as to give the same sound as in this passage.

Line 106.—*Shall untwind.*] "Shall untwine," be dissolved so as to lose all strength and power. The letter *d* is frequently added to words ending in "*ine*," both in writing and in conversation. Thus we meet with "undermindeth," for "undermineth."

Line 107.—*The wicked's end.*] The word "wicked" is here taken as a noun substantive for a wicked man, as "cursed" for a cursed man. See above l. 50, and, line 96.

Line 109.—*He shall them strength.*] "Shall strengthen them." See note to Surrey's Poems, p. 17. l. 13, where several instances of verbs of this description are adduced.

ODE I. Nº III.

Blame not my Lute, for he must sound. p. 205.

All the pieces to the end of the volume, are from the Devonshire MS. This occurs at page 135. Though it now appears, as it were, published for the first time, it formerly must have been a very popular poem, for we find it moralized as early as in the year 1565 by John Hall, in his work, entitled the Court of Virtue. That moralization will be found printed entire in the Appendix, Nº XXVIII. Mr. Ellis has printed it in part in the second volume of his Specimens. Though the circumstance of its having been moralized proves this little ode to have been once generally admired, I am not aware of its forming part of any of the collections of the times, such as the Phœnix Nest, and other miscellanies of that description. It was therefore in all probability printed and circulated in single sheets. From the entries in the books of the Stationers' Company we find that this was a very common mode of circulating popular pieces of poetry. Several of Surrey's favourite little poems obtained by that means an extensive circulation. See the Dissertation to Surrey's Poems, page cclxxviii. and ibid. note [2].

Wyatt appears to have evidently written this piece before us as a counter-part to his beautiful little ode, "My Lute, awake," *p.* 20. It is probable that ode had been felt as a satire by the lady to whom it was directed, and that she had found fault with Wyatt in consequence. This produced the ode now before us. It is extremely ingenious, and possesses considerable merit. The versification is harmonious and elegant throughout. It bears evident marks of being one of Wyatt's late compositions.

Line 40.—*Farewell, unknown*] I do not comprehend the force of this expression, for we cannot suppose that the person to whom Wyatt addressed the ode was really unknown to him. It is a sort of expression, moreover, which he uses on other occasions; as in the following: "Farewell, unkist." See page 247. line 7.

ODE II. PART III.

My pen, take pain a little space. p. 207.

It occurs in the MS. at page 4. It seems to have been written by Wyatt, as a sort of parody on his own poem, "My Lute, awake." This also has been moralized by Hall in his Court of Virtue.

Line 16.—*In worth to use, &c.*] "In worth" must here be, I apprehend, a contraction of, "Take it in worth." Take it patiently. See the expression explained in the Notes to Surrey's poems, p. 253. The meaning of the line before us must be "resolve with patience to use another mode of proceeding."

ODE III. PART III.

Take heed by time, lest ye be spied. p. 208.

It occurs in the MS. at page 1. It is a piece of no particular merit.

ODE IV. PART III.

At last withdraw your cruelty. p. 209.

In the MS. page 5. This piece has nothing to boast on the score of simple nature; but it has much merit on account of its ingenuity, in which it resembles some things of Cowley. It exhibits also considerable command of language. We are even surprised to find Wyatt, at so early a period of our literature, able to express so complicated a thought with so much ease and perspicuity.

ODE V. PART III.

To wet your eye withouten tear. p. 210.

In the MS. page 7. It is a piece of no merit. At the ninth line, "paint" means "use flattering language to deceive."

ODE VI. PART III.

I love loved, and so does she. p. 211.

In the MS. page 9. It has no particular merit.

Line 13.—*And hath done long.*] "Hath," the singular termination, is here evidently taken for "have," as at line 18 of the next piece.

Line 19.—*Since of mishap ours is alone.*] "Since ours is a solitary, an unusual instance of misfortune."

ODE VII. PART III.

It is a grievous smart. p. 212.

The whole tenor of the piece proves it to have been written by Wyatt in the name of some lady who had been abandoned by her love. It has been already noticed that it was a very common custom formerly to write poems in the name of other persons. See the note to page 29. line 15.

Line 4.—*Laid his faith to borrow.*] "Borrow," or "borwe," means a "pledge." "To lay to borrow," means to lay any thing to pledge. So Chaucer, C. T. v. 11545.

Ye tarry us here no longer than tomorwe
Nay, quoth this Clerk, ye have my faith in borwe.

I pledge my faith it shall be so. In the text, therefore, "he laid his faith to borwe," means he pledged his faith he would be true.

Line 5.—*And falsehood hath, &c.*] I apprehend we ought to read

And *falsed* hath his faith and troth.

"To false," for to falsify, is a word of common occurrence among our early writers.

Line 11.—*Let never woman.*] This line is evidently defective. We might read,

Let never *sely* woman again.

Line 20.—*My shoe is trod awry.*] This is evidently a proverbial expression, of which it should be observed many occur scattered throughout Wyatt's poems. We should deem this now unpleasing, and inelegant. It was common formerly. Proverbial expressions abound in Chaucer in our own language, and Petrarch in the Italian. Whether we have gained by this, may be a question. A proverb elegantly applied, and not coarse or too common in itself, often produces a pleasing effect. I think we are too fastidious in this respect. The best and most approved authors of Greek and Roman antiquity used them in their most laboured composition. They, not unfrequently, occur in Pindar and the Greek tragedians.

Line 22.—*To sing lullaby, &c.*] This expression seems to imply that the faithless lover had deserted the lady, leaving her to take care of an infant, the proof of his perfidy and her shame.

ODE VIII. PART III.

The heart and service to you proffer'd. p. 37.

In the MS. page 20. The piece has no particular merit beyond that of being easy and fluent.

Line 4.—*But take it to you gentle-ly.*] This word, though now universally used as a dissyllable, was very generally pronounced formerly as a word of three syllables. Which, indeed, was its natural and proper pronunciation. As at line 16, the word "humbly" ought to be pronounced, as indeed it ought to have been written, humble-ly.

Line 11.—*To be object.*] "It is a cruel thing to be objected against, because I owe you good will." Should this be thought harsh, it would be easy to propose as an emendation;

For my good will to reject.

It has been already observed at page 2, of Surrey's Poems, that our early writers frequently cut off the last syllable of participles, as "reject," in this instance, for "rejected," "fade" for "faded," "shake" for "shaken;" and many others similar.

ODE IX. PART III.

What meaneth this! When I lie alone. p. 215.

In the MS. page 22. May we consider this as a sort of imitation of Sappho's famous Ode, with which Wyatt can hardly be supposed not to have been acquainted either in the original, or in the imitation of it, by Catullus? If Wyatt had given a greater degree of dignity to his little ode, it might have been ranked among his best pieces. The sentiments are always natural.

ODE X. PART III.

Is it possible? p. 216.

In the MS. page 25. It probably was an impromptu. This will account for its being so incorrect, especially at the fourth stanza.

Line 7.—*So cruel intent.*] We ought to read,

That so cruel intent.

Line 14.—*As weather and the wind.*] We ought to read,

To change or turn as weather and *the* wind.

The fourth line is uniformly an heroic decasyllable, unless that measure be preserved, the particular effect aimed at in the formation of the stanza is destroyed.

ODE XI. PART III.

Alas! poor man, what hap have I! p. 217.

In the MS. page 28. It is not improbable but that this might have been written on the occasion of his being obliged to relinquish all claim to Anne Boleyn's affection. The ground of his complaint is, that he had been so improvident as to love one "above his poor degree." The piece, on whom ever it was written, is very pleasing and pathetic. It may be considered, from its simple style and turn of thought, to be what we should now call a ballad. The apostrophe to his "poor heart!" has much natural pathos in it. The lines which follow are very elegant and tender.

Do what I can to ease thy smart,
Thou wilt not let to love her still.
Her's, and not mine, I see thou art,
Let her do by thee as she will.

ODE XII. PART III.

And wilt thou leave me thus! p. 219.

In the MS. page 31. This is a very elegant and feeling composition. The versification is harmonious:

throughout. The abrupt manner in which each stanza begins, and the mode of conclusion, gives the whole a lively and a dramatic effect.

ODE XIII. PART III.

That time that mirth did steer my ship, p. 220.

In the MS. page 32. This is also a piece of considerable beauty and feeling. It has the character of great truth. The two lines which form the conclusion to the first stanza, were probably written by the lady whose inconstancy Wyatt reproves. The manner in which they are altered to form the burthen to the other stanzas, is artificial and pleasing.

Line 1.—*That time that mirth, &c.*] This thought is evidently suggested by that on which the sonnet at the ninth page turns:

My galley charged with forgetfulness;

and I would observe upon it, that being thus confined to general allusion, it is in good and correct taste. It is the descending to particular points of resemblance that renders the thought objectionable, and sinks it into a cold and puerile conceit.

Line 3.—*Fortune beat not then the lip.*] This is the reading of the MS. and though I do not understand it, I have preserved it. It would be easy to propose as an emendation, "Fortune, *bit* not then the lip," i. e. did not then look upon me with anger and enmity. The other, however, may be a proverbial expression with which I am not acquainted.

ODE XIV. PART III.

As power and will me assist. p. 221.

In the MS. page 37. This is a piece which seems to have been formed on the model of the Spanish piece called, "Glosa," in which a couplet being proposed as the subject, it is commented upon in the succeeding stanzas, the particular expressions of the original couplet being interwoven into each successively.

ODE XV. PART III.

Sometime I sigh, sometime I sing. p. 223.

In the MS. p. 38. It is a piece of no merit.

ODE XVI. PART III.

The knot which first my heart did strain. p. 224.

In the MS. page 43. This a pleasing little poem, simple and affectionate.

Line 6.—*Myself I damn.*] "I condemn myself." That the word was used formerly in a general and a qualified sense, is so well known, that proof would be here superfluous.

Line 15.—*Do seize my heart.*] This word, which is now used to denote the taking possession of in a legal sense only, had formerly a general meaning, as in the present instance.

Line 20.—*And I to miss.*] The construction here is involved. If the reading be right, we must suppose some words understood, "May I be doomed to miss."

Line 29.—*But if that I consume in pain.*] The versification in this stanza is particularly fluent and melodious.

ODE XVII. PART III.

It was my choice, it was no chance, p. 226.

In the MS. p. 46. There is a good vein of thought running throughout this Ode. The singularity of connecting the stanzas, by repeating at the beginning of each new stanza the last words of the verse preceding, is not altogether unpleasing.

ODE XVIII. PART III.

Heart oppressed with desperate thought, p. 227.

In the MS. at page 94. It is a piece which boasts of no particular merit.

ODE XIX. PART III.

Full well it may be seen, p. 228.

It occurs in the MS. at page 101.

ODE XX. PART III.

Since love is such as that ye wot, p. 230.

In the MS. at page 102. This is a pleasing composition. The turn of thought moral; the versification fluent. It bears internal marks of having been a late composition.

Line 17.—*And few there is.*] I conceive we ought to read, "And few there are."

Line 20.—*My freedom to withsave.*] I believe no more is here intended than simply "to save." I am hardly aware of any difference between the verb in its simple form, and when in composition with the preposition "with." If there be any difference, it is, that the word in composition seems to imply volition. "To withstand," seems to denote a greater freedom of volition than simply to oppose. An individual is said to

to withstand another, or to withstand oppression, when he opposes himself personally to another, or resists personally the oppresson We may oppose, when our wills are not so immediately consulted. Thus it may be said with greater propriety, that we are compelled to resist or oppose, than that we are compelled to withstand. I believe this distinction will be found to hold good with accurate writers, though general use has so confounded the two words, that many instances may be adduced where they are used indiscriminately the one for the other.

Line 26.—*When youth in me, &c.*] "When youth manifested his kind, his nature or property in me," namely, that of disposing me to love.

Line 36.—*The power of Love so late outcast.*] The sense seems evidently to require that we should read,

The power *that* Love so late outsast.

The meaning is, "That power, namely the power of Reason, which has so lately cast Love out of my bosom, shall never cease to rule within it."

ODE XXI. PART III.

Lo! how I seek and sue to have. p. 231.

In the MS. at page 104. It possesses no particular merit.

ODE XXII. PART III.

My love is like unto th' eternal fire. p. 232.

In the MS. at page 105. The thought is ingenious, the expression dignified. It has been cited in the Essay at page cxxiv. See also the note to line 15, page 109.

ODE XXIII. PART III.

Since ye so please to hear me playne. p. 233.

In the MS. at page 105.

ODE XXIV. PART III.

Now must I learn to live at rest. p. 233.

In the MS. at page 107.

ODE XXV. PART III.

Forget not yet the tried intent. p. 235.

In the MS. at page 108. It is a piece of considerable merit. It is simple, feeling, and encompassioned. See the Essay, page cxxiii.

ODE XXVI. PART II.

O! miserable sorrow withouten cure. p. 236.

In the MS. at page 124.

ODE XXVII. PART III.

The fruit of all the service that I serve. p. 236.

In the MS. at page 67. It is not a piece of any merit. "*To dry*; for to suffer drought, is an unusual and unpleasant expression.

ODE XXVIII. PART III.

If with complaint the pain might be expressed. p. 237.

In the MS. at page 169. Wyatt in this piece, as in the Ode xxiv. page 184, constructs his stanza by using a diversity of measures. I am not certain that the effect here is altogether pleasing, though each verse taken separately is musical and harmonious.

ODE XXIX. PART III.

Ye know my heart, my lady dear. p. 237.

In the MS. at page 170. The thought in this piece is not of any great value. Its greatest merit is the structure of its stanza. It is complicated, and shows great powers and command of language.

ODE XXX. PART III.

Since you will needs that I should sing. p. 232.

In the MS. at page 170. The piece cannot boast of any particular merit; though it should be remarked, that Surrey has evidently borrowed the thought in the first two lines in the second stanza. See the Essay, page clv.; and Surrey's poems, page 45, line 15.

Line 19.—*A broken lute, untuned strings, &c.*] There is something very new and pleasing in the whole of this stanza. Both the thought and the manner of expressing it is original and feeling.

ODE XXXI. PART III.

Me list no more to sing. p. 240.

In the MS. p. 172. Some lines in this piece are elegant, and some of the thoughts, though obvious, not devoid of merit.

ODE XXXII. PART III.

The joy so short alas! the pain so near. p. 242.

In the MS. at page 174. The last line appears to me hardly intelligible.

ODE XXXIII. PART III.

How should I. p. 143.

In the MS. at page 177.

ODE XXXIV. PART III.

What should I say. p. 246.

In the MS. at page 177. It is light, pleasing, and even elegant. I apprehend that the second line of the third stanza ought to be read,

Is not my mind.

ODE XXXV. PART III.

Give place! all ye that doth rejoice. p. 247.

In the MS. at page 178. The general strain of thought in this Ode has been so often repeated, that few will read it with any pleasure. The expression in the sixteenth line,

And to my wealth her *ears be blind,*

is one, which no one I presume will attempt to defend.

ODE XXXVI. PART III.

Spite hath no power to make me sad. p. 249.

In the MS. at page 179. The whole turns upon an idea very often repeated in the course of these poems, that women are by nature fickle, and therefore that their inconstancy ought not to excite surprise.

Line 30.—*Their kind it is, and hath been long.*] It is their nature, and has long been such, as he has expressed himself on another occasion.

But let it pass, and think it is of kind,
That often change doth please a woman's mind.

ODE XXXVII. PART III.

Ah, my heart, what aileth thee. p. 250.

In the MS. at page 180. It is pleasing and fluent.

ODE XXXVIII. PART II.

Hate whom ye list, for I care not. p. 251.

In the MS. at page 180. There is a peculiarity in this piece, in making all the lines end in "not;" which must have had some object at the time. This is not the only piece where the same peculiarity occurs.

ODE XXXIX. PART III.

Tangled I was in love's snare. p. 252.

In the MS. at page 182. This piece sung to the lute, had no doubt a better effect than it now has when submitted to the eye. Gaiety is seldom communicated to the reader by such a composition as that now before us. I apprehend the first line ought to be read,

Tangled I once was in love's snare.

ODE XL. PART III.

Love doth again. p. 253.

In the MS. at page 184. The sorrow at finding one's self involved again in a state of anxiety, would have suggested, one might have thought, strains more empassioned. The numbers should have been serious, and the thoughts grave.

ODE XLI. PART III.

Now all of change. p. 256.

In the MS. at page 185. In the manuscript we have this marginal note: "Learn but to sing it." This direction proves that Wyatt's lighter compositions were written to be sung to music.

Line 13.—*I am not he, &c.*] I apprehend the first three lines of this stanza ought to be read thus:

I am not he
Whom false assays,
Nor feigned faith, can bear in hand.

i. e. I am not one whom falsehood and art can deceive; or else,

I am not he,
By false essays,
Nor feigned faith, *to* bear in hand.

In which case the meaning would be, I am not a person to deceive others by a shew of feigned affection. Either would connect itself with the foregoing part of the stanza.

Line 24.—*And doth not pass, &c.*] Takes no account of my pain.

Line 34.—*Of that good hour.*] The expression, "that good hour," here means, that happy hour when

liberty is obtained; to ensure which, says Wyatt, I will by the painful power, or exercise of reason, refrain from beholding her who is the real cause of my misery.

ODE XLII. PART III.

Absence, absenting causeth me to complain. p. 258.

In the MS. at page 186. This piece is wholly rhythmical, and approaches to the inelegant and unharmonious style of Skelton. If it was written by Wyatt, I conceive it must have been written by him at a very early period.

Line 17.—*Now I am private.*] "Now I am deprived of worldly felicity." The word "private," is in the affected style of Hawes or Lydgate.

Line 20.—*What remedy.*] Probably, "Alas, what remedy."

Line 22.—*With sighs suspiring.* "Suspiring;" for "sighing," though it is a word by no means destitute of authority, is one which I apprehend Wyatt would not have used, or have used it only in his earliest days.

Line 23.—*Now welcome, I am ready.*] I presume we ought to read

Now welcome death, I am ready to depart.

As the lines are not properly arranged for the rhyme, I would venture to suggest this further alteration and transposition.

What remedy, alas! to rejoice my woeful heart
With sighs suspiring most rufully!
Farewell all pleasure, welcome pain and smart,
Now welcome death, I am ready to die.

ODE XLIII. PART III.

Patience for I have wrong. p. 259.

In the MS. at page 188.

ODE XLIV. PART III.

Will ye see what wonders love has wrought. p. 259.

In the MS. at page 191. This must be considered as a little ballad. The language and the thoughts are all of a popular nature, with the exception of the first line, in which Wyatt unconsciously perhaps imitated Petrarch.

Chi vuol veder quantunque può Natura,
E'l Ciel tra noi, venga a mirar costei.

The allusion to the Phœnix in the fifth stanza is obvious. The rock of magnet in the salt flood which draws the nails from the ships, was a popular story, no doubt, in Wyatt's time, and may be found perhaps in Mandeville or Bartholomæus, or some writers either of travels or philosophy in early times. I think it occurs in one of the stories of the Thousand and One Nights; though that could not have been Wyatt's authority.

ODE XLV. PART III.

Deem as ye list upon good cause. p. 261.

In the MS. at page 192. This is a piece of considerable merit. It is ingenious and feeling, but not tender. Tenderness was not the characteristic of Wyatt's muse, as it was of Surrey's. As the thoughts contained in this poem are complicated, and as they are expressed with great clearness and precision, we have an additional proof of the great command Wyatt had obtained in language. The line which forms the burthen of this piece, has been adopted in a piece entitled, "No foe to a flatterer," in the Paradise of Dainty Devises. See *p.* 59. *Ed.* 1810.

I would it were not as I think,
I would it were not so;
I am not blind, although I wink,
I feel what winds do blow.

Line 2.—*Think of this or that.*—As the second line in all the other stanzas end with the word "not," it is not improbable but that this line might have been written originally,

I may think this, or that, is not.

Should the present reading be deemed best, then the word, "that," must be pronounced "*thot*," to rhyme with the fourth verse.

Line 18.—*It needs not.* We ought probably to read,

Of that perchance it *needeth not.*

Line 25.—*If it be not, &c.*] If it be true that you have not changed your affection, give me no cause to suppose you have. The thought is the same as at page 159. *l.* 23.

To do but well, do nothing why
That men should deem the contrary.

ODE XLVI. PART III.

I am as I am, and so will I be. p. 262.

In the MS. at page 193. It is a piece of no great merit; but it is lively, and is written with ease. The circumstance most remarkable about it is its measure. The first stanza may be considered as perfect, and may be noted thus:

⏑ — | ⏑ ⏑ — | ⏑ — | ⏑ ⏑ — |
⏑ — | ⏑ ⏑ — | ⏑ — | ⏑ ⏑ — |
⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ — | ⏑ — | ⏑ ⏑ — |
⏑ — | ⏑ ⏑ — | ⏑ — | ⏑ ⏑ — |

This, to use the Greek terms of prosody, might be called an anapæstic line, the Iambic foot being used mixed

with the anapæst, generally in the first and third, that is, in the uneven places. The other stanzas might with a little alteration be brought all to nearly the same measure. The second stanza would require more correction than all the other besides. We might read it thus:

I lead | thus my life | in dif | ferently |
And no | thing I mean | but ho | nesty |
And though | folk do judge | full di | versely |
I am | as I am | and so | will I die.

Line 11.—*Use the means.*] The sense requires we should read, "And use the mean." The middle state between mirth and sorrow.

Line 26.—*To judge folks thought.*] We ought probably to read,

To judge folks *wrong* for envy and spite.

The last stanza we might read as follows.

And from this my mind I will never flee,
But unto you all that misjudge me;
I here do protest, as ye now may see,
That I am as I am, and so will I be.

END OF THE NOTES.

A LIST OF THE CONTENTS

OF

THE HARINGTON MS. N° I. DESCRIBED IN THE PREFACE.

The Arabic Numbers prefixed to the Pieces shews the manner in which they were classed in the MS. The Numbers cut thus, which are in Wyatt's own hand-writing. The titles were all written by the Gentleman in the

		Page
1	Blame not my lute	1
	What word is that	1
	Caesar when that the traitor	2
2	The long love	3
3	Alas the grief	4
	But since that I	7
	Whoso list to hunt	8
	Restful place *(imperfect)*	ib.
	O small honey much aloes, &c. *(beginning lost)*	11
2	Was I, that by envy of my love grieved	17
2	Each man me deem	18
	Farewell the reign of cruelty	19
2	If amongst the	20
2	Farewell love, and all thy laws	21
2	My heart I gave thee, not to do it pain	22
1	For to love her for her looks lovely	23
2	There was never file	24
	Help me to seek, for I lost it there	25
1	If it be so that I forsake thee	26
1	Thou hast no faith of him that hath none	27
1	Go burning sighs	28
3	It may be good like it who list	29
3	Resound my voice, ye woods that hear me plain	30
3	In faith I wot not well what to say	31
2	Some fowls there be that have so perfect sight	32
2	Because I have thee still kept fro' lies and blame	33
2	I find no peace, and all my war is done	34
2	Though I myself be bridled of my mind	35
2	My galley charged with forgetfulness	36
2	Avising the bright beams	37
2	Ever mine hap is slack	38
2	Love and fortune, and my mind	39
	How oft have I	40
2	Like to these unmeasureable	41
1	Madam withouten many words	42
1	Of few words, sir, you seem to be	ib.
	Ye old mule, &c.	43[1]
	Such hap as I am happed in	44[2]
	They flee from me, &c.	46[1]
1	There was never nothing more me pained	47[1]
1	Patience, though I have not	49[1]
1	Patience for my device	50[1]
	All to my harm *(imperfect)*	51
1	Who hath heard of such cruelty before	52
1	If fancy would favour	53[1]
1	Alas, madam, for stealing	55
1	What no perdie ye may be sure	56[1]
1	The wandring gadling in the summer tide	57
2	The lively sparks that issue from those eyes	58[1]
1	What needeth these threnning words, &c.	59
1	Right true it is, and said full yore ago	48[1]
	What word is that, that changeth not	100[1]
1	At most mischief	61
1	Marvel no more although	63
1	Where shall I have at mine own will	65
1	She sat and sewed that hath done me	67
1	Ah, Robin	68
2	Such vain thought	69
1	Though I cannot your cruelty constrain	70
1	To wish and want, and not obtain	71
1	Sometime I fled the fire, &c.	73
1	He is not dead that some time had a fall	ib.
1	The furious gun	74
1	My hope, alas! hath me abused	75
1	What death is worse than this	77
1	Th' enemy of life, decayer of all kind	78
1	Once as me thought Fortune me kissed	ib.
1	My Lute, awake	80
1	If chance assigned	82
1	Nature that gave the bee so feat a grace	83
1	I have sought long with steadfastness	84
	Like as the swan *(torn)*	89

[1] This and all the pieces which have no numbers affixed, were numbered, I doubt not, in the MS. but the figures have been obliterated by the writing passed over them.

[2] This is the fourth stanza of the poem, which begins "Mine old dear En'my." The three stanzas which precede have been torn out.

		Page
1	In æternam I was once determed (*torn*)	90
1	Since ye delight to know	91
1	Heaven and earth, and all that hear me plain	92
1	Comfort thyself, my woeful heart	94
	Praise him for counsel, (*imperfect*)	97
1*	Desire, alas! my master and my foe	99
1*	Venemous thorns that are so sharp and keen	ib.
3	My mother's maids, when they did sew and spin	100
1	To cause accord, or to agree	105
1	Though this the port, and I thy servant true	106
2	Unstable dream, according to the place	107
1*	In doubtful breast, whilst motherly pity	108
1*	Of Carthage, he that worthy warriour	ib.
3	Process of time worketh such wonder	109
	After great storm the calm returns	110
5	A spending hand that alway poureth out	111
1	All heavy minds	113
1	To seek each where, where man doth live	115
1	O goodly hand	116
1	Lo! what it is to love	117
1	Leave thus to slander love	118
1*	I lead a life unpleasant	121
1*	And if that eye may save (*crossed over*)	122
1*	If in the world there be more woe	ib.
1*	Th' answer that ye made to me, my dear	123
*	Most wretched heart, most miserable	124
1*	The sun, the moon, doth frown on thee	125
2*	You that in love find luck and abundance	126
1*	And if an eye	127
4*	Although thou see th' outrageous climb aloft	128
1*	From these high hills	129
2*	If waker care	130
3*	So feeble is the thread that doth the burthen	131
1*	Tagus, farewell, that westward	135
1*	Of purpose love chase first for to be blind	136
1*	What rage is this, what furour	136
*	Vulcan begat me, Minerva me taught	137
6	First letter from Spain }	139
6	Second letter }	142
4	The great Macedon	168
4*	Love to give law unto his subject hearts	169
	The seven Penitential Psalms.	
3*	When Dido feasted first	201
*	Various sentences	206
	Psalm 6. O do not, Lord, torment me, &c	209
	32. Thrice blessed he whose faults, &c	ib.
	38. O do not, Lord, in anger me reprove	210
	51. Have mercy, Lord, &c	211
	102. Lord, lend thyne ear unto my prayer	213
	130. From horror huge of dark despair, &c.	214
	143. Lord, hear my prayer and cry, &c	215
	N. B. All these are evidently in Sir J. Harington's hand-writing, and probably are his composition.	
*	Si la bontè se vouloit esmender	227
*	Ma maitresse a je ne scai quoi de bon	ib.
*	Dames! a qui de ces eaux christallines	228
*	Si par memoire, amour, et le devoir	ib.
*	Plume qui fus du ciel predestinée	229
*	Extreme mal qui le desir renforce	ib.
*	Si vous pensez que ma mie heust que faire	230
*	Frere Thibaud seiourne gros et gros	ib.
*	Un jour ma mie etoit toute seulette	231
*	Je ne veux rien qu' un baisir de la bouche	ib.
*	Une belle jeune epousée	232
*	J' ai vu le corps qui honore notre age	ib.
	Blank leaves to the end.	

A LIST OF THE CONTENTS

OF

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE'S MS. DESCRIBED IN THE PREFACE.

Those Pieces which have a Star prefixed, are either in the hand-writing of the original Copyist, or have Wyatt's signature subscribed. The others are in the hand-writing of different other persons.

	Page
* TAKE heed by time lest ye be spied	1
O cruel causer of undeserved change	2
My heart I gave thee not to do it pain	3
* My pen, take pain a little space	4
* At last withdraw your cruelty	5
* To wet your eye withouten tear	7
* I love loved, and so doth she	9
* Suffering in sorrow in hope to attain	10
* My fearful hope from me is fled	12
* Your fearful hope cannot prevail	13
* Bound am I now, and shall be still	14
* Farewell, all my welfare	16
* May not this hate from thee estart. (Ant. Lee)	18
* If I had suffered this to you unware (imp.)	19
* The heart and service to you proferred	20
* At most mischief	21
* What meaneth this, when I lie alone	22
* Patience though I have not	24
* Is it possible	25
* My lute, awake, perform the last	26
* Alas, poor man, what hap have I	28
* Marvel no more although	30
* And wilt thou leave me thus	31
* That time that mirth did steer my ship	32
* The restful place, reviver of my smart	33
* All women have virtues, (Richard Hatfield)	34
* What, no! perdie! ye may be sure	35
* Was never yet file half so well filed	36
* As power and wit will me assist	37
* Sometime I sigh, sometime I sing	38
* Patience of all my smart	39
* In faith me thinks it is no right. (A. J.)	40
* The knot which first my heart did strain	42
* Hey Robin, joly Robin	45
* It was my choice, *(imp.) it occurs perfect, p.* 58.	46
Now may I mourn as one of late	49
With sorrowful sighs, and woundes smart	50
What thing should cause me to be sad	51
Alas! that man be so unjent	52
Who hath more cause for to complain	53
I may well say with joyful heart	54
To your gentle letters an answer to recite	55
O very Lord, O Love, O God, alas![1]	56
* It was my choice, it was no chance	58
* Such vain thought as wanted to mislead me	61
* So unwarily was never no man caught	63
* The knot which first my heart did strain	65
* If fancy would favour	68
* The wandring gadling in the summer tide	70
* The lively sparks that issue from those eyes	72
* Though I cannot your cruelty constrain	74
* Sometime I fled the fire that me brent	76
* What death is worse than this	78
Thy promise was to love me best	79
I see the change from that that was	80
There is no cure for care of mind	81
As for my part, I know nothing	ib.
To my mishap, alas, I find	83
How should I	85
What needeth life, when I require	86
* To joy in pain my will	88
* If reason govern fantasy T. H.	89
* What helpeth hope of happy hap	92
* This rooted grief will not but grow T. H.	94
Heart oppressed with desperate thought	ib.
* So feeble is the thread, that doth the burthen stay	97
* Full well it may be seen	101
* Since love is such, that as ye wot	102

[1] All the pieces included in a bracket are not in the hand-writing of the amanuensis, and bear evident marks not to be of Wyatt's composition: they therefore are not printed.

	Page
* Lo, how I seek and sue to have	104
* My love is like unto th' eternal fire	105
* Since so ye please to hear me plain	ib.
* If in the world there be more woe	106
* Now must I learn to live at rest	107
* Forget not yet the tried intent	108
O happy dames, that may embrace[1]	109
My hope is you, for to obtain[2]	113
When I bethink my wonted ways, *(imperfect)*	123
O miserable sorrow withouten cure	124
When I bethink	125
Wyly, no doubt, ye be awry (E. Knyvet)	126
Too dear is bought the doubleness	ib.
For thilke ground that beareth weeds	ib.
To men that knows ye not	127
Mine unhappy chance, to whom shall I complain[3]	128
* Go burning sighs, unto the frozen heart	130
Fancy framed my heart	130
In places where, that I company (5 lines only)	132
* If that I could in verses close, (E. K.)	134
* Blame not my lute, for he must sound	135
Madame Margaret, et Madame Richemont[4]	143
My youthful days are past (*Lord Vaux's*)	ib.
* To cause accord, or to agree	161
* Still in thy sight, my life doth whole depend	ib.
* Behold, love, thy power, how she despiteth	162
* Thou hast no faith of him, that ele had none	ib.
* They flee from me, that sometime did me seek	ib.
* Cæsar, when that the traitor of Egypt	163
* If chance assigned	164
* Perdie, I said it not	ib.
* Patience for my device, with this note	165
10 Patience, though I had not, &c.] She yt	
50 sent this patience was not for her; but yt the	
80 contrary of mine, was most meetest for her	
90 purpose.	
* I have sought long with steadfastness	166
* Nature that gave the bee so feat a grace	ib.
* To wish and want, and not obtain	ib.
* Once me thought fortune me kist	ib.
* Resound my voice, ye woods that heareth me plain	167
* The fruit of all the service that I serve	ib.
* Since ye delight to know	168
* Venemous thorns that are so sharp and keen	ib.
* In eternum, I was once determined	ib.
* Like as the swan towards her death	169
* If with complaint, the pain might be exprest	ib.
* Cruel desire, my master and my foe	ib.
* She sat and sewed, that hath done me the wrong	ib.

	Page
* Who hath heard of such tyranny before	ib.
* Ye know my heart, my lady dear	170
* Since you will needs that I shall sing	ib.
* Once me thought, fortune me kissed	ib.
* Comfort thyself, my woeful heart	171
* What death is worse than this	ib.
* I am not dead, although I had a fall	ib.
* My hope, alas, hath me abused	172
* Me list no more to sing	ib.
* Now farewell, love, and thy laws for ever	173
* For to love her, for her looks lovely	ib.
* To rail, or jest, ye know I use it not	ib.
* My heart I gave thee, not to do it pain	174
* The joy so short, alas, the pain so near	ib.
* Each man tells me, I change of my device	ib.
* Pain of all pain, the most grievous pain	ib
* With dreams opprest, and visions fantastical	175
* Lament my loss, my labour, and my pain	176
* What should I say	177
* How should I	ib.
* Give place, all ye that doth rejoice	178
* Divers doth use, as I have heard and know	ib.
* The loss is small to lose such one	ib.
* Spight hath no power to make me sad	179
* Grudge on who list; this is my lot	180
* Fortune doth frown	ib.
* Ah, my heart, what aileth thee	ib.
* Hate whom ye list, for I care not	ib.
* Greeting to you, both in heart & wise	181
* My love to scorn, my service to retain	182
* Tangled I was in love's snare	ib.
* Longer to Muse	183
* Love doth again	184
* With serving still	185
* Now all of change, learn but to sing it	ib.
* Driven by desire, I did this deed	186
* I abide, and abide, and better abide	ib.
* Absence absenting causeth me to complain	ib.
* I find no peace, and all my war is done	187
* Patience, for I have wrong	188
When that I call unto my mind	ib.
* To make an end of all this strife	189
* Will ye see what wonders love hath wrought	191
* Deem as ye list upon good cause	192
* I am as I am, and so will I be	193
* My nown John Poyntz	194
* My mother's maids, (*only the first* 18 *lines*)	198
Now that ye be assembled here	199
Woman's heart unto no cruelty[5]	218
How friendly was *Medea* to *Jason*	221

[1] This is one of Surrey's pieces. It occurs in a hand writing which greatly resembles that of the Duchess of Richmond.

[2] This is written with great care and beauty, in the Italian text hand. The last couplet gives the name of the writer.

But now receive, by your industry and art,
Your humble Servant, Harry Stuart.

[3] The signature of this piece is apparently, "C. Lanselles."

[4] Whenever the number of pages is interrupted, as in this instance, it is either because the pages are blank, or are covered with unmeaning scribbling. The names in this page are noted, because they were particularly almost to in the Preface.

[5] This is followed by four other pieces, all of which are of no merit whatever, and are not written by the Amanuensis, though in a neat legible hand. The same applies to the piece immediately following, which concludes the Volume.

DIFFERENT READINGS

GIVEN BY

THE YELVERTON MS. OF WYATT'S DECLARATION AND ORATION.

Page	PRINTED COPY.	YELVERTON MS.
	DECLARATION.	DECLARATION.
277. line 10.	be not fresh	*being* not fresh
11.	professing always	*protesting* always
13.	I shall touch, to my remembrance	I shall touch, *or any other ways of any other thing that I shall touch,* to my remembrance
15.	in prison or out	in *person,* or out
20.	my conscience as touching words	my conscience. As touching word
278. line 10.	scarce speak	*scant* speak
14.	in his breast	*on* his breast
22.	declared a traitor of Pagett, a letter	declared a traitor. Of *Pagett's,* a letter
25.	of Leze, a letter	of *Leges,* a letter
279. line 2.	or writings, such as above	or writings *as* such as above
4.	of the Priest	of the *Priest's*
16.	the suspect I have been in	the *suspects* I have been in
17.	had not the King's	*and* had not the King's
21.	the towns Nice	the towns *of* Nice
25.	where is a boat for gallies	Where is a *bott* for gallies
26.	from the Bishop	*of* the Bishop
28.	gat them [lodging] at	gat them at
30.	methought that the court	methought *the town*
280. line 13.	and Bishop of Rome	*a* Bishop of Rome
23.	rehearsed the [case]	rehearsed *the effect of the* case
24.	their opinion	their *opinions*
281. line 1.	my overture for my	*the coverture* for my
4.	Cavas made me	Cavas made *unto* me
8.	he being unbound	being unbound
10.	policy of knowledge	*policies* of knowledge
13.	and 14	dele [before] and [was]
282. line 26.	I made was, they	I made was, *that* they
283. line 21.	I know they cannot avoid	I know *the way not to* avoid

ORATION. PRINTED COPY.		ORATION. YELVERTON MS.
Page		
284. line 13.	my Judge	my *Judges*
285. line 5.	that sit in your place.	*sits* in your *places*.
11.	I mean not	*Nor* I mean not
286. line 1.	of leasing than	of *living* than
3.	case of mens life	case of *man's* life
18.	more than false	more false
27.	then take me as	then *think* me as
287. line 4.	say any such	say any such *words*
8.	what need your trial for	what *needs* your trial. *But*
288. line 14.	for suspect	for *suspects*.
27.	Knowles, Maneel, Blage	Knowles, *Mantel*, Blage
289. line 7.	nor I suppose	*not* I suppose
9.	letteth them not from judgement out of the King's Court	letteth them not out of the King's Court.
23.	they all there thought	they all *three* thought good
290. line 2.	what they mean	what they *meant*.
12.	our's is affirmative	*and* ours is affirmative
21.	in haste	in *post*.
291. line 1.	and when Mason	and *where* Mason
12.	so it is not	so *that* it is not
15.	if our consent	if our *consents*
	then are these	then are they
30.	this is it I would	this is it *that* I would
292. line 1.	but first that suspect	but first, *if* the suspect
13.	if it might have been had, it been out of purpose	if it might have been, had it been out of purpose
17.	and his Council	and his *Counsellors*
20.	were my policy	were my policies
293. line 8.	Bishop of Rome's legate	Bishop of Rome, his legate
13.	The answer which the King [got] afore	the answer with the King afore
294. line 1.	Beside this	*Besides* this
295. line 2.	best contented	best *content*
296. line 9.	*well* wrested	*evil* wrested
19.	whereby it may appear what I meant by the proverb	deest
20.	I doubted they wou'd	I doubted *that* they would
21.	in communicating with some	in *communication* with some
22.	casting this peril	casting this *parrells*
25.	I have used the same	I have used *that* same
297. line 16.	or the place	*and* the place
25.	I that speak it	that I *spake* it
298. line 11.	in the king's affairs now.	in the king's affairs *know*
25.	let any of these be proved	let any of *this* be proved
27.	and of malicious speaking	and of *my* malicious speaking
28.	so distinguished saying	so *disguised* saying
299. line 15.	or moaning to revenging	or *moving* to revenging
300. line 5.	at his hands	at his *hand*
18.	boasted thereof	*loked* thereof. Qy. *lucked*
301. line 14.	my own inability	my own *unhability*
17.	having no counsel	*had* no counsel
25.	to revenging for my being in the Tower	to *revenge* for *myself* in the Tower
28.	towards the king	*toward* the king
29.	make misrelation	*and* make misrelation
232. line 15.	yet let other judge	let other judge
303. line 1.	played the fool	played the *fools*
13.	for parish priests	for *a* parish *priest*
28.	obeying yet nevertheless	obeying *it* nevertheless
30.	yet I think	yet *as* I think

ORATION. PRINTED COPY.		ORATION. YELVERTON MS.
Page		
304. line 11.	speciously the king	*specially* the king
13.	if it should fall	if it *shall* fall
16.	express law of good	express law of God
304. line 29.	in the town	in the towns
29.		dele [them]
30.		dele [many]
305. line 1.		dele [with them]
5.	or of Venice a man forty years old	or Venice a man lx. years old
20.	liked well your look	liked well your *looks*
27.	But turn you to my own part	But turn to my own part
306. line 3.	rather to *defame me*	rather to *fame* me
4.	I trust ye will not	I trust *it* will not defame me
11.	out of the room	out of *that* room
19.	and one Barnaby, what a tragedy and what a suspect	and one Barnabees, what a tragedy and a suspect
307. line 5.	I touched afore that this matter	I touched afore that. This matter
6.	Mason in hold retained	Mason in hold detained
19.	of treason	of *my treasons*
24.	the counsellors	the chancellor's
29.	he well not such things	he will no such things

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AND

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GLOSSARY.

A

A, for all.

A, for of.

Abated, *part.* that which is blunted. Thus in tournaments, unless it were directed otherwise, the edges of the swords and points of the spears were "abated." See Appendix, N° I. p. 435.

Accusement, *n.* accusation.

Accumber, *v.* to oppress and weigh down.

Acrased, *part.* infirm in health, *p.* 367.

Affects, *n.* affections, passions. Spelt frequently, "effects."

Ainst, *prep.* against. See P. p. 11. l. 13. and the note.

Albeit, *adv.* although.

Allowance, *n.* praise, commendation. From the French "allouer." Perhaps it ought to be spelt, "allouance."

Ambsace, *n.* a throw on the dice, where each die presents an ace.

An, *prep.* a licentious orthography for "on."

And if, *conj.* "an if" conditionally.

Ane, *n.* one. It should be noted once for all that in the orthography of Scottish words the letter "*a*" is frequently substituted for "*o*," to meet the national pronunciation of the Scots. Thus "nane" for "none;" "twa" for "two;" but in the words themselves there is no difference whatever.

Aneuch, *adv.* enough.

Anew, *adv.* enough.

Appair, *v.* to decay, to fall into a worse state; spelt also "*appeire.*"

Araised, *part.* elevated, raised up. See note to P. p. 51. l. 8.

Arbitre, *n.* arbitration.

Arrect, *v.* to raise up, to elevate.

Arrected, *part.* imputed to a person.

Ark, *n.* chest or cupboard.

Arwes, *n.* arrows.

Assemble, *n.* assembly, congregation.

Assure, *v.* to contract legally: to affiance, p. 440.

Astart, *v.* to be separated from.

Astonny, *v.* to astonish.

Algate, *v.* nevertheless, also, always.

Avaunt, *v.* to boast of any thing.

Avise, *v.* to look earnestly at any one. Italian, *avvisare.*

Ayes, *n.* a licentious orthography for "eyes."

B

Bain, or bayne, *n.* a bath.

Bain, or bayne, *v.* to bathe.

Baldock. See p. cxxxix. The Gibbet of Baldock.

Balk, *n.* a ridge raised by the plow.

Ban, *v.* to curse.

Bards, *n.* the trappings with which a war horse was covered.

Bare, *adj.* devoid, destitute, as applying to the mind.

Bases, *n.* the fringes or ornaments that hung down below the housings or covering of the horse.

Basse-parties, *n.* the lower parts.

Bawdroms, *n.* a cant word for a dog.

Bear in hand, *v.* to deceive.

Beat, the lip. Quæry what. P. p. 220. l. 3.

Beaulty, *n.* beauty. See note to P. p. 25. l. 19.

Beck, *n.* a nod.

Been, *part.* be, sometimes spelt *ben.*

Behest, *n.* promise.

Be-knowing, *part.* knowing, being conscious of.

Benely, *adv.* well, commodiously. "Ben," the adj. is used sometimes as the Latin word, "bonus."

Beseek, *v.* to beseech.

Besprent, *part.* besprinkled.
Bet, *adj. comp.* better.
Bewray, *v.* to betray unintentionally. See Surrey's Poems, p. 23. l. 15. and the note.
Blear, *v.* to blind, injure the sight of.
Blyn, *v.* to cease.
Boiseous, *adj.* boisterous, violent.
Bold, *v.* to embolden.
Bolded, *p.* emboldened.
Bolt, *v.* to sift a matter thoroughly.
Bones, *n.* limbs generally.
Bossed, *part.* raised in bosses, or large lumps.
Bourds, *n.* jests.
Bray, *n.* part of the outworks of a castle, defending the entrance.
Breade, *n.* breadth.
Brenn, *v.* to burn.
Brenning, *part.* burning.
Brickel, *adj.* brittle: afterwards; uncertain, precarious.
Bronds, *n.* brands, swords.
Brosten, *part.* bursten. See notes, p. 570.
Borrow, *n.* pledge; be my borrow; be my surety.
Bruit, *v.* to report abroad commonly.
Buk-hid, *n.* the name of some old game: probably like hide and seek, or a game yet common among children called "Buck-buck."
But, *prep.* without; often spelt "bot."
Busk, *n.* a bush; buskis, bushes.
Brawl, *n.* state of distraction.
Bowt, *n.* circuit, or orbit.

C

Calcars, *n.* See P. p. 62. l. 14. Probably in the sense of Astronomers.
Can, *v.* a licentious orthography for "con" "or kon," know.
Cant, *n.* a portion, or cantle of any thing.
Cant, *adv.* dexterously, daintily.
Capitulate, *v.* concede.
Cark, *v.* suffer pain from care.
Celebre, *adj.* an haunted, or frequented place, famous.
Cesse, *v.* to cease from doing any thing.
Cest, *v.* for kest, or cast.
Chalmer, *n.* chamber.
Cheap, good, *n.* a good bargain; bought at a small price.
Chere, *n.* the general expression of the countenance; distinct from *cheer*, or *chear*, good living or happiness.
Claw, *v.* to clap on the back. See P. p. 68. l. 6. and the note.
Clawback, *n.* a flatterer. See note to P. p. 68. l. 6.
Clive, *n.* cliff.
Cloy, *v.* It occurs in the sense of giving disgust, or offence. See App. p. 518.
Cluke, *n.* the claw or talon of any animal. It is spelt cluik, cleuck, and clook.
Cold, *v.* to grow cold.
Comen, *part.* come.
Concyle, *v.* apparently, to reconcile it to themselves.
Conduce, *v.* to bring about between parties, *p.* 369.
Contentation, *n.* contentment.
Contrahent, *n.* contracting party.
Convainquished, *part.* convicted.
Convey, *v.* to steal.
Convey, *v.* to manage any business.
Counterpese, *v.* to counterpoize.
Countre-weighing, *part.* weighing one against another.
County, *n.* count, a title of honour.
Courtyne, *n.* curtain.
Covetise, *n.* covetousness.
Coystron, *n.* a term of reproach: perhaps the same as "coystrel," a mean drunken fellow.
Crack, *v.* to make a boast or brag of a thing.
Crop, *n.* the top of any thing, as of a tree. "Crop and root."
Crul, *adj.* curl or curled. See note, p. 570
Cure, *n.* care.

D

Dais, *n.* the high place in the hall where the state table for the chief guests was placed.
Dam, *v.* to condemn.
Dance, *n.* a course or habit of thought, or pursuit.
Dark, *n.* darkness.
Daskard, *n.* a coward or poltroon.
Deal, *n.* a portion of any thing. Whence "no deal," *no part*; "each deal," *every part*; "some deal," *some part*. See note to P. p. 43. l. 6.
Dedicate, *adj.* devoted; given up to.
Deem, deme, and dome, *v.* to judge or pass an opinion upon.
Deep, *v.* to go profoundly into a subject.
Defy, *v.* See p. 289, "defy all friendship," waive, or put out of the question; renounce.
Deliver, *v.* a term used in chivalry, when a person being defendant, and standing to answer as many courses on horse-back, or strokes with the sword

as the condition of the tournament, or enterprise, has marked out, performs them against any one who demands the trial: the assailant having run the stipulated courses, or struck the appointed number of blows, is said to have been "delivered."

Demain, *n.* power.
Depart, *v.* to divide into portions.
Depart, *v.* separate, divide asunder.
Depend, *v.* to cause to depend or hang upon.
Descrive, *v.* for describe.
Determed, *part.* determined.
Diet, *n.* allowance for living.
Dight, *part.* trimmed neatly, put in order.
Dint, *n.* any forcible stroke,
Discrepant, *adj,* disagreeing with, different from.
Discuss, *v.* loosen, from the Latin discutere.
Discussed, *v.* thoroughly examined. P. p. 198. l. ult. and note.
Dismold, *adj.* dismal. P. p. 200. l. 10.
Distend, *v.* to be drawn out of, extended from.
Distraction, *n.* the apprehension, or the drawing any one away. See p. 366. "My jeopardy more dear than his traitor's distraction."
Do, *v.* to occasion, used frequently as a verb auxiliary "to do to die," *to kill*; "to do to depart," to send.
Dote, *n.* dower.
Dreid, *n.* fear. "But dreid," without fear.
Dreidful, *adj.* abounding with fears.
Dry, *v.* to suffer from thirst.
Dump, *n.* serious reflection, musing, p. 371.
Dure, *v.* endure, last.

E

Ee, *n.* eye.
Eftsoons, *adv.* immediately upon the back of a thing.
Eik, *v.* to eke out, to prolong.
Eird, *n.* earth.
Elenge, *v.* the same as eloign.
Eloin, *v.* to withdraw from.
Elonged, *v.* probably "eloigned," withdrawn to a distance. See P. p. 157. l. 15. and the note.
Encheson, *n.* excuse.
Enfoiblissment, *n.* weakening of any thing.
Erdlie, *adj.* earthly.
Eterne, *adj.* eternal.
Eyen, *n.* eyes.

F

Facile, *adj.* easy.
Fair. *adj.* that which is absolutely beautiful.
Falltrap, *n.* a mouse trap, or any trap whatever.
False, *v.* to falsify.
Fane, *adj.* fan, glad.
Fantazing, *part.* forming a conceit or opinion of.
Fantasy, *n.* love.
Favel, *n.* flattery. See the note to P. p. 89. l. 19.
Feat, *adj.* that which is done dexterously.
Fere, *n.* companion; "all in fere," *all together.* See P. p. 105. l. 5.
Fet, *v.* to fetch. See note to P. p. 26. l. 2.
Fidele, *adj.* faithful.
Filed, *p.* polished generally.
Fierly, *adv.* partaking of fire.
Fitchis, *n.* vetches.
Flatling, *adj.* prone, flat on the ground.
Fleteth, *v.* floteth.
Fog, *n.* moss; "to fog," to become covered with moss.
Foining, *part.* thrusting as with a spear.
Fond, *v.* to dote upon.
Force, *v.* to care for any thing. "No force for that." Of that I take no heed, no care.
Force, *n.* See note to P. p. 15. l. 20.
For-trought, query. See page 414.
Foyle, *n.* a croud; French, "*foule.*"
Fra, and frae. Fro, from.
Frame, *n.* a disposition towards any thing.
Freat, *v.* to consume away, in an elevated and poetic sense.
Fro, *prep.* from.
Frowe, *n.* apparently a young woman, from the German.
Fure, *v.* fared.
Fute, *n.* foot; "*fute for fute*;" together,
Fyer, *n.* fire; so spelt when to be pronounced, as was frequently the case, as a dissyllable.

G

Galverly, *adv.* evidently, actively; as an horse in his action.
Gansel, *n.* of an uncertain meaning. It might be understood in the sense of sauce.

Thy goose is good, thy gansel sour as gall.

Gart, *part.* made.
Gear, *n.* matter, substance, or business, taken generally as "goodly gear, goodly stuff, "wine and

other gear, p. 283, "tried on this gear," *this subject or business.*

Geil, *n.* jelly.

Glead, *n.* spelt *glede, gleid,* and *gleed,* in its first sense, embers; also a spark of fire, or fire generally. See note to P. p. 8. l. 10.

Glide, *v.* to steal, softly.

Glint, or glynt, *n. glimpse.*

Glowmang, *part.* glooming, covered with gloom.

Grame, *n.* sorrow. P. p. 219. l. 4.

Gret, *v.* to weep; spelt, greet, greit, and grete.

Grit, *part.* girt, or girded, pierced through. Notes, p. 570.

Groin, *v.* to groan or make a grunting noise like swine, spelt groyne; from the French, *grogner.*

Groin, *n.* the snout of the swine. See note to P. p. 91. l. 18.

Grottis, *n.* grits, the coarse part of meal.

Grudge, *v.* to grieve or be sorry for any thing simply; also including a desire of revenge.

Grudge, *v.* to eat into any thing, as a grub or worm does.

Guard, *n.* the trimming of a garment.

Guard, *v.* to put as a trimming to a robe.

Gust, *v.* to give a taste to.

Gyf, *conj.* if.

H

Hap, *n.* fortune generally, sometimes singly good fortune.

Haye, *n.* toils or hunting nets used to enclose the game; from the French, "*hayer.*"

He, *pro.* for, it.

Headling, *adj.* headlong.

Hem, *pro.* them.

Herberey, *n. lodging.*

Hething, *n.* anger, "half in heathing," half angry. Some understand it as, haithing, or oathing, swearing; but "het," is hot, whence "a hetful man," i. e. a hot man, one easily angered.

Himself, *pro.* for itself. See P. p. 109. l. 23.

Hint, and hent, *part.* taken hold of.

Hire, *n.* reward generally, and in a poetic sense.

Hoil, *n.* hole.

Host, *n.* a victim, that which is offered in sacrifice.

Hugie, *adj.* very large.

I

I-beshrew, evil beshrew, evil befall you.

Indiction, *n.* appointment.

Inique, *adj.* unjust.

Insult, *v.* to put oneself in opposition to.

Intend, *v.* to attend, to give intention or attention. p. 369.

Interpone, *v.* interpose.

Intermete, *v.* to interpose, to put in the way between different objects; from the French, *entremettre.*

Into, *prep.* the same as, "intil," simply, "in."

Jape, *n.* a jest.

Japerie, *n.* jesting, mockery.

K

Kail, *n.* Broth made of herbs. "Walter-kail" means probably water broth, i. e. poor broth, or simply water, to denote poverty and privation.

Kay, *n.* a licentious mode of spelling for "key."

Kest, *v.* cast.

Kest, *n.* chest.

Kind, *n.* nature.

Kith, *n.* it means generally acquaintance. At p. 456. l. 22, it seems to mean the old habitation. Sibbald reads "place." This looks like the substitution of a word to improve the sense.

Kitt, *v.* a licentious mode of spelling for cut. P. p. 258. l. 14.

Knoweth, *v.* the imperative of the verb know, know thou.

L

Languishment, *n.* state of languor.

Lap, *v.* leaped.

Lasar, *n.* leisure.

Laverock, *n.* the lark.

Lays, *n.* probably the "lair," or place where an animal sleeps.

Leche, *n.* physician; spelt equally *leech* and *leach.*

Legacy, *n.* ambassage.

Leman, *n.* any person, man or woman, beloved.

Leme, *n.* beam of light.

Lese, *v.* to injure, spelt *leize,* and *lease.*

Lese, *v.* to lose; a licence for the sake of the rhyme, and perhaps a colloquial pronunciation.

Let, *v.* to stand as an obstacle to any thing, to hinder.

Leuch, *v.* laughed.

Leve, *v.* for live.

Lever, *adj.* spelt *leifer, leefer*; dearer, of more estimation.

Life, *n.* seems used as any living creature, and not state of animation. P. p. 179. l. ult. and 18. l. 5.

Lightly, *adv.* with facility.
Livelode, *n.* livelihood, means of supporting life.
Lome, *v.* to shine through the air.
Loups, *n.* holes made in the walls of castles to allow the putting out of the cross-bow.
Lugeit, *v.* lodged.
Lyn, *v.* to cease.

M

Make, *v.* apparently to allure, to make me come. See P. p. 149. l. ii.
Make, *n.* wife, mate, or companion.
Mambornship, query, what? p. 496.
Mangerie, *n.* eating, daily fare.
Many, *v.* to manage, undertake the conduct of.
Manying, *part.* managing.
Mashed, *part.* spelt *meashed*, and *meshed*, entangled.
Mate, *n.* metaphor from chess, state of extremity.
Mavis, *n.* the black bird.
Meeter, *adj.* better qualified for any thing.
Meevings, *n.* movings.
Mell, *v.* to meddle with.
Merkit, *v.* grew dark.
Merkit, *v.* marched, went along.
Mete, *v.* to measure.
Meve, *v.* to move. P. p. 223. l. 11.
Mew, *n.* a place for keeping hawks, a place of rest. See note to P. p. 4. l. 20.
Mischief, *n.* a state of suffering, as well as injury. See P. p. 174. l. 19.
Mo', *adj.* more.
Mure, *n.* a moor; spelt "muir," and "more."
Myngit, *v.* mingled.
Myse, *n.* mice.

N

Narre, *adj.* nearer. See note to P. p. 34. l. 11.
Ne, the old conjunction, not.
Near and near, nearer and nearer.
New, *v.* to renovate. "No new," no new friend or lover. See P. p. 35. l. ult.
Newfangleness, *n.* a disposition to change and novelty.
Nones, *n.* sometimes spelt "nounce;" the occasion.
Noppy, or nappy, *adj.* soft, inducing sleep.
Not, *v.* will not. P. p. 4, l. 14. See note.
Not, *v.* for ne wot, know not.
Nother, *pron.* not either.
Nyle, and nile, ne will; do not. See notes, p. 570.

O

O', *pro.* one. It is often put as the contraction for "of:" when it is generally spelt "*a*." "*a' the coals*," of the coals.
Obsecrate, *v.* to beseech.
Orator, *n.* an ambassador.
Ostentation, *n.* simply the shewing of.
Overthrawen, *part.* overthrown.
Overthwart, *adj.* contrary, perverse.

P

Pact, *n.* the same as compact; an agreement between parties.
Pailliard, *n.* an indolent effeminate person. *Fr.*
Paint, *v.* to use artificial means for setting any thing off, to deceive generally.
Parfite, perfite, perfet, *adj.* the same as perfect.
Parraling, *n.* tapestry, or any thing of that sort hung up to cover the wall. Sibbald reads "pannaling."
Pase, *n.* a common pronunciation of the word Paques, Easter.
Pass, *v.* to regard, set any account by.
Pear, *v.* to appear.
Pease, *v.* to appease.
Per-case, *adv.* perchance.
Perreywrigh, *n.* old spelling for pierrerie; jewelry.
Perpall; query, what? See p. 456. l. 19. Sibbald reads "yon parpane wall." Parpane or perpan is explained by Jameison as a partition wall.
Pese, *v.* to weigh.
Pike, *n.* It occurs in the sense of a bar, or obstacle, p. 520.
Plain, *v.* to complain, to weep. It should be spelt "playne."
Plet, *v.* folded in "armes plet," means, in folded arms, embracings. See p. 452. It seems to correspond with the expression common to Wyatt and Surrey, "in arms across." See Surrey, P. p. 13. l. 1, and Wyatt, p. 86. l. 2.
Plunge, *v.* to raise one's self up as an horse does in the plunge.
Ply, *n.* plight, condition.
Poize, *v.* to weigh.
Poldron, *n.* an armour for the head.
Possede, *v.* possess.
Powdered, *part.* a term in heraldry, where one colour is spotted with another.
Prepone, *v.* the same as propone, propose.
Prest, *pant.* ready, prompt.

Pretence, *n.* in the signification of defence; from the Latin, "pretendo," to hold before one as a shield.
Preve, *v.* to prove.
Private, *adj.* deprived of.
Prompit; query what? See p. 452. l. 19. perhaps, swelled in a pompous manner.
Property, *n.* the quality of a thing, attribute of a person.
Propone, *v.* to propose.
Purpose, *n.* conversation, "fall to purpose," *fall into conversation.*
Pykes, *v.* picks, "a pyke-purse," was a *pick-purse.*
Pykeries, *n.* robbers, plunderers.

Q

Quarrier, *n.* French; the chandelier, or any thing that supports a candle.
Quail, *v.* to fail in the execution of any thing.
Quent, *part.* quenched.
Quest, *n.* the jury by whom a bill is found, or before whom a cause is tried.
Quietie, *n.* quietness.
Quhilis, *adv.* one while.
Quhite, *n.* wheat.
Quick, *adj.* living; quick with child, p. 233.

R

Rampired, *part.* earth flung up to form a rampire, or rampart.
Rathe, *adj.* early.
Raught, *part.* stretched out.
Rawley, *adj.* unprovided, unappointed.
Reason, *n.* from the French, *raison*; justice, right. "He shall do me reason," p. 358, shall render me justice. "To put himself to reason," p. 358, to refer his cause to justice.
Rebate, *v.* to abate or diminish the strength of any thing.
Reciproque, *adj.* French, reciprocal.
Reciproque, *n.* any thing granted as an equivalent.
Reck, *v.* to care for.
Reckless, *adj.* careless.
Recreate, *adj.* refreshed.
Recueil, *n.* reception.
Recure, *n.* recovery.
Rede, *n.* counsel, advice.
Rede, *v.* to advise, to counsel.
Redoubbed, *part.* amended, spelt, but improperly, "*redoubled.*" See p. 428.
Reduce, *v.* bring back again, restore to health.
Reid, *n.* rede; advice, counsel.
Rejoice, *v.* to enjoy.
Remember, *v.* to cause to remember. See P. p 69. l. 10.
Remove, *v.* to change, or vary in affection.
Renovelling, *part.* renewing.
Rent, *v.* to rend.
Repartyd, *part.* divided into portions. See p. 386.
Repudiate, *v.* simply to reject.
Repulse, *n.* part of an horse's bridle; the bit.
Rife, *adj.* fresh, urgent, pressing upon.
Righteousness, *n.* integrity, generally spelt in this sense rightwiseness.
Right-wisely, *adv.* according to right; righteously.
Rods, probably Rhodes. See p. 374.
Room, *n.* place or office.
Round, *adj.* honest, downright. "He is of some good estimation, both of wit and judgment, and a round man. p. 355.
Roundly, *adv.* plainly, without any circumlocution, p. 354.
Ruddocks. *n.* a cant word it should seem for gold coin.
Ruffian, *n.* a person of bad character.

S

Seech, *v.* seek.
Sely, *adj.* sometimes, but improperly, spelt "silly." It implies generally that which is defenceless, innocent, and void of guile.
Semblable, *adj.* the like in any case.
Semblably, *adv.* according to all likelihood.
Service, *n.* the act of waiting personally upon, as in Italy, "servire una donna," to pay their constant attentions. Whence, "Cavaliere servente," the constant attendant, the lover.
Scant, *adv.* scarcely, without much ado.
Scat, *v.* apparently to sprinkle or cover over.
Scheild, *n.* a common sewer, or any ravine or cavity in the earth; whence it is applied to mean an hiding place.
Scho, *pron.* she.
Scuse, *v.* to excuse.
Sheen, *v.* to shine; spelt *shene.*
Shright, *part.* and *v.* shrieked. See P. p. 8. l. 20, and the note.
Shytt, *p.* cast out, ejected.

Sic. *adj.* such.
Sickerness, *n.* truth, security.
Sight, *v.* sighed.
Sildam, *adv.* seldom; a licence for the sake of the rhyme. See P. p. 12. l. *penult.*
Sith, and syth, *adv.* since.
Sithens, *adv.* since.
Skaith, *n.* injury. "The mouse, as an outlaw, lived to the injury of others, preyed on other people's goods." See p. 451. l. 6.
Skar, *v.* to scatter or drive about.
Skill of, *v.* to have knowledge of.
Skyr-galliard, *n.* a term of reproach. Galliard means, in the Scottish language, a lively person. But Jamieson remarks, that if referred to its root, it would denote in a bad sense, a dissolute abandoned person. "To gallyie," means to brawl, or scold. If derived from this root, the word "Galliard," would mean a brawling, scolding person. Skurr, or skyr, is found often in composition, and denotes something base, as a Skuryvage, a vile vagabond. Scur, is considered to be a contraction of "scurff."
Slipper, *adj.* slippery.
Sly, *adj.* imperceptible.
Smoked, *v.* See the place, p. 442. It seems to mean, "to be very angry." It might mean, "to weep."
Sohter, *pron.* See p. 451. l. 5. The sense seems to require "somewhile," as if it were contracted from "some otherwhile."
Solaine, *adj.* solitary, lonesome.
Some, *pron.* any.
Sonour, *adj.* sonorous, sounding.
Source, *n.* the violent flight upward as of a bird of prey. See note to P. p. 68. l. 17.
Sparkle, *v.* to scatter, to disperse, and passively, to be scattered or dispersed.
Sparkling, *p.* scattering; uncertain in its action.
Sparpled, *part.* scattered, loosely diffused. See note to P. p. 103. l. 8.
Speir, *v.* to ask questions of.
Speirit, *part.* enquired of.
Spence, *n.* the larder.
Spencer, *n.* the steward who dispenses one the meat.
Spill, *v.* to consume away, to come to decay.
Stack, *v.* the past tense from the verb to stick.
Stalk, *v.* to steal softly upon a person.
Sterve, *v.* to kill, perish, or die.
Stilling, *part.* that which falls drop by drop.
Stomach, *n.* pride; frequently intention or disposition, p. 474; p. 498.
Stond, *p.* stand.
Straight, *adj.* urgent.
Straight, *v.* to tighten any thing.
Strain, *v.* to compel, to suffer torment.
Streams, *n.* rays of light. Whence poetically, "eyes." See Surrey's Poems, P. p. 7. l. 1. and the note.
Strength, *v.* to strengthen.
Stroyed, *part.* destroyed.
Strukkin, *part.* cut off in slices.
Suade, *v.* to persuade, or use persuasions to.
Subornate, *part.* suborned; brought to do a thing underhand.
Subcharge, *n.* It seems to stand here as a second course. See p. 445. l. 22.
Successes, *n.* things that have happened generally.
Sum, *n.* the totality or aggregate of any thing.
Suspires, *n.* sighs.
Suspiring, *part.* sighing.
Swa, *conj.* so.
Sway, *n.* the violent impuse of any large body in motion.
Swelt, *v.* to experience great heat.
Syne, *adv.* presently.

T

Tail, *n.* suite. "*Tail of the court,*" suite of the court, 361.
Take, *part.* taken.
Talzies, *n.* slices. From the French, "tailler."
Tane, *part.* ta'en, taken.
Tayed, *part.* tied, restricted.
Thraif, *n.* It means originally a quantity of corn, amounting to twenty-four sheaves: it meant afterwards "a great many." So at p. 454. l. 24. "Thraif cakis;" means "*many cakes.*"
Thraw, *n.* a pang, a throe. Whence "thrawin vult," a countenance full of anguish.
Thrust, or thrist, *n.* thirst. See note to P. p. 135. l. 3.
Thought, *n.* love, generally, as having gained an hold on the mind.
Thole, *v.* to endure pain or hardship: to suffer.
Thir, *pron.* these.
Therewhilst, *adv.* the which while.
Threnning, *part.* threatening.
Than, *adv.* for *then.*
Thair, *adv.* there.
Teary, *adj.* tearful, abounding in tears.

Tire, *v.* to feed upon as birds of prey: to consume.
Tone, contraction of "the one," generally written t'one.
To year, this year, P. p. 152. l. 6.
Touches, *n.* a disposition of the mind.
Tract, *n.* long extension, either of time or distance.
Trahison, *n.* treason, pronounced a trisyllable. See P. p. 90. l. 20.
Trampery, *n.* deceit, evidently, *tromperie.* From the French *tromper.* Whence the common word, "trumpery."
Train, *v.* to deceive; to draw a person on with false hopes.
Trains, *n.* deceits: any thing that beguiles.
Treves, *n.* truces.
Travail, *n.* labour and exertion of mind generally.
Trite, *n.* waste, consumption of time.
Trow, *v.* to think.
Troubelous, *adj.* troublesome.
Tute, *adj.* safe.

U

Undermindeth, *v.* undermineth.
Unkouth, *adj.* unknown.
Unpure, *adj.* impure, P. p. 201. l. 15.
Unquit, *part.* unrequited, not punished.
Untwined, *v.* to untwine.
Ure, *n.* use, proof, practice. See the note on Surrey's Poems, p. 251.

V

Vailes, *v.* avails.
Viages, *n.* voyages.
Vile, probably, "Civile," "Jus Civile," p 378.
Vult, *n.* countenance.

W

Withsave, *v.* to save. See the note to P. p. 230. l. 20.
Whereas, *adv.* where; in point of place.
Whilom, *adv.* formerly.
Whither as, *adv.* to which place, where.
Worth, to take in, *v.* to take a thing patiently.
Wot, *v.* wote, to know, to have a notion of any thing in the mind.
Wound, *part.* to wind, to draw gradually.
Wreke, *n.* spelt *wreak* and *wreek*; that injury which is inflicted from motives of spite or revenge.
Wreke, *v. wreak*, and *wreek*, to hurt from motives of spite and revenge: to avenge.
Writhe, *v.* to turn away from any one.
Wrote, *v.* to grout as a pig does.
Wry, *v.* spelt *wrie*, and *wray*, to cover or conceal.
Wyne, *v.* to form a connection or intimacy with, p. 504, to interweave one thing with another.
Wyned, *part.* interwoven. See page 512.
Wynned, *v. wonned:* to won is to dwell at a place.
Waith, *n.* hunting; wandering about; an unsettled mode of life; "to live on their waith," may mean therefore to live in a lawless and marauding manner.
Waker, *adj.* wakeful.
Wakey, *adj.* wakeful.
Wame, *n.* the stomach, whence it means sometimes hunger.
Wand, *n.* so used for power and dominion; "under the wand" may mean, under her command; at her disposal.
Wane, *n.* wonning or abiding place, home.
Wan-hope, spelt "*wane hope*," despair, and despondency.
Wealth, *n.* good fortune generally, prosperity, or happiness, P. p. 5. l. 18.
Ween, *v.* to think, as forming an opinion or conclusion about any thing.
Weilfair, *n.* welfare, or weal-fare.
Wield, and weld, *v.* to possess. See the note, p. 199. l. 19.
Wilsum, *adj.* unpleasant, as not being accommodated to the conveniencies of others.
Win, *v.* to obtain entrance; to go in.
Wis, *v.* to have a knowledge or a perception of any thing. "I wis," was used generally as a sort of affirmation, or assurance of truth on any particular point. See P. p. 67. l. 11.

Y

Y-charged, *part.* spelt also, *i-charged*, loaded.
Yede, *v.* to go.
Yeid, *v.* went.
Yielden, *part.* surrendered.
Y-stricken, *p.* struck.
Yone, *adv.* yon, yonder.
Yore, *n.* that which has long past; is old or antiquated.

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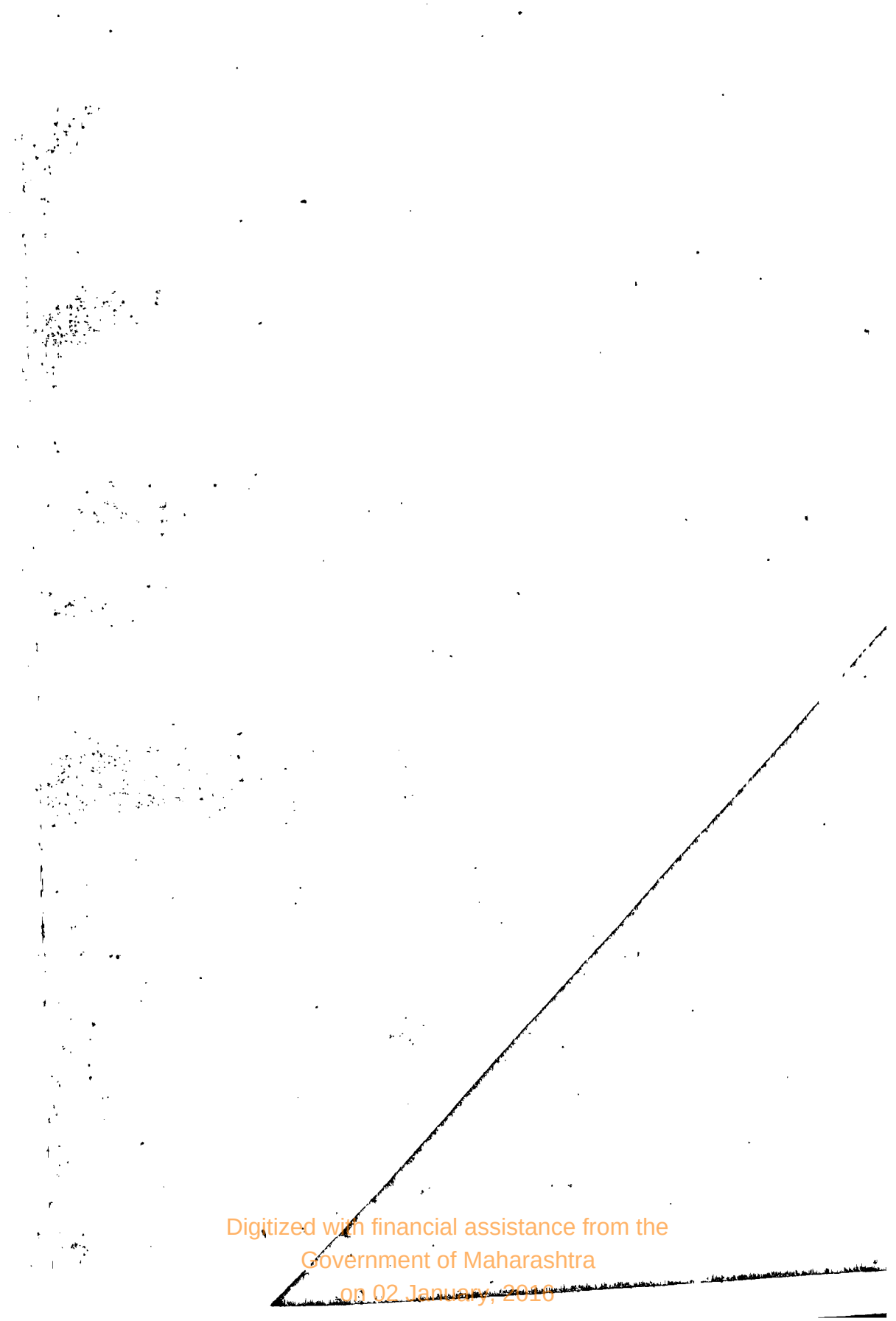

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